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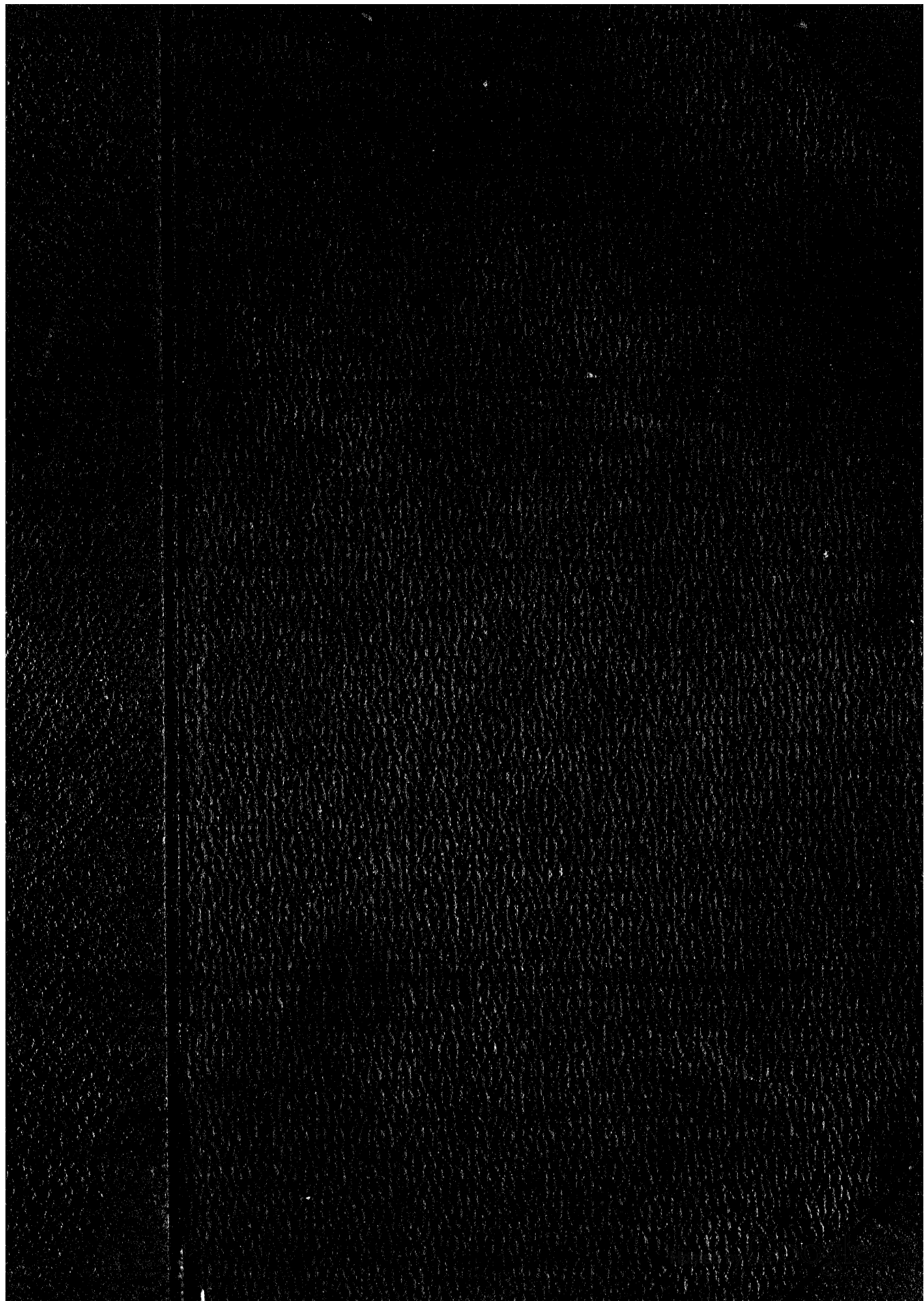
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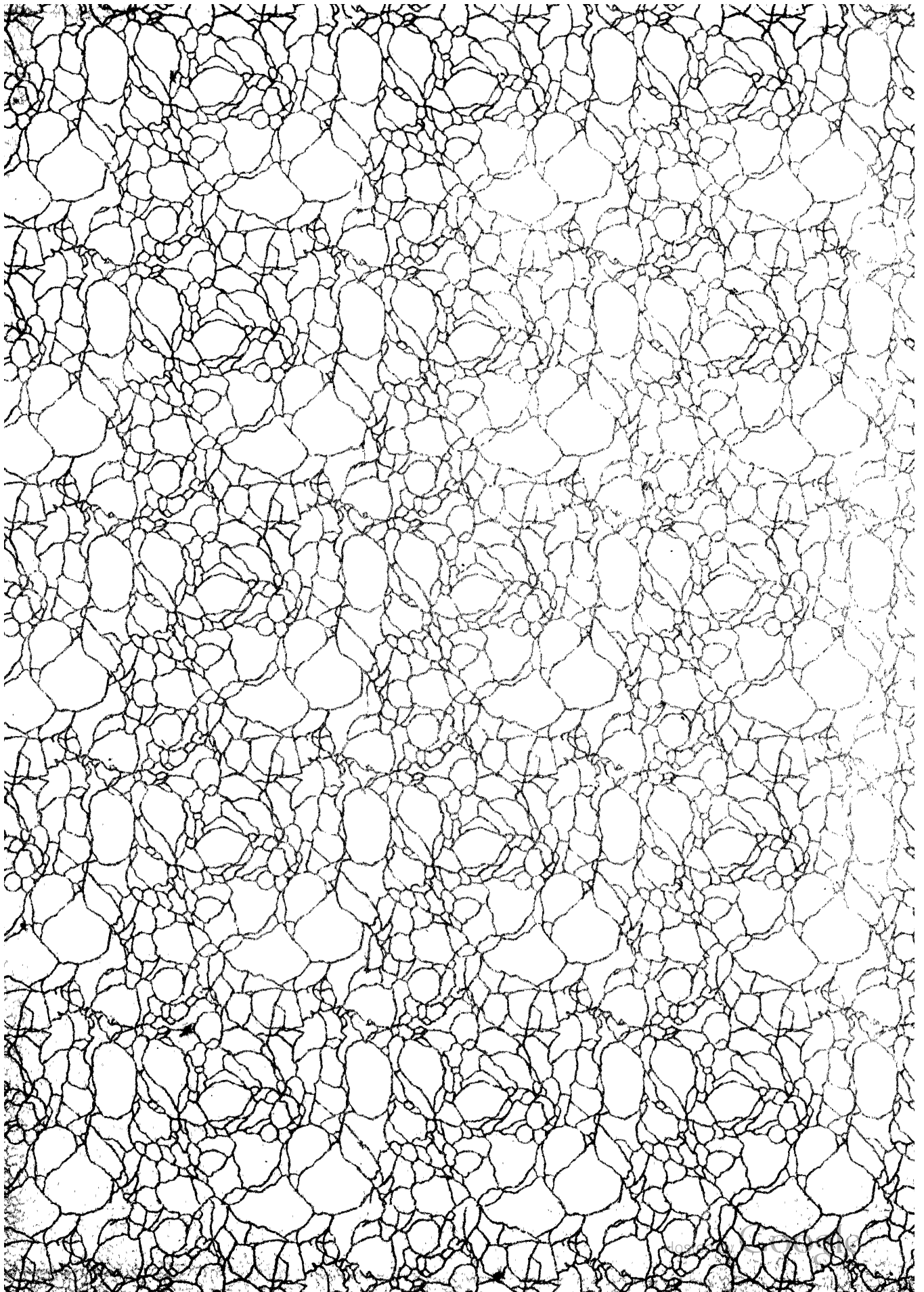
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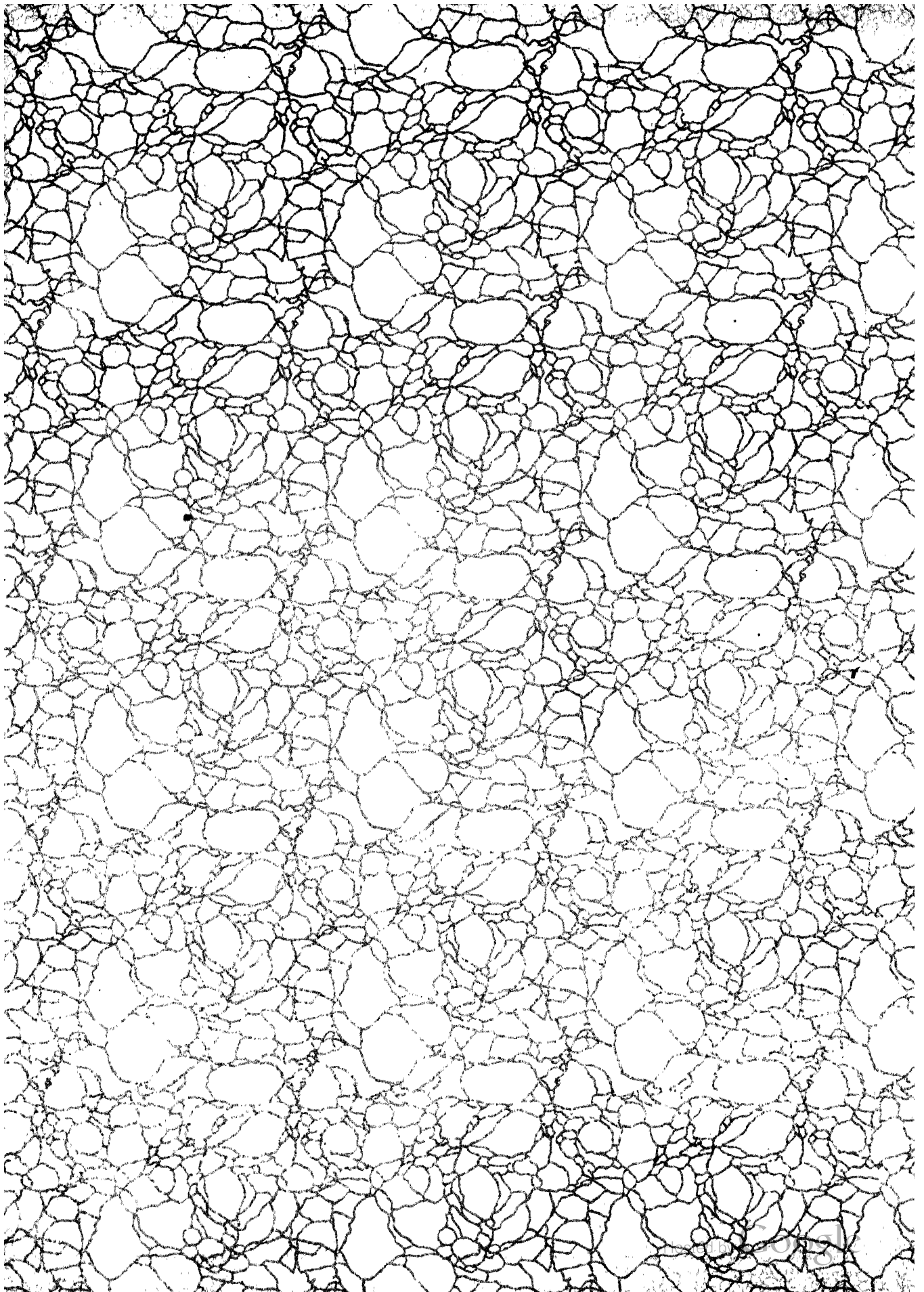
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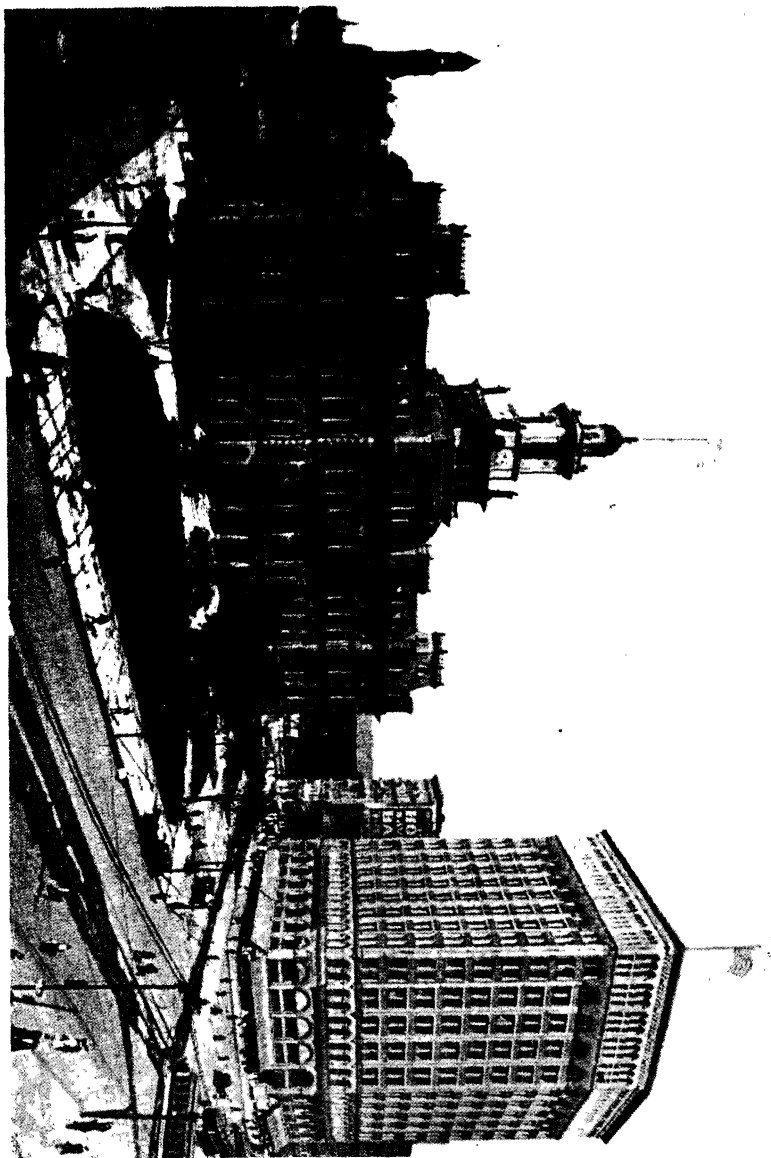
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CITY HALL.

History of DETROIT

A Chronicle of its Progress, its Industries, its
Institutions, and the People of the
Fair City of the Straits

BY
PAUL LEAKE

VOLUME I

ILLUSTRATED

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INTRODUCTION

Rich in material of romantic and historical interest, Detroit offers a field for the historian of almost unlimited extent. To fully cover the multitude of details incident to its founding and subsequent development, would make a work of stupendous proportions, and of many volumes. This history has been prepared as a narrative and chronological record of the city's progress, by which the reader can follow the general fortunes of the metropolis of Michigan from its infancy to its present state of splendid development. The student who desires to follow any one branch of that development can do so by consulting the various subdivisions, each of which will be as nearly a complete history of its particular branch of civic progress, as it is possible to make it. In all cases I have endeavored to give credit where credit is due; credit for the information obtained, and credit to those who have been mainly responsible for the steady upward march of the fair "City of the Straits."

Perhaps no better idea can be given of the metropolis of the state to which this work is devoted, than that conveyed in an article the author wrote for the *Free Press* in August, 1907, as follows: "Justly famed for its beauty and its hospitality, Detroit is a city in which life is worth living. Seekers after rest, those who desire to escape from the toil, the heat, grime and soot of the cities of the east, south and west, naturally come to this beautiful, health-giving place. Here at the end of the day they do not have to crawl or be hoisted to a roof garden to escape the furnace breath of baking stones, nor do the breezes of summer bear the fetid burden of sweltering humanity caught up from the congested streets and whirled aloft with the dust and the odor of the tenements. Instead, when the wind stirs, it comes with a freshness invigorating and delightful.

"With its broad, shaded streets, its miles upon miles of homes with their well-kept lawns and pleasing flower gardens, it is not strange that Detroit has become famous for its homes and its hospitality.

"From all quarters of the earth come people seeking health and comfort, nor are they disappointed. A city of homes, the population prosperous and contented, well employed in factories, stores, banks and offices, Detroit is not dependent upon the guests within her gates for her maintenance. The result is that when the stranger comes among us he is welcomed, the latch string is left out for him always, but that is not all. He at once feels at home, for he receives the treatment accorded a resident, and there are no exorbitant charges to be made because he is temporarily with us.

“To fully realize what the opportunity for outdoor amusement means to the people of Detroit, one should spend a Saturday afternoon on the river and in the parks, or a Sunday amid the living tide that ebbs and flows aboard the electric cars, the trains, and the steamers. Early Saturday afternoon, for it is a holiday in Detroit, the living stream sets in toward the river—toward the foot of Woodward avenue, Griswold, Shelby, Wayne, Cass and First streets. The boats are thronged with a laughing, chatting throng of happy people who, from long experience, know their lives are safe in the hands of the experienced and careful men who handle these crowds.

“So go the throngs upon the water until one would think the city emptied. Yet, turning from the docks, one may see a steady stream descending the hill from Jefferson avenue bound to Windsor and Belle Isle. Surely this must have exhausted the surplus population who had the money and time to leave the city; but no, the workingmen and women continue to pour in from the outskirts.

“The suburban cars give one the impression that almost everyone not upon the waters is seeking the sylvan glades along the various routes, and yet when one alights at Belle Isle Bridge, the Coney Island of Detroit with its many shows, and sees the stream pouring into the entrances of these places of amusement, one comes to believe it is no exaggeration when Detroit is called the pleasure ground of America. Still the supply of humanity is not exhausted, as over the bridge, back and forth, flows another stream of happy, contented people. Men, women and children, babies in arms, babies in carts, babies in all forms, styles and colors, are there, breathing the pure air, taking into their little lungs the life-giving breath from the cool surface of Lake St. Clair.

“One gives voice to the sentiment: ‘Thank God for Detroit, its freedom, its pure air, its pure water, its happy homes, and its prosperous, honest citizens, sons of toil and capitalists.’

“It is the one city on earth where men live and let live, where the poorest have within their reach the pleasures the rich come thousands of miles to enjoy.”

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PALMER PARK AT EVENTIDE.

In Palmer Park when busy day is done,
The purple shadows steal with noiseless tread,
Perchance we yearn for rest, yet one by one,
They lure us far from thoughts of kindly bed.

We with wide eyes, and hearts that musing yearn,
For olden days, and loves forever dead,
Keep a long vigil with the past, and turn
To touch the spot where Memory's rays are shed.

In the Log Cabin Park when day is born,
The wild winds sing a melody sublime,
Light beating hearts smile as they greet the morn,
But longing wait to bless the eventime.

MABEL AILEEN WARD.

HISTORY OF DETROIT

CHAPTER I

MISSIONARIES MARK THE SITE OF DETROIT IN 1670—LOUIS HENNEPIN IMPRESSED WITH THE BEAUTY OF THE SCENERY—LA SALLE'S PASSAGE ON THE RIVER DESCRIBED—SIEUR DE CADILLAC THIRTY YEARS LATER ADVOCATES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POST AT DETROIT—RETURNS FROM FRANCE WITH ROYAL COMMISSION AS COMMANDANT—FORT PONTCHARTRAIN ESTABLISHED.

When Francis Dollier de Casson, a renowned cavalry officer under Turenne during the early part of the seventeenth century, turned his back to the battlefield and sought his ancestral halls in Brittany, there to lay aside the sword for the cross, little did he dream that his would be the first white hand to mark the spot where now stands the Detroit of today, fair to look upon, prosperous and great, a city of half a million inhabitants.

With Abbe Brehant de Galinee, a student and geographer of no mean skill, De Casson, later known as Dollier, arrived at Montreal at the time New France was agitated with La Salle's great project for the exploration of the far west. Filled with the spirit of adventure and a zealous desire to carry into the unknown wilds knowledge of the true God, as well as to spread the glory and enhance the territory of France, the two priests on the sixth of July, 1669, amid the notes of the *Te Deum* of the cathedral bells, swung out into the St. Lawrence river with a little flotilla of seven canoes, each manned with three *mén*, and laden with merchandise to exchange with the Indians along their route for provisions and furs.

After an uneventful and delightful journey, during which they were charmed with the fine scenery along the St. Lawrence, they reached Lake Frontenac (Ontario) on August 2, and on the twenty-fourth of September, an Indian village called Timaouataoua where they remained some time waiting for guides. Here they fell in with Louis Joliet, who was on his way to Lake Superior to locate, if possible, a rich mine of copper. He had in his possession wonderful samples of native metal and ores forwarded from Montreal, where they had been sent by the Jesuit Allouez, then stationed at Sault Ste. Marie. Joliet was also in search of a shorter route to the great lakes, than that through the Ottawa river,

Lake Simcoe and Georgian bay, with its many portages. Persuaded by Joliet, Dollier and de Galinee abandoned their intention of accompanying La Salle and joined Joliet in his trip to the north.

Wintering at Long Point on the north shore of Lake Erie, where there was an abundance of wild fowl, deer and other game, they broke camp in the early spring of 1670 and reached Detroit when the trees were putting forth the first tender leaves of the season, and the robins were building their nests. The forest, which then reached to the water's edge, echoed with the calls of the birds, chatter of the squirrels and the drumming of the partridge, while within the shadow of the trees, herds of deer raised their heads, and with timid curiosity gazed upon the newcomers, so far as known, the first white men to set foot upon the land. After wandering about in this terrestrial paradise where the gorgeous plumage of the birds almost rivaled in hue the woodland flowers which scattered their sweet incense upon the balmy air of the faultless spring day, the worthy priests came to an open glade near the broad, sweeping river. In the center of this glade arose a grassy mound. Confronting them was the first signs of human occupancy of the forest. It was a rude stone idol, a crude production of nature which the Indians had attempted to convert into the semblance of a deity by touches of vermillion. In reckless profusion at its feet were offerings of tobacco, skins of wild animals, and articles of food. It was to the savages a representation of their great Manitou of which the Indian guides with the party had often spoken; the Manitou who "held in his hands the winds, and whose mighty voice was heard in the storms that swept over the lakes." The missionaries indignant at this evidence of idolatry broke the image into a thousand pieces and in its place erected a cross, at the foot of which they affixed the arms of France with the following inscription:

"In the year of grace 1670 Clement IX being seated in the chair of St. Peter, Louis XIV reigning in France, Monsieur de Courcelles being governor of New France, and Monsieur Talon being the Intendent of the King, two missionaries of the Seminary of Montreal accompanied by seven Frenchmen, arrived at this place and are the first of all the European people who wintered on the land bordering on Lake Erie, which they took possession of in the name of their King, unoccupied, and have affixed the arms of France at the foot of this cross.

(Signed) "FRANCIS DOLLIER,
"Priest of the Diocese of Nantes, Brittany.

"DE GALINEE,
"Deacon of the Diocese of Rennes, Brittany."

Taking the largest piece of the broken idol, the priests lashed two canoes together and placing it upon them, towed it to the deepest part of the river, Le Detroit (The river of the Strait) and tossed it overboard so it should be heard of no more.*

* There existed an Indian legend handed down from father to son for many generations to the effect that after the Christian fathers were far away on their northern journey, a party of Indians coming to offer their homage to the deity found

The worthy pioneers of Christianity then passed on up the river into what was named Lake St. Clair when its waters were baptized by the Recollet chaplain, Louis Hennepin, as La Salle's ship, the "Griffin," sailed across its placid bosom, and then on to the great lake of the Hurons, to the father of the fresh-water seas, Lake Superior. Thus they passed out of the history of Detroit.

From first to last, the burden of the comments of the explorers who passed Detroit before its settlement by the whites, was the beauty of the spot. Louis Hennepin, the historian of La Salle's expedition, had this to say of the view which met his eyes, as the "Griffin," under a fair wind, approached the entrance to Detroit river: "The islands are the finest in the world. The strait (Detroit) is finer than Niagara, being one league broad excepting that part which forms the lake we have called Ste. Clair." Speaking of the place where Detroit now stands, Father Hennepin said: "A large village of Huron Indians called Teuch-sagrondie occupied the bank of the river. The village had been visited by the Jesuit missionaries and coureurs de bois, but no settlement had been attempted."

Mrs. Sheldon Stewart's "History of Michigan" states that as early as 1686 M. du L'hut was hospitably received by the Hurons near St. Clair. These Indians, with the Ottawas, Potawatamies and Chippewas, were the sole occupants of the virgin forests and fertile plains of the lower peninsula of Michigan, having their villages along the Detroit and Ste. Clair rivers, leaving them in the winter for the plains of the interior where they went to hunt the buffalo. The abundance of fish to be found in the great lakes and connecting rivers resulted in the creation of sub-clans of watermen whose life was mostly spent in their canoes. From the time of the appearance of Dollier and Galinee, for thirty years previous to 1701, no attempt was made by white men to settle at Detroit. The Indians, save for such savage warfare as cropped out with rival tribes, held undisputed possession of the rivers, and the forests and plains along their banks.

During the latter part of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, there loomed large upon the horizon of history, a character which was destined to carve for itself a niche in the hall of American fame, a man whose name has become a household word, not only at Detroit, but at all principal points on Lakes St. Clair and Huron, Antoine Laumet

only its mutilated remains. Each child of the forest took a fragment which he placed in his canoe as a fetish, and it guided them to where the spirit of the Manitou had taken refuge under the then somber shadow of the Isle of the Gods (Belle Isle). He bade them bring all the fragments of his image and strew them upon the banks of his abode. They obeyed his order when each fragment was turned into a rattlesnake, which was to be a sentinel to guard the sacredness of his domain from the profaning foot of the white man.

Since first named by white men, the name of Belle Isle (the finest city park in the United States) has been changed four times:—First—Isle Ste. Clair (Charlevoix); secondly—Rattle Snake island, from the number of these serpents which infested it; thirdly—Hog island (Isle Aux Cochons) by the French, from the number of hogs put there to destroy the snakes; fourthly—Belle Isle, in 1845, after Miss Belle Cass, daughter of General Lewis Cass and afterward wife of Baron Von Limburg.

de La Mothe Cadillac. The date of his advent into the new world is given in 1683, when he settled at Port Royal, now Annapolis. He first came into prominence in New France as a lieutenant of the French army. Being as much at home on the sea as he was on land, and a skilful navigator, he had been intrusted with important missions by Louis XIV, most of them previous to 1688 being affairs of the sea. Tradition has it that privateering formed no small part of the enterprises Cadillac was engaged in prior to his settlement in Arcadia. At that period this legalized piracy was looked upon as a legitimate pursuit. In 1688 he was mentioned in royal documents as a Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. After his marriage at Quebec to the charming Marie Therese Guyon, the daughter of a wealthy Quebec merchant, June 15, 1687, he returned to Port Royal.



CADILLAC

While at Port Royal with his wife and child, he was summoned to France in 1690 on account of the war which had broken out between that country and England, and was recalled to France in 1692, the French king being desirous of utilizing Cadillac's knowledge of the coasts of North America. During his second absence Port Royal was captured, and after many hardships his wife and child sought the shelter of her father's home at Quebec, there to await the return of her husband whose star was then at its zenith at the French court. For his services in harassing the British he was awarded a grant of land six miles square in Arcadia and Mount Desert, both being on what is now the coast of Maine. He arrived in Quebec shortly after the repulse by the troops under Count de Frontenac, of the British under Sir William Phipps, and was made commandant at Fort Michilimackinac (Mackinac) in 1694, which post he retained until 1698. There he encountered the opposition of the Jesuits, an opposition which continued throughout his career in New France, and

which at one time threatened his life and liberty. Having been brought up in Gascony and given an excellent education by the Franciscans, he was all through life a champion of that order.

While Cadillac realized the importance of the post he occupied and the importance of the one established by Monsieur Du L'hut at Fort St. Joseph, his keen vision took in greater possibilities in the establishment of a well garrisoned fort at Detroit. Regarding this new project, formed while he was commandant at Michilimackinac, Cadillac is credited with saying: "However well chosen as was the position of Du L'hut's trading fort at St. Joseph, I have in mind a better site.

"Dollier and De Galinee, and later La Salle, followed up this connecting chain of waters from Fort Frotenac (now Buffalo). They found it as richly set with islands as is a queen's necklace with jewels, and the beautifully verdant shores of the mainland served to complete the picture of a veritable paradise. Especially attractive was the region that lies south of the pearl-like lake to which they gave the name of Ste. Clair, and the country bordering upon that clear, deep river, a quarter of a league broad, known as Le Detroit. I have had from the Indians and the *coureur de bois* glowing descriptions of this fair locality, and, while affecting to treat their accounts with indifference, I made a note of it in my mind.

"On both sides of this strait lie fine open plains where the deer roam in graceful herds, where bears (by no means fierce and exceedingly good to eat, are to be found, as are also the savory *poules d'Indies*, (wild duck), and other variety of game. The islands are covered with trees; chestnuts, walnuts, apples and plums abound; and, in season, the wild vines are heavy with grapes, of which the forest rangers say they have made a wine that, considering its newness, was not at all bad. The Hurons have a village on Le Detroit; they see, according to their needs, its advantages. Michilimackinac is an important post, but the climate will ever be against it; the place will never become a great settlement. Le Detroit is the real center of the lake country; the gateway to the west. It is from there we can best hold the English in check. I would make it a permanent post, not subject to changes as are so many of the others. To do this it is but necessary to have a good number of French soldiers and traders, and to draw around it the tribes of friendly Indians, in order to conquer the Iroquois, who, from the beginning, have harassed us and prevented the advance of civilization. The French live too far apart; we must bring them closer together, that, when necessary, they may be able to oppose a large force of savages and thus defeat them. Moreover, the waters of the great lakes pass through this strait, and it is the only path whereby the English can carry on their trade with the savage nations who have to do with the French. If we establish ourselves at Le Detroit, they can no longer hope to deprive us of the benefits of the fur trade."

Cadillac, as a further argument of the establishment of a permanent post at Detroit, pointed out although the Indians could exchange goods at a lower price with the English, they preferred to make their trade with the French, partly because they were neighbors to the French and

frequently borrowed from them, paying in returns from the chase. This early establishment of the credit of the red men was an important factor in the retention by the French of the fur trade with the Indians. The English, Cadillac said, were beginning to realize this, and were making overtures to the Indians who traded with the French, which nothing but the establishment of a French post at Detroit would counteract. The English then had well established trade with the savages on Lakes Ontario and Erie, even to the mouth of the Detroit river.

Cadillac's prophetic view as to the situation of Detroit is an excellent illustration of the man's exceptional ability as a leader of men. Clearly and concisely, as was his wont, Cadillac laid out his plans before Governor-General Frontenac who was favorably impressed with them, but that gallant veteran died in 1698. His successor, de Callieres, who had a poor opinion of Cadillac, gave no heed to his suggestions and the Chevalier went to France to lay the matter before Louis XIV. Cadillac returned to Quebec armed with a commission from Count Pontchartrain, minister of marine, approved by the king. This commission appointed *Sieur de Cadillac* commandant at Detroit, authorized him to establish a fort at a point deemed most advantageous, for the building of which he was granted 1,500 livres (about \$300), and subsistence for himself, his wife, two children, and two servants. He was also granted feudal authority and grants of a portion of the land he was to take possession of in the name of the king.

Full well he knew the bitter opposition he would encounter from the Jesuits he had antagonized while commandant at Michilimackinac, partly on account of his refusal while there to prohibit the French from using brandy as an article of trade with the Indians, and to prevent its being supplied to the Indians under any pretense. His position in this matter, and scornful treatment of Father Estienne de Carheil, made that priest a bitter and open enemy of the Chevalier. Cadillac, however, had counted the cost. He knew his open preference for the Recollets would still further alienate the Jesuits, especially when his determination not to allow the Jesuits to be in control of religious affairs at the new post should become known. He realized and anticipated the opposition of Governor de Caillieres, and of the traders at Montreal as well as Father de Carheil, all of whom feared the establishment of a post at Detroit would take the trade away from Michilimackinac. Cadillac knew also that the English and the Iroquois would, if possible, destroy the post at Detroit.

In the face of these difficulties, confidently and calmly, this man of iron hand and indomitable will, at the age of forty-three hastened his preparations for departure from Quebec to head off the plan proposed by the English to secure possession of the coveted territory. Taking advantage of the authority given him by Count Pontchartrain to enroll one hundred Frenchmen, he soon gathered that number and with a like number of Algonquin Indians he left Montreal for his new home on the Detroit river June 2, 1701. His route was along the Ottawa river, which enters the St. Lawrence at Montreal; thence from the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing; across that lake to French river, and down this stream and the Pickerel

river to Georgian bay; down the easterly coast of the bay to River St. Clair, and thence to the present site of Detroit.*

Cadillac's officers were:—Captain Alphonse de Tonty, a relative of Cadillac; Dugue and Charconale; Sergeants Jacob de Marsac and Sieur de L'Ommesprou; interpreters Francois and Jean Tafard; chaplains Fr. Constantine de Halle, a Recollet, and Fr. Valliant, a Jesuit.

The dignitaries and inhabitants of that part of Montreal, now known as Custom Square, (then known as Ville Marie) gathered upon the green banks of the Ottawa to witness the departure of Cadillac for his new post, which was destined to become a potent factor in the affairs of New France. Mrs. Crowley in her "Daughter of New France," thus describes the scene, and, as it is taken from old documents found at Quebec, it is undoubtedly authentic: "There in the sunshine were the soldiers in their blue coats with white facing; the artisans in their blouses; the *coureurs de bois*, with leathern jerkins brightly embroidered with porcupine quills, red caps set jauntily on their dark heads, and upon their swift feet gaudy Indian moccasins; the black robed Jesuit and the gray-frocked Recollet missionaries, holding aloft the cross beside the banner of St. Louis; the officers resplendent in their gorgeous uniforms and white plumed cavalier hats." It is said Cadillac was the last one to embark. Stepping into his canoe he stood erect—"an imposing figure in his azure habit with its crimson sash, a scarlet mantle thrown back from his broad shoulders, his sword by his side, and the breeze stirring the long thick locks of his black hair, as he waved a last adieu to his friends upon the shore."

The journey to Detroit was without unpleasant incident, and it is recorded that the voyageurs were continuously pleased with the scenery met with along the route. Swinging down the Detroit river toward dark on the evening of the twenty-third of July, 1701, Cadillac and his convoy of twenty-five canoes passed the site of Detroit and camped for the night on Grosse Isle, sixteen miles below the present city. Slowly ascending the stream early the next morning, the Chevalier closely scanned the shores of the river until he reached a spot, now about the foot of Shelby street near where the Huron village was located. Pleased with its strategic features, the bank towering some forty feet above the level of the

* Speaking of the route taken by Cadillac, C. M. Burton, in a pamphlet entitled "Early Detroit," says: "In the summer of 1904, I went to the eastern end of Lake Nipissing and spent several weeks in going over the pathway of Cadillac in this, his first trip to Detroit. Passing thru the eastern end of this lake, we reached the outlet known as French river. With an Indian guide and birch bark canoes, we paddled the entire length of French and Pickereel rivers to French village, the head of navigation. The country today is as wild and barren as it was in Cadillac's time, and if he could again visit this scene, there is no doubt that the old landmarks that guided him then would again serve to show him his way thru this vast waste of water and rocks. The country is a great desert of rocks—rocks for miles and miles—no trees of any size, and underbrush only in the crevices of the rocks where the accumulation of the dust of ages has been sufficient to sustain a little vegetable life. The river is not a river, but a continuation of the lake. It has very little current, though it occasionally contracts into a narrower channel with a waterfall, around which our boats had to be carried. The scenery is perfectly wild, and the route we took is doubtless the one used by all travellers for the past two hundred and fifty years."

river, he, on July 24, 1701, landed and planted the standard of France in the soil at the top of the bluff, taking possession of the territory in the name of Louis XIV. The scene is said to have been an impressive one, all the hardy voyageurs bending the knee while Father de Halle, the Recollet missionary, breathed a prayer asking guidance and strength for the Chevalier and his followers.

All was then activity. The sound of the axe rang through the forest as the trees for the storehouse were felled, soon to be followed by those to be used for the stockade. The position selected by Cadillac was an admirable one. Behind the bluff flowed a small river named by Cadillac, the Savoyard, a sluggish stream which proved useful to the little colony as a means of egress and ingress connecting with the Detroit river, as it could be easily guarded. The area of the fort enclosed in the stockade, formed of stout oak pickets fifteen feet long, sunk three feet in the ground, was an arpent (one hundred and ninety-two feet square) and occupied the ground from what is now Griswold street to and including Shelby, and from Jefferson avenue on the north to Woodridge street on the south. Within the line of pickets a street twelve feet wide was formed, the buildings erected under Cadillac's direction being clustered in the center of the inclosure. When Cadillac superintended the laying out of the village, little did he think it would one day contain more white people than did the entire North American Continent at that time.

The followers of the Chevalier were all busy. Some cleared the land for the village site, while others cut the pickets, young trees six to eight inches in diameter. Still others, under the supervision of Father de Halle who was to be supreme in religious command of the new colony, set about building a church—the church of St. Anne and the first building to be completed in Detroit. The ground around the fort for some distance in every direction having been cleared of trees and underbrush, in order that hostile Indians could not gather near the fort under cover, the work of building the inclosure was most laborious, every stick of timber having to be carried from where it was cut to the place where it was to be used. The fort when completed was named Fort Pontchartrain, in honor of the minister of marine who had done so much toward assisting Cadillac in his project to establish the post. It was typical of the times and followed closely the frontier defences of the period. A strong bastion was erected at each of the four corners and a parapet was built around the inside at a height of about seven feet above the ground, where the pickets could patrol in security and keep watch over all approaches by land or water.

Cadillac found his arrival at Detroit to be most opportune, for on June 19th, of the same year, the British authorities at New York obtained from the Iroquois such title as they had to the western forests which were called Teuscha Gronde. This territory included the land surrounding the straits. Robert Livingstone, an Indian trader at Fort Orange had urged his government to establish a post on the Detroit river, but for some reason his suggestion was not heeded, and this delay deferred British occupancy until the conquest of New England nearly a half century later.

CHAPTER II

CADILLAC INDUCES THE INDIANS TO GATHER ABOUT DETROIT AND ESTABLISH VILLAGES—COMING OF THE WYANDOTTES—FRENCH PROTECT THEM FROM THEIR ENEMIES, THE SENECA—COUNCILS WITH THE SAVAGES—EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO TRADE IN FURS GIVEN THE COMPANY OF THE COLONY.

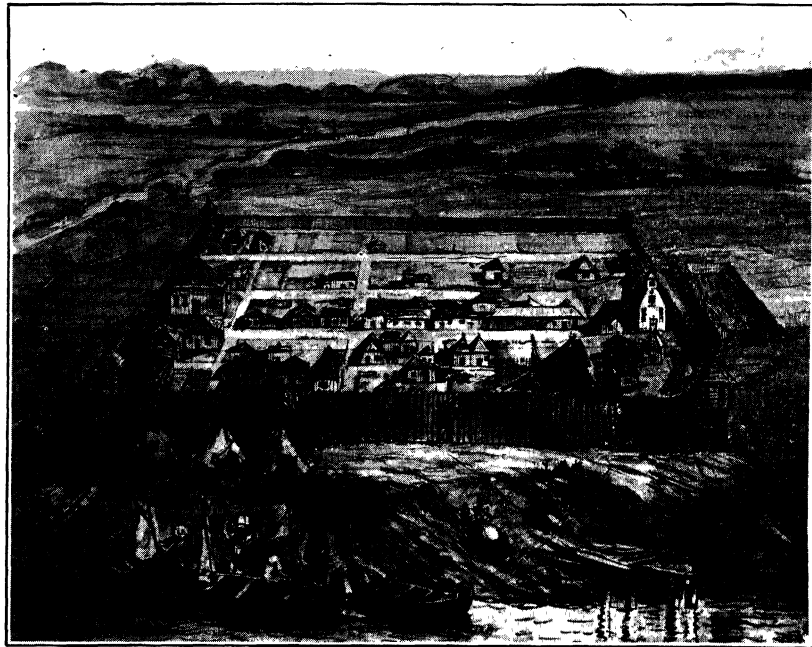
The plans of the Chevalier, as outlined to the king and to Count Pontchartrain, were strictly adhered to. His first move was to gather about him the friendly Indians. Having established amicable relations with the Hurons, the commandant sent messengers to other tribes inviting them to come to Fort Pontchartrain to trade, assuring them protection against their enemies and fair play in barter. About this time the Wyandottes received tidings of renewed hostilities of the Senecas against them, and as they never expected to live in peace and security, about Michilimackinac, they concluded to migrate to some other country. They broke up their villages, embarked in their birch bark canoes, and bid a last adieu to their old homes.

Clark in his history of that tribe says: "The Wyandotte fleet passed out of Lake Huron and glided down the River St. Clair, whose banks were then inhabited by some Chippewa Indians with whom they were on friendly terms. When passing Belle Isle they decried a group of white tents where the city of Detroit now stands. The head chief ordered the bark fleet ashore and sent some of his men to ascertain what kind of strange beings these were, who had found their way into this part of the world. No sooner did the Wyandottes land than they were surrounded by the pale-faced occupants of the white tents and thatched roofed huts. It was Cadillac's colony. Prior to this period (1701) these Wyandottes of the west had only occasionally met with French traders, explorers, and Jesuit priests at Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph. Cadillac received them kindly, and when the Wyandottes represented to him how they had been threatened with annihilation by the Senecas and their allies, he invited them to take shelter under his protection. 'Come,' said he, 'under the shadow of my wings, and I will protect you.' The Wyandottes readily accepted the invitation thus humanely extended to them, in time of need. They were then in quest of some new place of abode and hunting grounds, and intended to have passed down Detroit river to parts unknown." During the summer the Senecas made their appearance in their canoes, but when they ascertained that the Wyandottes had found protection at the hands of the French they proceeded

on their journey homeward down the Detroit; thence along the north shore of Lake Erie, to what is now Buffalo, or thereabouts..

The Ottawas, Potawatamies and Chippewas were inhabitants of the country around Detroit before the Wyandottes came. Other Indians from distant parts then came to Detroit which was rapidly becoming a great trading post. Here the Wyandottes of the west first obtained arms and ammunition more plentifully.

Intensely loyal to the king, the Chevalier who was essentially a practical man, cared but little about the Indians, save as they enabled him



CADILLAC'S VILLAGE IN 1701

to carry out his designs. From bitter experience at Mackinac, he determined that the savages clustering about Fort Pontchartrain and those who came there to trade, should be taught the French language so they could for themselves understand the terms offered by King Louis. as, if they had to rely upon interpreters, either *coureurs de bois*, or Jesuit. the text of the conversation was often misconstrued for selfish purposes. The Jesuits opposed the teaching of the French language on the ground that lack of knowledge of it would aid in the maintenance of savage integrity of character and would be an obstacle to the contamination of the red men by the vices of the white race. The Chevalier also advocated the intermarriage of the Indians and French as forming a still stronger tie between the savages and the whites of the colony. A number of such

marriages took place and were undoubtedly of great benefit to the colonists.

A few weeks after the completion of the stockade and warehouse, under Cadillac's orders in the clearing made a short distance from the fort, ground was broken and the first wheat ever consigned to the soil on either side of the Detroit river was carefully sown.

It is recorded that on December 6, 1701, Cadillac marked out a new spot for the Huron village. In February, 1702, he called a council of Indians who had settled around the fort and all of those he could reach who visited the post to trade. At this council he outlined his plans for mutual defense against unfriendly savages, and for cementing by treaty the friendly relations already established. In this manner the title of the king to the immediate territory surrounding Fort Pontchartrain, and Cadillac's share thereof, was confirmed. Though reported to be mercenary and known to be relentless in the infliction of punishment, when necessary, Cadillac gained the confidence of the Indians through the fulfillment of the promises made them. The first council was productive of so much good that he called another in May when the chiefs and their followers had returned from their winter hunt. These councils and the many that succeeded them, were of great interest both to the Indians and the colonists. The Indians were always dressed in barbarous grandeur, and gifts were freely exchanged. Thus though isolated from the mother country, and separated from the French settlements along the St. Lawrence by league after league of almost impenetrable forests, storm-swept lakes and swift rivers, Fort Pontchartrain took permanent root and continued to grow, in spite of clerical and ministerial opposition and savage warfare.

The rivalry between the French and English for the fur trade with the Indians grew keen, and was accompanied with much bitterness of spirit. Trade in beaver skins was the principal traffic. Blankets, glass beads and other gew-gaws were sold freely; guns and powder cautiously. The favorite medium of exchange, however, was "firewater," for which the Indians developed such a craving that they would make almost any sacrifice to obtain it. This led to extravagant offers for the destroying beverage. Drink quickly demoralized the savages, making it difficult, and sometimes impossible to control them. The Jesuit missionaries, having spent a half century of hardship and peril in the wilderness Christianizing the Indians vigorously protested to their superiors, and the strong power of clericals was used to the uttermost to put a stop to the traffic in liquor. With Cadillac, the interests of the king were paramount. He proposed to meet British rum with French brandy. His argument was that only by so doing could the French hold the trade of the red men. That his belief was well founded is shown by his experience at Mackinac. While commandant at that post, he wrote a friend at Quebec that it was bad faith on the part of the Jesuits, to represent to Count Pontchartrain, and the king, that the sale of brandy reduced the savages to a state of nudity and thus prevented them from making war, as they never went to war in any other condition. Speaking of this phase of the situation Cadillac said: "Everybody knows it is the custom of all the

nations here, when they go to 'eat their enemy on his own land,'* they go naked, and paint themselves black or red from head to foot, if rich enough to do it. Finally the prohibition of transportation of brandy to this place (Mackinac) has much discouraged the Frenchmen from trading in the future, as will be seen from what took place on March 21, 1695. All the chiefs and a large number of inhabitants gathered and addressed me as follows: 'Oh chief! What evil have thy children done thee, that thou shouldst treat them so badly? Those that came before thee were not so severe upon us. It is not to quarrel with thee that we came here; it is only to know for what reason thou wishest to prevent us from drinking brandy. Thou shouldst look upon us as thy friends, and the brothers of the French, or else as thy enemies. If we are thy friends, leave us the liberty of drinking; our beaver is worth thy brandy, and the Master of Life gave us both to make us happy. If thou wish to treat us as thy enemies, or as thy slaves, do not be angry if we carry our beaver to Orange or Cortland, where they will give us rum; as much of it as we want.' " Cadillac stated that as a result of the action of the government, a body of Hurons left Mackinac secretly to negotiate a peace with the Iroquois in order to facilitate the passage to the English, so that the savages at and around Mackinac could trade with them and secure the coveted liquor.

As the establishment of the post at Detroit was to check the British in their aggressive campaign for the trade of the Indians of the upper lakes and the great northwest, Cadillac made the right to sell liquor one of his cardinal points in his fight against the policy of the Jesuits. He also proposed to make the western country so uncomfortable for British traders that they would give the territory controlled by Fort Pontchartrain a wide berth.

For a short time it looked to Cadillac as if he had at last placed himself in a position where his ambition would be satisfied. Prospects were bright. The Indian tribes centered at Fort Pontchartrain appeared to be as well satisfied as it was possible for savages to be. The Wyandottes, now protected from their enemies, the Senecas, wielded a powerful influence among the other nations. This ideal situation was, however, of short duration. M. de Callieres, who was as ardent in his support of the Jesuits as Cadillac was of the Recollets, for some reason seemed to have formed a personal dislike for the Chevalier commanding Fort Pontchartrain, and, as the executive of the king in New France, readily approved of the formation of the Company of the Colony of Canada, giving it the exclusive right to trade with the Indians at Forts Frontenac and Pontchartrain, thus taking from Cadillac some of the powers under the commission given him by the king. The contract was signed at Quebec, October 31, 1701, but it was not until the summer of 1702 that the Chevalier was awakened from his dream of undisputed power. It seems that after Cadillac had left France and had begun his arrangements to occupy Detroit, influences were quietly set at work, which resulted in the granting by Louis XIV of authority to form the Colony Company.

* Many of the savages were cannibals, and one ceremony was to put an immense kettle over a fire before starting on the war path.

So sweeping were the terms of this contract which proved the entering wedge for the discomfiture of Cadillac, that it is advisable to give portions thereof, verbatim: "The following articles of agreement have been made between the governor general, and intendant on the one part, and Messrs. d'Auteul, procureur general of the King in the sovereign council of this country, Lothbineries, lieutenant general of this city of Quebec, Izraeuer, Gobin, Macart, and Pierre, gentlemen, merchants of this city of Quebec, all directors general of the said company, on the other part.

"Be it known, that the governor general and intendant, in consequence of the express orders which they have this year received from the king, do, by these presents and acceptances, in the name of His Majesty, cede and convey to the directors of said Company of the Colony the posts of Detroit and Fort Frontenac, giving into the possession of said Company of the Colony, from this day forth, the said posts in the state in which they may be for their use, to traffic in furs, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants of said country, so long as it shall please His Majesty.

"It shall be the duty of said company to complete the construction of said fort at Detroit, and the buildings properly belonging thereto; and the Company shall in future keep said buildings and fort in good repair, that they may be rendered in the same state they are now, and better, if possible, to whoever His Majesty shall judge proper to receive them, if in the course of time he so order.

"The Company of the Colony is also to take charge of the goods which have been sent to said place, obeying the conditions that have been agreed upon—Messrs. Radisson and Arnault to be overseers of the storehouse of said goods which the intendant has placed in the hands of the directors of the company—They are also to have charge of the other advances made by the King for this establishment, and to make payment for said goods and advances to the intendant from the first bills which shall be returned from Detroit, and in case said bills should not be sufficient, on the first of October, 1702, the said overseers shall give bills of exchange for the remainder, which shall be drawn upon the directors and commissioners of said company in Paris, payable to the sureties and overseers of the storehouse, for the purpose of liquidating the claims against said company, conformably to the agreement made with the said Lord-Lieutenant.

"It is also agreed that the King shall support, at his expense, the garrison which the governor shall order for the protection of said fort of Detroit, and that the commandant and one other officer only, shall be maintained by the company.

"The said commandant and soldiers shall not make any trade for furs with the savages nor French, directly nor indirectly, on any pretext whatever, under pain of confiscation of the said furs, and other punishment prescribed by the King."

CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF THE COLONY COMPANY—OPPOSITION OF THE JESUITS A STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE WAY OF CADILLAC—MME. CADILLAC JOURNEY'S A THOUSAND MILES THROUGH THE WILDERNESS TO JOIN HER HUSBAND—CADILLAC'S PLANS, AS OUTLINED IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH COUNT PONTCHARTRAIN—PROPOSES THE INTRODUCTION OF SILK CULTURE—ADVOCATES THE COEDUCATION OF THE SAVAGE CHILDREN WITH THE FRENCH—PETITIONS FOR MORE SOLDIERS AT DETROIT.

While the preliminary details regarding the formation of the company, which was to cause Cadillac so much trouble were being arranged, his wife, the fair Therese to whom he was devotedly attached, in September, 1701, left Quebec for Fort Frontenac in order that, as soon as spring opened, she could push on up Lake Erie and join her husband at Fort Pontchartrain. She was accompanied on her journey by Mme. de Tonty, the wife of Cadillac's captain.

Down through history has come her splendid reply to several ladies who urged her not to undertake so dangerous and toilsome a journey. They said: "It might do if you were going to a pleasant country, where you would have good company, but it is impossible to conceive how you can willingly go to a desert country where there is nothing to do but die of ennui."

"Ah," replied Mme. Cadillac, "a woman who loves her husband as she should, has no stronger attraction than his company."

Thus the two courageous ladies started upon their journey of one thousand miles with Indians and rough canoe men, in many respects worse than Indians. Her beauty, kindness and fortitude won to her the affectionate loyalty of her escorts, all of whom treated her and Mme. Tonty with the utmost respect, and who softened, as far as possible, the hardships of the trip. Mme. Cadillac left her two daughters at the Ursuline convent at Quebec to be educated, but brought her little boy, Jacques, who was born March 16, 1695. The eldest son, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, born April 26, 1692, was already at Detroit with his father.

Bold, ambitious, enthusiastic, utterly fearless, though somewhat visionary, Cadillac was, like most impulsive men, kind hearted, and while he made many enemies, also made stanch friends among those who knew him best. The arrival of Radisson and Arnault, armed with credentials and authority under the contract, a copy of which was sent to Cadillac, was a severe blow to the Chevalier. He realized what a net his enemies,

with the silent consent of de Callieres, were weaving about him, and he left Detroit for Quebec, July 21st, to alter, if possible, the terms of agreement with the company, or in the event of his failing so to do, make terms with that corporation more advantageous to himself. He met with small success in his endeavors to modify the terms of the contract and returned to Detroit November 6, 1702, to find matters complicated by the overseers, who did not get on well with the Indians. The savages had been used to liberal treatment by Cadillac and the French traders with whom they had hitherto done business.

It was deemed wise to appear to place implicit faith in the honesty of the savages and it is said they had the run of the fort during the day, there being no bolts, seals, locks or bars upon the storehouse in which the goods were kept. This was all changed upon the arrival of Radisson and Arnault, the overseers, who promptly placed seals and locks upon the doors of the building containing merchandise and supplies. The Indians resented this, and also resented the insolent manner in which they were treated by the overseers. Cadillac being absent at Quebec, there was no one to check the insolence of the overseers who, having been placed in charge of the post by the company, deemed themselves supreme in power. The control of the distribution of brandy having also passed into the hands of the overseers, the Indians, who had been more freely supplied by the *coureurs de bois*, were still further incensed. Cadillac's return smoothed things over somewhat, as he partially convinced the overseers of their mistake. The seed of discord had, however, been sown, and the savages were restless and sullen.

As the trees were putting forth the first tender leaves of the season, on a day much like that upon which Dollier and de Galinee destroyed the Indian idol, Mesdames Cadillac and Tonty, with their escort and supplies her husband had requested her to bring, came within sight of Detroit. Cadillac and his officers, overjoyed at the sight of the flotilla, ran to the water's edge. Wading out, Cadillac took his wife in his arms and carried her to shore amid the cheers of the colonists. There was much rejoicing at the coming of the ladies and their arrival caused the fort to take on a gala appearance.

Through the arrangements made by the company Cadillac's hands were tied and while he was still personally liked by the Indians, his influence among them was somewhat weakened when the savages realized he was not all-powerful. In spite of his handicap, he kept them fairly well in hand until 1703, when some of the more turbulent spirits among them set fire to a barn filled with grain. The barn was located outside of the stockade, but quite close to the pickets. A strong wind was blowing and the flames spread rapidly, consuming the church, and the houses of the priest, *Sieur de Cadillac* and Captain Tonty, as well as a portion of the stockade. In this fire many valuable papers belonging to Cadillac were destroyed.

No better picture of the situation in this wild part of New France, at that time, could be given than that contained in a letter written by Cadillac to Count Pontchartrain, dated August 31, 1703, and preserved among the manuscripts of the Chevalier. In this he says: "Doubtless you have noticed the regulations which were made by M de Chevalier

de Callieres between Rev. Father Bouvert and myself while I was at Quebec, and have supposed that all its stipulations were fulfilled. These regulations prove, with evidence, the opposition which the Jesuits in this country have raised against the settlement at this post; and I did hope that they would keep the promise which they made by public compact. You had the kindness to write me that the king wishes the savages to be served by father Jesuits; and that the superior at Quebec would give me those who would enter into my plans better than did Father Vaillant. One would suppose your orders would have sufficed to engage the services of the superior in providing for this mission immediately; especially when you had so kindly favored him by allowing Father Vaillant to remain in this country after opposing, as he did, the intentions of His Majesty. The regulations of M. Callieres also seem to require him to provide for the missions, as it is clearly expressed there. Yet you will see that until now, the Jesuits have done nothing toward executing the intentions of His Majesty, though you have very plainly expressed them to M. Callieres and the superior of Quebec, and have also been pleased to inform me of them.

"I do not know whether you have been informed that, in consequence of these regulations, the Company of the Colony have agreed to pay the missionaries on the Detroit the yearly sum of eight hundred francs each, and furnish them with necessary food and clothing, to be transported to their stations at the expense of the company; lodging them in the villages of the savages until more commodious homes can be arranged for them. I am satisfied on my part, in regard to the measures they have taken; and the company seems to be satisfied upon its own part, having this spring, in conformity with the regulations, sent an express canoe for Father Marest, superior of Michilimackinac. He pretended to have very important reasons for not coming here; and the company incurred the expense of the voyage to no purpose, as they had done before for Father Vaillant. You wish me to be a friend of the Jesuits and have no trouble with them. After much reflection, I have found only three ways in which this can be accomplished: the first is to let them do as they please; the second, to do whatever they desire; and the third, to say nothing of what they do.

"If I let the Jesuits do what they please, the savages will not establish themselves at Detroit; nor would any of them ever have settled here. If I do what they would desire, it will be necessary to have this post abandoned; and if I say nothing of what they do, it will only be necessary for me to pursue my present course. Notwithstanding this last essential point, I cannot engage them to be my friends.

"It is for you, my Lord, to say whether you wish me to continue to induce the savages to establish themselves here, that this post may be preserved and sustained with *eclat*. If these are your sentiments, as I believe they are, perhaps I am the proper person to carry your plans into execution. But I dare say to you, that the opinion of the Jesuits in this country are totally opposed to yours, at least on this point.

"All these things have not prevented the Sauteurs and Mississagues from coming here again this year, to build a village on the river. By my advice these two nations have united into one. I judged this proper,

thinking that their union would be better for themselves, and for us, if any rupture should occur between these colonies and their enemies. Thirty Hurons of Michilimackinac arrived on June 28th, to unite themselves with those already established here. There remain only about twenty-five at Michilimackinac. Father Carheil, who is missionary there, remains always firm. I hope this fall to pluck out the last feather of his wing, and am persuaded that this obstinate priest will die in his parish, without having a single parishioner to bury him.

"Several small bands of the Miamis have established themselves here, as also a few of the Nepisserinieux; some have joined the Hurons, and others the Outawas, and the Oppenagos, or Loups. The remainder of the Outawa—Singoos who are still at Michilimackinac have sent me a necklace in secret, to tell me they will come to join their brothers at Detroit after they have gathered in their harvest. Six wigwams of Kiskakons have sent me the same message. I have replied by necklaces, that I was going to mark out the land where they could make their fields. When it pleases you that I should make an entire reunion of our allies at his place, it will be easy to accomplish it; although, on account of the extraordinary war of Canada, it will be necessary to have about six thousand francs placed at my disposal, to be employed as I judge expedient for the success of this enterprise; and of which I will give an exact account to M. Callieres and M. Beauharnais, the intendant.

"I have already had the honor to write you concerning the presents and necklaces which we give the savages. These are especially to induce their transmigration, and are to them pledges of our fidelity to the promises we make them; and are titles which give them the right to possess, or abandon, as contracts do among civilized people. You know that, to this day, the company have not contributed a farthing for gifts to put the savages in motion. It is true they have placed in my hands a considerable stock of goods to give an appearance of prosperity to this station, without cost to the king; and I believe they have reason to be satisfied with my management, since it is certain that they have rather gained than lost. I am better informed concerning this than any one else; at any rate if they complain of the expenses, which it has been, or may be necessary to incur, to sustain this post. I willingly pledge myself to indemnify them, and to urge on affairs here as Your Highness may desire. If you doubt it, I will, whenever you please, give you such proof that I dare flatter myself you will fully believe my statement. If this country had not been excluded from commerce it would have fortified itself.

"I think the shortest way by which I could inspire you with confidence would be by actual service. Have the kindness to employ me in some enterprise, and sustain me with the honor of your protection; and if, in spite of all the malice and trickery of my enemies, I do not succeed, never use me again. My enemies are continually attempting to overthrow my plans, or at least to produce vexatious delays by presenting numerous arguments against them, representing the obstacles to be insurmountable, while I am employed in proving the fallacy of their objections."

The Chevalier then goes further into detail and asks permission to

explore the mines in the neighborhood of the lakes and rivers, saying he had seen evidence that rich deposits of copper existed. "In conforming myself to your wishes," he writes the count, "I will close the mouth of all my enemies. By this means, perhaps, there will remain to the envious only the vexation of seeing me succeed. The Grand river—so called—on Lake Erie near the farther extremity, is about fifteen leagues from here; and along its shores, and extending into the depths of its forests, are great numbers of mulberry trees; the land is also perfectly good. If you will have the kindness to grant me six leagues on each side of the river, and as much in the forest, in title of marquisate, with the rights of hunting, fishing, and trade, I will undertake the cultivation of silk, by having people come from France who understand the business, and who will bring the requisite number of silkworms. Should you grant me this kindness I will have them come by the first vessels so as to have them arrive before winter. As to trade, I will not make any until after the lease of the company expires."

This shows how earnestly Cadillac desired the success of his Detroit colony, and also shows how keen he was in foreseeing the great possibilities of the territory. In the same letter he states: "We have made a fine harvest this year, and have abundant supplies for a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, but I do not believe we shall be at that trouble, on account of the objections that are being made to giving me soldiers." Thus was plainly refuted the rumors which had reached France, to the effect that the land about Detroit was barren and worthless. "I have contented myself," he wrote, "with asking for only fifty effective men; they left me but twenty-five, and I do not know as they will grant me even the additional twenty-five. I beg of you to order M. Callieres to grant me fifty more next year that this garrison may be composed of one hundred effective men. This post should be equal to all emergencies, not only on account of our enemies, but also on account of our allies, whom it is necessary to hold in abeyance. It would be still better if you would send me some troops direct from France."

Beset with difficulties, annoyed and harrassed by personal enemies at court and at Quebec, Cadillac, supported by his handful of brave followers, sat down in the midst of several hundred savages and calmly made his calculations for the future. He submitted a proposition from the principal chiefs of the Hurons to form companies of fifty men to serve under Cadillac, if the chiefs were made captains and were granted lieutenants and ensigns, the men to be paid by the month the same as the French soldiers. The Chevalier favored the proposition and said it would be the means of making the Indians permanent subjects of France, useful in peace and war. He said he explained to the Indians how they must act as soldiers and that the savages were perfectly satisfied with the terms.

"The chief of the Hurons," said the commandant, "is already so inflated by this proposition that he has requested M. de Callieres to cause him to live in French fashion. I received an order from Quebec to build him a house of oak, forty feet long and twenty-four feet wide. This house is delightfully situated on the margin of the river; it stands on a

little eminence, and overlooks the village of the Hurons." Thus was built the first house for a savage in the lower great lakes territory.

Cadillac also advocated the education of Indian children as a sure means of attaching the savages to France. "Permit me," he wrote Count Pontchartrain, "to insist upon the great necessity there is for the establishment of a seminary at this place for the instruction of the children of the savages with those of the French—instructing them in piety, and at the same time teaching them our language. The savages, being naturally proud, seeing their children placed among ours, would dress them in the same manner, and make their attendance at the seminary a point of honor. It is true that at first it would be necessary to allow these little savages great liberty, and only confine ourselves to the design of civilizing them and rendering them capable of receiving instruction; and leave the rest to Him who made the heart.

"This expense would not be very great. I believe if His Majesty would grant a thousand crowns to the seminary at Quebec, that institution would commence this pious and holy work. These gentlemen are so full of zeal for the service of God, and of charity for all that regards the subjects of the king in this colony, that we cannot help admiring them. All the country is under inexpressible obligations to them for the good education they give the youth, together with their good example and doctrine. It is these efforts which have produced very good subjects in the service of the church in New France."

It will be seen that Cadillac advocated the very policy the United States nearly two centuries later adopted in dealing with the savages. His advice in this matter was not followed, nor was any attention paid to his request regarding the introduction of the silk industry, but orders were sent from France for the number of men he asked for. Before these instructions reached New France de Callieres, whose attitude toward Cadillac seems to have changed for the better, passed from earth. His successor M. Vaudreuil said he could not spare so many men, and in spite of positive instructions sent by Count Pontchartrain he added but little to the strength of Detroit.

CHAPTER IV

CADILLAC DETECTS HIS CAPTAIN AND THE COMPANY COMMISSIONERS IN THE EMBEZZLEMENT OF GOODS AND ILLICIT TRADE IN FURS—THE FURS CONFISCATED AND CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST THE OFFENDERS—COUNTER CHARGES ARE MADE AGAINST CADILLAC, WHO IS CALLED TO MONTREAL AND THERE PLACED UNDER ARREST—ORDERED TO QUEBEC TO APPEAR BEFORE COUNT PONTCHARTRAIN—HIS COURSE VINDICATED—RETURNS TO DETROIT—ITS GROWTH UNDER HIS CONTROL—CADILLAC TRANSFERRED TO LOUISIANA, 1711.

Between the Company of the Colony and the government, the soldiers at Detroit were so poorly paid that nine of the little garrison deserted from the fort in the latter part of 1703, but they were glad to return, and Cadillac, being short of men, pardoned them.

Shortly afterward Cadillac verified information to the effect that Captain Tonty, second in command at Detroit and relative of Mme. Cadillac, had entered into a conspiracy with the Jesuits of the north whereby Detroit was to be crippled and a new post opened at St. Joseph, on Lake Michigan. Confronted with evidence of his treachery Tonty, it is said, freely confessed, and, pleading penitence, was pardoned. The captain was, however, ambitious and jealous of Cadillac's power and did all that was possible to undermine him.

Cadillac detected Captain Tonty, and M. De Noyer, commissioner of the Company of the Colony in the embezzlement of the Company's goods and in illicit trade with the Indians. The furs were confiscated and charges preferred against the offenders. As the commissioners were relatives of some of the directors general and of M. Vaudreuil, the governor general, little attention was paid to the representations made by Cadillac. Charges, however, had been preferred against the latter, and he was ordered to report at Montreal, where he was placed under arrest. It was charged that Cadillac's alleged vigilance was caused by the desire to secure for himself the exclusive trade with the savages. Intersecting circles of intrigue were at work, but all aimed at the downfall of the founder of Detroit.

In one suit against Cadillac he was charged with transcending his authority and exercising petty tyranny. He was tried in the autumn of 1705 before Governor General Vaudreuil and the intendant of the king. He was acquitted and asked permission to at once return to Detroit. His request was denied, and on some pretence or another, he was detained at Montreal. In the meantime Captain Tonty, who had done much to in-

jure Cadillac, was in command of the post at Detroit. Impatient at the delay, Cadillac appealed to the colonial minister at Paris and by the next vessel received instructions to appear before Count Pontchartrain at Quebec. At the earnest solicitation of Cadillac, M. Tonty was removed from his post as acting commandant, M. Bourmont being temporarily placed in command. On September 25, 1705, M. La Forest was made second in command at Detroit, much to the discomfiture of the treacherous Tonty.

Actuated, possibly by a fear of results of an investigation by Pontchartrain, Governor General de Vaudreuil granted Cadillac the long delayed permission to return to Detroit, but the Chevalier determined to have a full and thorough investigation of the charges against him, and refused to go to Detroit until after he had laid his case before Count Pontchartrain. The latter who had always been a staunch supporter of Cadillac met the Chevalier at Quebec, with bitter reproaches for the failure to carry out the count's plans regarding Detroit. These reproaches were met by Cadillac with a demand for a patient hearing, at the end of which he was completely vindicated in the eyes of Count Pontchartrain, who was highly indignant at the manner in which his orders had been openly disobeyed or ignored by the governor general. During this memorable interview with Count Pontchartrain Cadillac did not hesitate to speak his mind. Regarding the Company of the Colony of Canada the count said: "It was impossible to avoid giving the commerce of Detroit to the company; they promised to use every effort to make it a success."

"If you had known them as I do," replied Cadillac, "you would have hoped for nothing from them. The company is more knavish and chimerical than any ever organized. I would as soon see Harlequin emperor of the moon. It is they who have upset my plans by unitedly and secretly opposing your intentions; being slyly aided by the Jesuits."

The Chevalier informed the count that the Indian villages in the immediate vicinity of the fort contained two thousand souls and that he had four hundred good men under him, bearing arms. He said he hardly knew how he had managed to have the savages settle at Detroit, but had done so without expending a single sou of the king's money, and this, in spite of the united attempts made to prevent the Indians from trading at Detroit.

Upon being informed that the peace with the Iroquois was so satisfactory to that nation that thirty families of the tribe had settled at Detroit, and when placed in possession of the facts regarding the conspiracies against the post by those high in authority in Canada, Count Pontchartrain said: "I can no longer doubt that everything in this country is managed by intrigue and faction." Speaking of Cadillac's intercepted letters to the count, which had boldly been made public in Canada, Pontchartrain emphatically remarked: "It is not difficult to understand that this would enable your personal enemies, and those opposed to the establishment, to use all their influence against you. I recollect that in your letters you informed me of their true character, and their reasons, public and private, for opposing your plans. Their opposition seems to have arisen from motives of individual interest, and the hatred they bear you; and this hatred seems to have increased in proportion to your

success. I fear that, although the Iroquois hold in respect the fortifications at Detroit, these designing men will induce other tribes than those settled at Detroit to make war upon the Iroquois, and thus bring about the destruction of that post, which, according to the best of my knowledge, is not well garrisoned."

"No doubt there is danger to be apprehended in that direction," answered Cadillac, "and I thank you for the justice you are disposed to do me in thus penetrating the designs of my enemies."

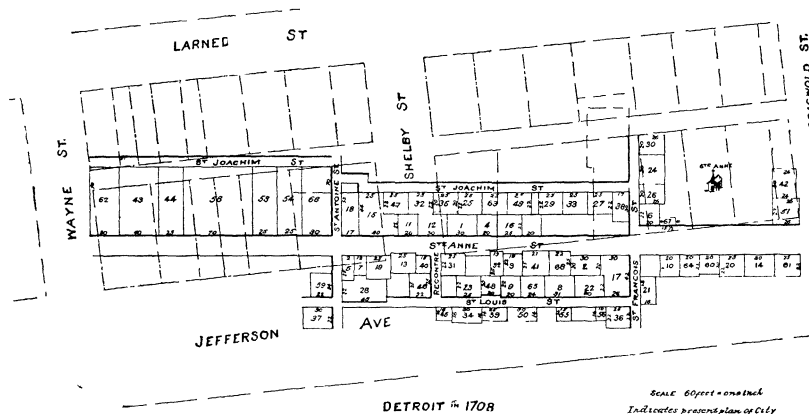
Cadillac proved to the satisfaction of Count Pontchartrain that the goods the commissioners and Tonty traded for furs were stolen from the warehouse of the company, and that, as a result, the company had been defrauded out of at least one hundred and eighteen packs of valuable furs, worth about fourteen thousand francs. The commandant then entered into a long and full account of petty annoyances and even serious interference by the commissioners with his authority, as commanding officer at the post, which caused him to place under arrest the commissioners of the company. At the conclusion of the interview, Pontchartrain told Cadillac that he had done all an honest man and faithful officer could, and promised that an end would be put to the annoyances to which the commandant had been subjected.

Bourmont, who, at Cadillac's request, had been made commandant at Detroit during the Chevalier's absence, though a good officer lacked the experience and tact possessed by Cadillac in dealing with the Indians, and when the Chevalier returned to his post in 1706 he found that serious clashes between the savages and the whites had occurred; which resulted in the killing of Father de Halle, the Recollet priest whose piety and gentleness had made him greatly beloved by most of the savages, and all of the whites.

It was developed that Tonty, instead of being punished by the Colony Company, had been sent back to Detroit to secretly work against Cadillac among the Indians and was given a pension of six thousand francs a year for this service. He sent his wife back to Montreal to make it appear that the post at Detroit was to be abandoned. Cadillac found that in the corruption of the Indians and in the attacks made by other tribes upon those who had settled at Detroit, brandy had not been spared. Vincennes, a junior officer, had opened a public house at Detroit with four hundred quarts of brandy and was acting as precursor of M. Louvigny, major of Quebec, and of M. Vincelot, who was sent to Detroit to procure evidence against Cadillac. In 1702 war having been declared against France by England and Holland, the English at Albany invited the Indian nations in the vicinity of Detroit to visit Albany, and a number of the chiefs of the Ottawas accepted the invitation. They returned to Detroit disaffected toward the French, having been induced to believe that the post at Detroit had been established for the purpose of effecting their subjugation.

By the exercise of good judgment, free distribution of presents, and other exhibitions of good will, the Chevalier succeeded in restoring a semblance of the amicable relations which had existed between the savages and the French. This did not last long, as the Hurons, Ouyatanans, and some of the Miamis were determined to continue the war against

the Ottawas. It was with great difficulty that Cadillac restrained them in the fall of 1706, by advising an expedition against the Ottawas in the spring of 1707. He wrote very plainly to Governor General Vaudreuil advocating the capture and execution of Le Pesant, the Ottawa chief at Michilimackinac who had been the leader in the disturbance which led to the killing of Father de Halle, and the attack upon the Hurons. In this letter Cadillac said: "This outbreak is no sudden freak; and if the savages have become so seriously disaffected, as present appearances would indicate, no doubt the cause may be imputed to my unjust detention at Quebec by your order, in consequence of a well connected series of charges preferred against me by the Company of the Colony. I am aware that at first you might have believed me guilty; but after I had been acquitted by the intendant I had the honor to request, with all possible earnestness, your permission to return to the post to which I was appointed by the king, not having been the choice of any governor; but you



PLAN FROM CONVEYANCES OF CADILLAC
(MADE IN 1707 AND 1708)

refused to grant my request. I must believe you had good reasons for so doing, though I have not the honor of knowing them.

"Why is it that since last January each soldier has been allowed three sous a day for food? This has not been the case before in ten years. Why does not the intendant feed these troops as well as he does those at Quebec?"

The situation was so serious that de Vaudreuil was compelled to listen to the advice of Cadillac. He caused the principal chiefs of the Ottawas to appear before him at Quebec. He strengthened Cadillac's hands by ordering Jean La Blanc and others to report to Cadillac, who was given the power to deal with them as he saw fit. Obedient to these orders, La Blanc, Kinonge, Meaninan and Menekoumak, four principal chiefs of the Ottawas, returned to Detroit where a great council was convened August 6th, which continued from day to day until August 10th. As a result, the Ottawa chiefs promised to either surrender Le Pesant, or execute him in his village and bring his head to Detroit. Le Pesant was

finally surrendered to the Chevalier, who afterward, as a matter of policy in dealing with the Ottawas, pardoned the aged chief. This angered the Miamis, who demanded the death of Le Pesant and charged Cadillac with a breach of faith. They killed three Frenchmen and created other disturbances. The Hurons and Iroquois raised war parties to attack the French. Cadillac, always desirous of increasing the force at Detroit, asked the governor general for more troops and a better fort, both of which were necessary to protect the colony at Fort Pontchartrain. This new danger from an unexpected source caused Cadillac to effect a treaty of peace with the Miamis. This treaty was, however, soon violated, and the Chevalier marched against them with a large force and compelled them to offer terms of submission.

Intrigue was still at work against the founder of the city of the straits and in a letter to Count Pontchartrain dated Detroit, September 15, 1708, a summary of which is still preserved in the colonial archives at Paris, the Chevalier complained that the Jesuits were so much opposed to the establishment at Detroit that "they must either leave, or he will abandon the fort; demanding, however, that the government should indemnify him if he should leave." He advocated the construction of a canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario through a passage with which he was acquainted and the abandonment and destruction of Fort Frontenac; this defense to be replaced by a new fort twenty-five leagues further down at a place La Galette, which would be an excellent depot between Montreal and Detroit.

For awhile the fate of Detroit hung in the balance. M. d'Aigrement, who had been sent by Governor General Vaudreuil to inspect the posts on the lakes, reported adversely as to Detroit, saying the land was worthless, the Indians dissatisfied and Cadillac tyrannical and grasping, citing as one instance his building of a windmill at which all grain used in the colony must be ground, and for which a heavy toll was demanded. The Chevalier was also accused of levying heavy feudal taxes upon the colonists. M. d'Aigrement said the maintenance of Fort Pontchartrain would be prejudiced to Canada, and concluded his report with great praises of Michilimackinac.

In spite of all these handicaps Detroit continued to grow in importance as a trading center with the savages. With dogged perseverance Cadillac hung on, extending his domain and constantly bringing in new people from France. The influences arrayed against him, however, proved too powerful for even his good friends in France, and in 1710 Lieutenant Charles Regnault Dubuisson arrived at Detroit from Quebec, bearing dispatches relieving Cadillac of his command at Detroit and appointing him governor of Louisiana. M. de la Forest, who was second in command under Bourmont while Cadillac was detained at Quebec, was named as the Chevalier's successor, but as he "was an old man, feeble and infirm, having spent thirty-two years in the wilderness," Dubuisson was authorized to serve temporarily in his stead.

Cadillac's faith in the future of Detroit had been supreme and during the ten years he had been in power at this post, all his accumulations had been invested in land and buildings. Thus to be peremptorily removed from his command, even though he was made governor of Louisi-

ana, was a severe blow to him; but a more severe strain upon his loyalty to his superiors was the fact that he could realize nothing upon his investments, as he was enjoined from disposing of them in any manner, and was even prevented from removing the supplies and stock he had purchased with his own money. To appreciate how severe this was upon the deposed commandant, it is only necessary to say his estate was estimated to be worth upward of one hundred and twenty-two thousand livres (about \$24,400). At the time of his deposition, he was the owner of four hundred arpents of land, a grist mill, brewery, ice house, warehouse, dwelling and barns. Embittered at the success of his enemies, there passed out of the life of Detroit the man whose foresight comprehended something of its future greatness, and whose courage and ability left its imprint upon the history of the fair city for all time to come *

* After Cadillac served as governor of Louisiana for a few years, he returned to France, and during the height of the John Law furor in Paris he told the people that the John Law scheme was a swindle. For his plain talk Cadillac was arrested and thrown into the Bastille. After some months of imprisonment he was liberated, but was never tried. Later in life he was appointed governor of Castell-Sarrazin, in the southern part of France, and died there October 18, 1730. He never recovered his losses at Detroit, but the state of Massachusetts gave to his granddaughter, Madam Gregoire, his old land grant at Bar Harbor, after the close of the War of the Revolution.

During the command of Cadillac he sent repeated reports of Detroit—its inhabitants—its troubles—improvements and, in fact, everything regarding the times, but no such enterprising commandant succeeded him, and many things are left in obscurity.

CHAPTER V

ILL SUCCESS OF ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS INCREASES THE ATTRACTION OF THE FRENCH IN THE EYES OF THE INDIANS—IROQUOIS MAKE OVERTURES TO THE FRENCH AT QUEBEC—DETROIT ATTACKED BY SAC AND FOX INDIANS—REESTABLISHMENT OF MICHILIMACKINAC—M. TONTY GIVEN CONTROL OF TRADE AT DETROIT BEGINS A SEVEN-YEARS' REIGN OF MISMANAGEMENT AND IS REMOVED FROM OFFICE IN 1724—CHANGE OF SENTIMENT AT QUEBEC TOWARD DETROIT—IMPORTANCE OF THE POST FINALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT—SETTLERS ATTRACTED TO THE PLACE—ROBERT NAVARRE APPOINTED SUB-DELEGATE AND ROYAL NOTARY.

In the early part of 1710 the British determined upon the subjugation of New France as the only way to end the war in America. Port Royal was captured by the English, but other expeditions, including one against Quebec, ended disastrously for the British. This enhanced the attractions of the French in the eyes of the savages, and the Iroquois made overtures for a treaty of peace sending a number of chiefs to Quebec to assure Governor General Vaudreuil of their sincere attachment. They met with a cool reception, but were afterward dismissed with numerous presents. The Outagamies, who had not been heard from for a number of years, made their appearance shortly after the visits of the Iroquois to Quebec. They formed an alliance with the five nations, and, being won over by the English, promised to surprise Detroit and deliver it into their hands.

Early in May, 1712, a large party of the Outagamies stealthily approached Detroit and threw up entrenchments about fifty paces from Fort Pontchartrain, then commanded by M. Dubuisson and garrisoned by only fifty men. The Hurons and Ottawas, the most reliable allies of the French, had not returned to Detroit from their winter hunt. Frequent sallies against the fort were made by the savages, and the garrison was kept in a state of suspense and alarm. The church, storehouse, and other buildings outside of the fort, and so close as to endanger the post if set on fire, were pulled down by order of the commandant. At a time when the little garrison was worn out with watching and fighting the situation was suddenly changed by the return from their hunts, of the Ottawas and Hurons who, in turn besieged the invading redmen, their hereditary enemies. The siege lasted nineteen days, the firing being kept up day and night. Exhausted and suffering from hunger and thirst, the Outagamies and Mascoutins (Sacs and Foxes) manifested a

desire to capitulate. A council was held under a flag of truce, but as no satisfactory arrangement could be made, hostilities were resumed. At last, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, the invading savages retired from their position before Fort Pontchartrain, retreating to Presque Isle, twelve miles above Detroit. They were followed thither by the French allies and were obliged to surrender at discretion. No quarter was given; all the men were killed and the women and children made captives. The Hurons and Ottawas returned to Detroit with their captives and amused themselves by shooting four or five a day. Not one was spared. Nearly one thousand of the invaders were slain.

Instead of subduing the Sacs and Foxes, the severe chastisement given in 1712 by the French and their allies only served to exasperate them. Their scouting parties infested every avenue of communication between distant posts, robbing and murdering the traders. Their bush warfare was so successful that the Sioux were induced to form an open alliance with them, and they were secretly encouraged by the Iroquois. The situation was so serious as to threaten a general uprising of the Indians against the French whose affairs had been badly managed at most of the posts and M. Vaudreuil resolved upon the utter extermination of the Outagamies. An expedition of eight hundred men, under command of M. Louvigny, started for the Outagamie country in 1716. The savages were entrenched within a fort of palisades. Fire was opened on the fort with cannon brought by the French. After a few days' siege the Outagamies, numbering five hundred warriors and nearly three thousand women and children, offered to capitulate, but the terms were not satisfactory to the French and the attack upon the Indian stronghold was renewed. At last the redmen surrendered and placed in the hands of the French, six sons of six of the principal chiefs. These were taken to Montreal, as an evidence that a deputation of Indians would be sent there the following year to ratify the treaty of peace.

So many people had left Detroit when Cadillac was removed that Dubuisson determined to decrease the size of the enclosure. For this purpose he divided the town in nearly equal parts, and built a new palisade in such a form as to exclude half of the old village from the protection of the garrison. The town had originally included the land measured along the line of the present Jefferson avenue, from the line of Griswold street to Wayne street. There could be no further extension in a westerly direction, for from here the road, if projected, would intersect the high embankment and the river beyond. All extensions then must have been in an easterly direction, towards Woodward avenue. Ste. Anne's church always occupied the site just west of the crossing of Griswold street and Jefferson avenue.

The division of the village was in such a form that the church and the dwellings in its immediate neighborhood was excluded from the palisades—that is, the new picket line was run north and south at such a distance west of the present Griswold street, that the portion of the village east of this picket line was left exposed and unprotected.

A meeting of the citizens was called and a protest made against this act of the commandant. A remonstrance made by many of the foremost men of the village was drawn up, signed and sent to Cadillac, and an

earnest protest was made by the village priest, which was also forwarded to Cadillac. The old commandant could do nothing for his people. The attention of the people was soon diverted to more important events. The decrease in population of the village was one thing that encouraged the Fox Indians to attack it for the purpose of destroying the settlement and driving off the French. The Foxes drew near the post and established a fort of their own on the summit of the hill where now stands the Moffat building, and opened an attack on the French. The details of the siege before mentioned are long and bloody.*

This attack upon Detroit by the Sacs and Foxes and the exodus of settlers following the recall of Cadillac were used by Father Marest as arguments for the rehabilitation of Fort Michilimackinac. His persistency finally won, and a commandant and garrison were sent thither much to the joy of the northern Jesuits who had never wholly lost the great influence they had over the savages. These priests were zealous, fearless and perfectly fair in their dealings with the savages, and it was a rare thing to hear one of them accused of having "a forked tongue."

In 1717 Alphonse de Tonty arrived in Detroit to fill his first term as commandant. He had been in Detroit as second in command, since its foundation. He was in straitened circumstances and gave a bill of sale of his prospective income from the trade of Detroit to Francois La Marque and Louis Gastineau. These men associated with them three others, and the five men tried to prevent the other citizens from trading at or near Detroit. The place was deteriorating anyway, but such action drove it down hill still faster. Under former customs an annual fair was held in Detroit, lasting for several days. All the streets were filled with shops of goods, open for sale to the Indians, and they came in great numbers and bought, sometimes of one trader, and sometimes of another, as they were best suited and found the best bargains. Now all this was changed. The new proprietors of the trade only permitted one store to be opened for all trading. There was no competition. The Indians were not invited by the display, to make any more of the annual fair than of any other day and they soon ceased to come at stated times to do their trading. They had thought a good deal of Tonty and it was party at their request that he had received his appointment. Now they were disappointed with him and asked for his recall.

Complaints were lodged against him, both by the citizens and Indians. To answer these charges Tonty went to Quebec and Picoté de Belestre was placed in command of Detroit during his absence. Tonty returned to Detroit without having accomplished much, but with a new enemy, for he had visited the home of Ramezay, the major of Quebec, and was there publicly insulted by Ramezay's daughter, who accused him of bringing misfortune on her father. Such an affair as this was of great importance in the upper circles of French society of the time and portended no good to Tonty. In the year 1724 Tonty was again summoned to Quebec to answer charges made against him by LaMarque who had purchased some rights from Cadillac at Detroit and wanted to visit the place but was prevented by Tonty.*

* Burton's "Early Detroit."

While he was absent on this matter, the prominent citizens of Detroit, Pierre Chesne, Henry Campau, Louis Campau, Jacob de Marsac, Jacques de Gaudefroy, and many others, drew up a paper protesting against the rule of Tonty and demanding his recall. They said he was old and had lost all of his spirit. The Huron Indians also threatened to leave their village near the post, and establish themselves at the Maumee river unless they had another commandant. The threat of the Indians had a greater effect than the protest of the citizens, for if they moved to the Maumee (now Toledo, O.) the trade would immediately go to the English and that would not only ruin Detroit, but the whole country, as far as the French interests were concerned.

The French government did not properly sustain the post at Detroit at that time. The Company of the Colony only wanted the country retained because of the fur trade, but that trade could not be fostered unless the English traders could be kept out of the territory. The French could not comprehend this fact then, though they saw it afterward, when it was too late. The place was falling into gradual decay because of this neglect. The historian, Charlevoix, visited it in 1721, and then noted that it had an appearance of being deserted and abandoned. He writes as follows regarding it: "It is a long time since the importance of the place, still more the beauty of the country about the straits, has given ground to wish that some considerable settlements were made in this place. This has been tolerably well begun some fifteen years since, but certain causes of which I am not informed, have reduced it to almost nothing. Those who are against it allege, first, that it would bring the trade for the northern furs too near the English, who as they are able to afford their commodities to the Indians cheaper than we, would draw all that trade into the province of New York. Secondly, that the lands near the straits are not fertile, and that the whole surface to the depth of nine or ten inches consists of sand, below which is hard clay, impenetrable to the water; from which it happens that the plains and interior parts of the woods are always drowned; that everywhere you see nothing but diminutive, ill-grown oaks and hard walnut trees, and that the trees having roots always under water, their fruits ripen very late. These reasons have not been unanswered; it is true that in the neighborhood of Fort Pontchartrain the lands have a mixture of sand, and that in the neighboring forests there are bottoms almost constantly under water; however, these very lands have produced wheat eighteen years successively without the least manure, and you have no great way to go to find the finest soil in the world. With respect to woods, without going a great way from the fort, I have seen, as I have been walking, such as may vie with our noblest forests." This tribute of Charlevoix could not attract new settlers when the government itself was unwilling to encourage them to come. The land titles that had been granted by Cadillac had been canceled and no new grants were made.

Tonty again visited Quebec in 1727, to welcome the entrance of the new governor, Beauharnois, but he did not make a favorable impression on the governor, and when the complaints of the Indians were received, Tonty was removed from his command. Beauharnois told the Indians that Tonty's term would expire in the spring of 1728. Tonty, broken-

hearted at the result, returned to Detroit, there to end his days while he still held the office of commandant. He died November 10, 1727. Belestre, who had temporarily been in command in 1721-2, also died at Detroit October 9, 1729.

The next to command the post was Jean Baptiste de St. Ours, Sieur Deschaillons, who was appointed in 1728, but he only remained a short time as he feared to lose his chances of promotion in the army if he settled down at the post as commandant.

In the spring of 1730, Louis Henry Deschamps, Sieur de Boishebert, became commandant, and retained the office for three years, the usual term. He died at Montreal June 6, 1736. There was a slight improvement at Detroit during his term of office. It was merely a start, but it continued to advance during the term of office of his successor, Ives Jacques Pean, Sieur de Livaudiere, which extended from 1733 to 1736.* In the year 1735, Pean reported that there were between 1,300 and 1,400 minots (bushels) of wheat raised at Detroit, and that the price had fallen to three livres (about sixty cents) per minot. Some of this wheat could be exported. The usual exports from the country were only furs and maple sugar. In 1734 the village had become of sufficient importance to be recognized by the appointment of a subdelegate and royal notary. Robert Navarre, of royal blood and only eighth removed from the throne of France, was appointed to that office. He was in Detroit before that time and married Marie Barrios Lothman, February 10, 1734. His office was of more than usual importance, for the public records which were begun at this time, were kept by the notary and it was to him that every couple, before their marriage, went to have drawn and placed on record, the marriage contract which always preceded the church wedding. Before that, all records were kept at St. Anne's church, the first baptism shown on the church records being that of a child of Cadillac. This record shows the names of five of Cadillac's children baptized as follows: Marie Therese, February 2, 1704; Jean Antoine, January 19, 1707 (died April 9, 1709); Marie Agathe, December 29, 1707; Francois, March 28, 1709; and Rene Louis, March 18, 1710 (died October 7, 1714).

Navarre, a man of the highest character, endeared himself to the people by his gentle manners and strict integrity. He acted as justice, notary, surveyor, collector and subdelegate until the end of the French rule in 1760. He was retained by the British in his office for many years, and was in the confidence of the French community until his death November 21, 1791. His life and the many incidents of self-sacrificing kindness and generosity on his part, form one of the brightest parts of the history of Detroit.

A change of sentiment toward Detroit on the part of the Quebec government now became noticeable and was strongly manifested in 1737, when Hocquart, the intendant at Quebec, advocated increasing the garrison from seventeen to sixty men with proper officers. Nicholas Desnoyelles, who had been selected by Governor Beauharnois, was acting commandant. The appointment was, however, a prerogative of Paris and not

* C. M. Burton's "Early Detroit."

of the Quebec government, and the king refused to confirm the appointment. In ignorance of the king's veto, Desnoyelles served out his entire term of three years from 1736 to 1739, before he was informed of his rejection. He was a warm friend of Verandy, the explorer, having accompanied him on several expeditions, and went west with him on a trip in 1744.

The general situation in Detroit, from this period to the end of the French control in 1760, can best be described in the language of C. M. Burton, than whom there lives no better informed man with regard to the history of the fair City of the Straits.

"When it became known in 1738 that the king would not appoint Desnoyelles," says Mr. Burton, "the office was given to Pierre Jacques Payan de Noyan, sieur de Charvis, but he did not go to Detroit until 1739. De Noyan was a member of the Le Moyne (or Le Moine) family which gave so many important men to early Canada. Ten famous sons of Charles Le Moyne have left their names indelibly impressed upon the pages of the history of Canada and Louisiana. There was one daughter, Catherine Jeanne, who married Pierre Payan, sieur de Noyan, and the commandant at Detroit was the son of this daughter. He held that office from 1739 to 1742 and brought his family to Detroit. His son, Pierre Louis, was born here December 10, 1741. The father subsequently became major and governor of Montreal.

"The village of Detroit and the adjacent settlement were now increasingly its entire length, were being taken up by farmers and placed in a state of cultivation. Every farm had a narrow frontage on the river. Only a few acres were cultivated, but a log house was built and an orchard planted. There was a road along the front as close to the river as possible. During the wet seasons of the year this road was impassible and then the neighbors communicated by boats on the river; for every family had a canoe. The people had cattle, sheep and horses. The latter were originally brought from France. There is no evidence that the Indians, in this part of the country, had any ponies before the coming of the Europeans. Mention is made of the one horse, Colon, which Cadillac had in the village at the time of his command, as the only equine in the country.

"The farms were all very narrow and each fronted on the river. There was a two-fold reason for this way of dividing the country. Every farm had its own water right and the dryest season never prevented a supply of water for necessary purposes. The farms were so narrow, and the houses on them so near to each other, that in case of danger, each house could signal to the next one without much delay or trouble. The farms were from forty to eighty arpents in depth. The French arpent, as a measure of distance, was 192.75 English feet, so that the depth of the farms was from one and one-half to three miles. The lands in the country in the rear of these river farms was never granted, either by the French or British governments. The first grant of any considerable size was that made by the United States to Michigan territory in 1806 of the ten thousand-acre tract, now partly in the city of Detroit.

"One of the most famous of Detroit's commandants was Pierre Joseph Celoron, sieur de Blainville, chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis.

He served as commandant from 1742 to 1744 and from 1750 to 1753. During the interval from 1744 to 1750 he was engaged in important affairs for his government. One of the most important of his works during this time, and the one for which he is most generally known, was the planting of lead plates along the Ohio river in the year 1749 as an indication of the claims of France to that country. This work preceded the French-Indian war and the claims set up by France at that time were followed by aggressive action that resulted in the English not only driving the French from Ohio, but in taking Canada from them and converting it into an English possession. Paul Joseph Le Moine, chevalier de Longueuil was commandant from 1744 to 1748.

"During Celoron's second term, the governor of Canada offered, as an inducement to people to settle at Detroit, to assist them with articles necessary to sustain them for two or three years. Each head of a family was given a farm, of the usual size, rations for the members from the military stores, tools and implements of husbandry. Many families came up and settled here under these inducements, and yet the plan was not very popular. The materials furnished these farmers in the way of tools and stock were not gifts but loans, and were expected to be repaid when the people became permanently settled. A full list of these emigrants has been preserved containing the names of fifty-four heads of families. Many of the newcomers were young men without wives, and young women were so scarce that Celoron wrote to ask for girls to become wives to the young farmers. Many of Celoron's children were born in Detroit. One of his daughters, Marie Madeleine, became a member of the order of Grey Nuns of Montreal, and in 1777 his widow became a member of the same order under the name of Sister Marie Catherine Eury Laperelle. She died in Montreal, November 4, 1797. One of the islands in Detroit river is named in honor of this commandant, Celoron.

"Jacques Pierre Daneau, sieur de Muy, was commandant until his death, May 18, 1758, when the command fell upon the second officer, Jean Baptiste Henry Beranger. This command was only temporary and the last French officer to hold that position, Francois Marie Picoté, sieur de Belestre, came in 1758 and remained until he was carried away a prisoner of the English in 1760.

"The village and country had grown in population to such an extent that it furnished one hundred militia to assist in the war with England. This body marched to Niagara, only to learn, as they approached that place, that they were too late and that the fort there had already been capitulated. They immediately turned and marched back to Detroit.

"Belestre was a son of the man by the same name, who was in Detroit during the time of Tonty and who died there in 1729. His mother had been the widow of Jean Cuillerier, and he was therefore closely related to the Cuillerier or Beaubien family. He was a capable and energetic officer, taking part in many of the important military affairs of Canada, leading a detachment in the battle of Braddock's defeat and acting as commandant at St. Joseph and other places. After the transfer of Canada to England he occupied important places under the new government and died in Quebec in 1793. To this man, Judge Campbell, of Michigan, in his 'History of Michigan,' pays a fine tribute.

"A few words of a general nature might be said regarding the entire period of French occupancy. There were no Indians there when Cadillac came, for the country was in a neutral zone between the antagonistic Iroquois and Algonquin Indians. The land was entirely uncultivated when the French first came in 1701, and their tillage was so superficial that the soil was never exhausted by them. They could have raised great crops if they had desired, but this was of little use so long as the population was sparse and nearly every family had a farm. Wheat sometimes sold for twenty to twenty-five livres per minot (four to five dollars per bushel, a livre was about twenty cents), and again it sold, as we have seen, for sixty cents; peas, ten to twelve livres; Indian corn, fifteen to eighteen livres; tobacco, forty to fifty sols (cents) per pound; eggs, twenty to twenty-five sols per dozen; onions, five livres per hundred. A cow brought up to one hundred livres (\$20), and a calf thirty livres (\$6). The people sold produce to the Indians, and to a few of the town people, but these were about all the customers they had. None of the people either within or without the village baked their own bread. This work was almost universally done by the public baker, as it is at the present time in many European cities. Occasionally the farmer supplied voyageurs who were passing along the river with goods to the upper posts. Powder, one of the most important articles brought up from below, sold at forty sols per pound, and knives for four livres, ten sols per dozen.

"The trade of the post was, until about 1727, in the hands of the commandant, but this plan resulted in such grievous oppressions that it was thereafter made free. At this time the post had fallen very low and there were only twenty-eight or thirty heads of families left. In that year it was officially proposed that if the owners of the trade licenses would accept five hundred livres for their rights, and give up the post, that it would be abandoned and destroyed. 'We shall have a post,' the report states, 'abandoned, three hundred leagues from Montreal, with no provision made for the garrison, the maintenance of which will fall on the king again, contrary to his will.'

"Besides the notarial records kept by Navarre, which have recently been found, the records of the Church of Ste. Anne contain the most authentic information regarding the growth of the place. The following statistics are compiled from the church records. The Church of Ste. Anne was first built in 1701 and destroyed by fire in 1703. Possibly these records contain the announcement of the birth of a child to Madam Cadillac, but that was the only event of the kind that occurred in the two years. The records since 1704 are complete.

Years	Baptisms	Marriages	Deaths
1700 to 1710	94	3	13
1720	43	7	15
1730	106	16	44
1740	156	27	73
1750	236	24	114
1760	363	70	216
1770	351	80	217

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Years	Baptisms	Marriages	Deaths
1780	476	60	182
1790	551	80	219
1800	914	167	367
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Total	3,290	534	1,460

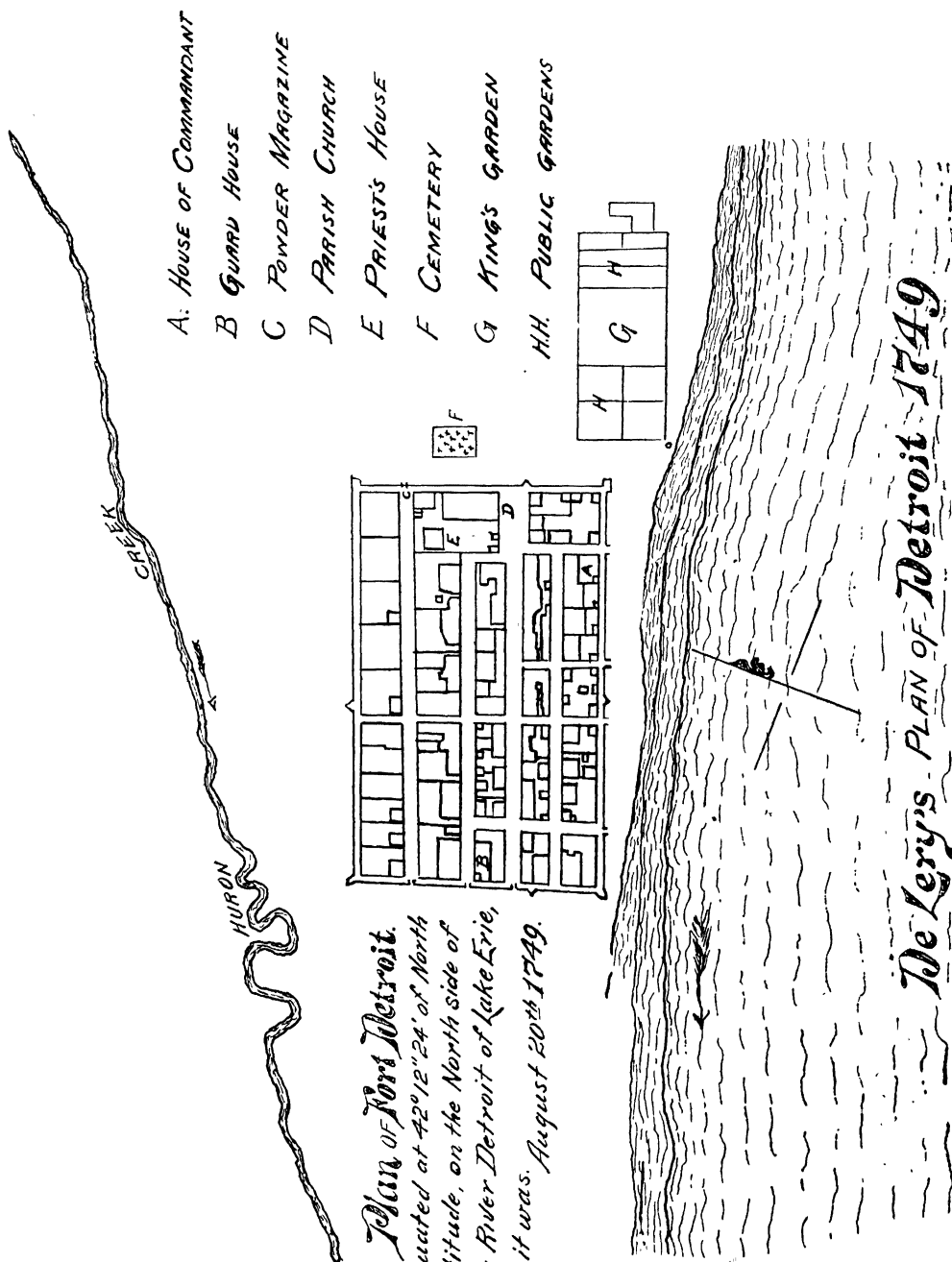
“After 1760 all Catholics, English as well as French, attended this church and there were many Protestants married and baptized there, it being the only church organization.”

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN WARS—FRENCH HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING SAVAGE ALLIES—ENGLISH COMPETITION FOR FUR TRADE VERY KEEN—AGRICULTURE ALMOST ENTIRELY ABANDONED FOR THE CHASE, AND TRADING WITH THE INDIANS—COUREUR DE BOIS, RECKLESS RANGERS OF THE FOREST, SEMI-SAVAGE AND FEARLESS, FORM AN ELEMENT OF DISCONTENT IN NEW FRANCE, IGNORING THE COLONY COMPANY'S REGULATIONS AS TO EXCLUSIVE TRADE—SENECAS AND IROQUOIS CONTINUALLY HARASS THE HURONS AND OTTAWAS—THE TEN YEARS' WAR, WHICH ENDED THE BRITISH CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE NORTHWEST—SURRENDER OF DETROIT.

Looking back to the period when the redmen ruled the forests, it seems to us of the present day most romantic and picturesque, but to those who, when they entered the wilderness, took their lives in their hands, existence was a grim struggle, lightened, in the case of the *coureur de bois*, with occasional debauchery. Most picturesque were these underbrushes of civilization. Their attire was semi-barbaric, being composed of leathern jerkins and breeches fantastically embroidered with beads or porcupine quills. Moccasins were used as footwear, and their caps were usually of coon, fox or otter skins with tails attached. Crimson sashes tied around their waists, into which were thrust their hunting knives, generally encased in silver sheaths. Often on the other side, handy for the right hand, were carried the tomahawk of the Indian, or the short-handled axe of the woodman and hunter. The manners and mode of life of the *coureur de bois* were those of the savages among whom they lived as they flitted from place to place, and against some of whom they waged savage and relentless warfare. They paid little heed to the laws of either the French or British, and were many times to be found aiding and advising the Indians in their sanguine encounters with the whites which have crimsoned the pages of history. They were, as a rule, loyal friends of the Jesuits who had great influence with them, and whom they often served with self-sacrificing heroism. These fearless wanderers were, with the zealous and courageous priests, the blazers of the way for civilization in the wilderness.

The *coureur de bois* ignored the regulations made by the Company of the Colony at Detroit regarding trade with the Indians, and, penetrating the forests and wandering over the prairies, united trapping with trading, finding a ready market for their goods at Montreal, Quebec, and, when they were so minded, at Orange, the trading headquarters of



the British. The latter encouraged the nomads, but they, as a rule, had the strong racial clannishness of the French and preferred to deal with their countrymen. From these rangers of the wilderness came the first mixture of white and Indian blood in New France.

From 1717—when another unsuccessful attack was made on Detroit by the Foxes—until the close of 1724, there was a succession of conflicts with the savages. As soon as one 'bad affair' was settled, another would crop up, and some real or fancied grievance would cause the hatchet to be dug up and war again declared by some tribe upon the French at Detroit. The forts at this post and Michilimackinac were at a low ebb and poorly defended, and to the savages were subjects of contempt rather than terror.* It is impossible to trace a connected chain of events at these points, and only now and then can be found isolated incidents known to be authentic.

On June 7, 1721, M. Tonty, who still commanded Fort Pontchartrain, assembled all the chiefs of the three villages in the vicinity of Detroit—Hurons, Ottawas and Pottawatamies—and communicated to them a request from Governor General Vaudreuil that they give their consent that no more brandy should be sold to the Indians. It was also proposed at this council, that all the nations should unite with the French in a war against the Outagamies, who were again beginning depredations at the outlying posts controlled by the French. These tribes had already driven the Illinois from their hunting grounds on the Mississippi and made dangerous the entire passage to Louisiana.

According to their custom the chiefs required two days to think over the propositions submitted to them. When they reassembled in vast numbers of the council-house, Sasterexy, the great Huron orator, replied to the French in an eloquent speech. Arising in his savage grandeur, Sasterexy quietly scanned the dark faces upturned to his, then turned his gaze upon Commandant Tonty and the French officers and civilians. Drawing himself to his full height, with almost an imperceptible gesture he began his address. He remarked that the French had a perfect right to do as they might think proper about selling brandy to the savages; acknowledged that it would have been far better for them if the French had never taught them to use it. He portrayed in a most vivid manner the many evils it had brought upon the nations who had become so accustomed to it they could not do without it. Hence, he said, it was easy to infer that if the French would not sell them their favorite beverage, they would obtain it from the English. In regard to the war with the Outagamies, he said nothing could be determined without a general council of all the nations which acknowledged the authority of Onontio (Great Father of the French). Perhaps, he stated, that all would be agreed in thinking a war necessary, but they would have great difficulty in placing confidence in the French. He made the statement, in a significant tone, that all would remember that, having once united the nations to exterminate the enemy, the French had granted them peace without even consulting the allies, and without sufficient reason for that action.

With the waning of public interest in France in the scheme for the

* Mrs. Sheldon Stewart's "History of Early Michigan."

exploitation of the valley of the Mississippi, known the world over as the "Mississippi bubble" which financially brought to grief that early Napoleon of finance, John Law, and the adjustment of the difficulties with the Outagamies there was ushered in, for Detroit, a period of comparative tranquility; and from this time until 1760, when the post fell into the hands of the British who were given control of the entire northwest, no serious calamity befell Detroit. As the post grew and settlers increased, the stockade which enclosed the town was enlarged until within its protecting shelter there nestled, closely huddled together one hundred houses thatched with straw. The new stockade was formed of pickets twenty-five feet high, having a wooden bastion at each corner. Above each of the two gateways were erected block houses, and barracks were built for the soldiers upon the spot where the first rude fort was built under the direction of Cadillac in 1701. Near these barracks was the council-house and St. Anne's church, a rude structure of small dimensions.

It appears that the quiet which ensued was irksome to the restless spirits in New France. The French had long been jealous of the rapidly increasing settlements of the English, and had manifested their dislike by subjecting the British to many petty annoyances. In 1746 they and their savage allies made such encroachments upon the property of the English that the British government was aroused. His Majesty, James I., ordered the secretary of state to require all the governors of the English colonies in America to raise a large number of independent troops. Those of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were to be in one corps under the command of the lieutenant governor of Virginia, Brigadier General Gooch. The colonies were to furnish levy money and provisions, and His Majesty was to bear the expense of arming, paying and clothing the soldiers. The army was to be aided by suitable armament sent from Europe, the whole to be under the command of General Sinclair. The object of the British was the entire subjugation of Canada.

On their part, the French made equally extensive preparations, collecting troops, erecting new fortifications, even within the British territory, and doing everything in their power to harass the English.

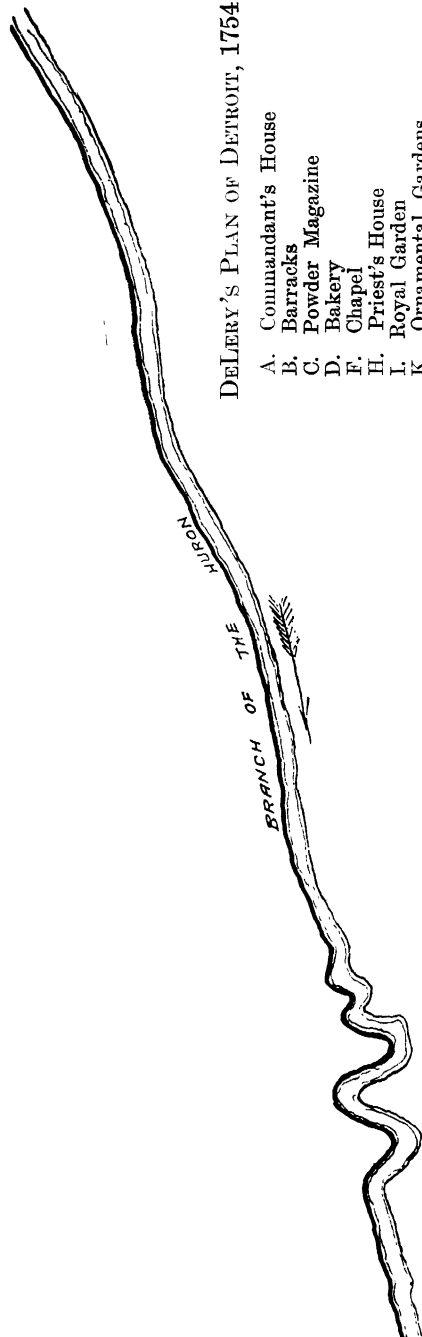
While the commissioners of the two countries were haggling over the claims of each at Paris and arriving at no satisfactory conclusion, the British government received word that a fleet of war ships was about to sail for America from Brest. Admiral Boscawen was ordered to follow with twelve ships of war and watch the movements of the French. Boscawen was reinforced by six ships of the line and a frigate under Admiral Holburne. The French monarch had instructed his ambassador that, should the British show signs of acting on the offensive, intimation was to be immediately given that France would look upon the firing of the first gun as a declaration of war. Admiral Boscawen arrived off Newfoundland and took up his station near Cape Race. Shortly afterward M. Bois de la Mott arrived with the French squadron. Owing to a dense fog the English did not discover the French fleet, but captured two French vessels, the "Alcide" and the "Lys," which had become separated from the remainder of the fleet. Thus commenced the "old French

war," during which the name of George Washington first came into prominence. For ten years the struggle continued, and with the exception of General Braddock's defeat, with great success for the British.

On September 18, 1759, Quebec, "the rock-built citadel of Canada" passed forever out of the hands of the French. Quebec, Niagara, Frontenac, and Crown Point were now in the hands of the English; but Montreal still held out. Early in the year 1760 three divisions of the British army entered Canada. Conquering, as they went, they all converged toward Montreal. All reached that city at the same time. The enfeebled and disheartened garrison of the last stronghold of the French could offer no resistance and on September 8, 1760, Montreal and all its dependencies were surrendered to the British crown. The capitulation included not only the surrender of Montreal and its immediate vicinity, but Detroit, Michilimackinac, and all other portions of Canada and still in the possession of the French.

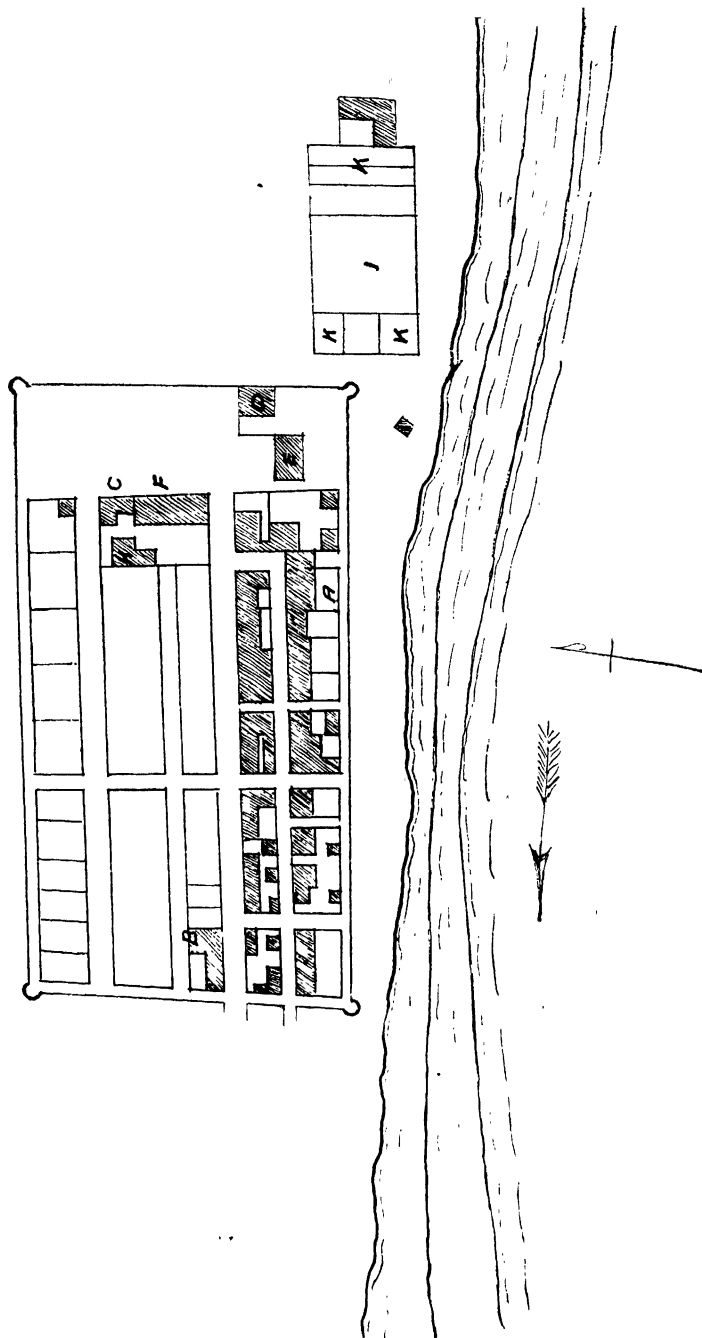
On September 12th Major Rogers, known then as "the Ranger," received orders from General Amherst to advance with a sufficient force and take possession of Detroit, Michilimackinac, and, in fact, the entire northwest, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. During the war waged between England and France in the new world the scene of action was mostly in the east. During the struggle the distant tribes of the territory had continued allies of the French, and as a consequence, Detroit and the other outposts had remained unmolested. So entirely ignorant of the progress of events were the soldiers and even the officers, that Captain Bellestre, commandant at Detroit, disputed with decision the authority by which Major Rogers demanded the surrender of Fort Pontchartrain. So sure was the French officer that the demand for surrender was unwarranted, that he not only placed himself in a hostile attitude, but endeavored to inflame the savages by the erection of an emblematic pole upon the top of which was the effigy of a crow pecking at the head of a man, representing the manner in which the French would treat the English if they continued to advance. At last, becoming satisfied from letters from the French governor general, furnished by Major Rogers, to the effect that the fort must be surrendered, Captain Bellestre, with ill-concealed chagrin, declared his garrison at the disposal of the English officer. Defiling upon the plain in front of the main entrance to the fort, the French garrison laid down their arms. The Canadian militia were called together, disarmed and disbanded. They took the oath of allegiance to the British.

At the end of this ceremony the Fleur-de-Lis, which had for sixty years waved over the little fortress and beneath whose folds had been enacted many stirring scenes which had endeared the banner to the colonists, fluttered in the breeze for the last time as it was lowered, to give place to the red cross of St. George which was hoisted as the symbol of the new ruling power. With a readiness remarkably like that of some of their white brothers from time immemorial, seven hundred Indians who had but a few days before been stanch allies of the French, sent up a shout of exultation, hailed the change of rule with demonstrative joy, and tauntingly signified that the Englishman was the crow and the French officer the victim. The French prisoners of war were sent to



DE LERY'S PLAN OF DETROIT, 1754

- A. Commandant's House
- B. Barracks
- C. Powder Magazine
- D. Bakery
- E. Chapel
- F. Priest's House
- G. Royal Garden
- H. Ornamental Gardens



Philadelphia, but the French inhabitants of Detroit were allowed to retain their farms and homes, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance. The people of Detroit had not taken a very active part in the war then existing between France and England, but a few Americans were prisoners at the post when Rogers came. It might properly be stated, however, that Rogers was the first English-speaking American to visit Detroit as an English possession.

"It has been repeatedly stated," says C. M. Burton, "that the French were a merrymaking people—so much inclined to frivolity and pleasure, that the cares of business made little impression on their minds—that the troubles of the day were laid aside as the night came on, and the evenings were filled with jocularly. They are represented as being simple and innocent—relying upon their priest to settle all their troubles, contented with whatever decision he might make. I believe this idea of Acadian simplicity is entirely wrong and that there was no great difference between the French of 1760 and the French of today.

"The people were strict church goers, but very worldly withal. The courts of Quebec testify to the constant quarrels and law suits that they indulged in, but as Quebec was a long distance away, and as it took a long time to settle a quarrel through the courts, a more primitive method of procedure was generally obtained. When a dispute arose between two parties and no settlement could be arrived at, they chose three arbitrators to determine the matter. The award of the arbitrators was enforced by the citizens, for the person who refused to abide by the determination of the arbitrators, was not permitted to engage in trade, nor was he trusted or associated with by the other citizens. Of necessity he soon came to the conclusion that he must conform to the award in order to live in the community. The military commandant also lent the assistance of his authority to enforce the award, and this he did very harshly sometimes. This method was employed by the English after 1760 and until the establishment of courts, near the end of the British rule.

"The farms in the neighborhood of the village were all owned and cultivated by the Canadians. Most of them also owned houses within the village enclosure, or were so situated that they could remove to the village for protection whenever the savages became troublesome.

"Some writers have claimed that the French farmers were slothful and negligent of their farms and of their crops. I think this is true, but certainly there was no inducement to live otherwise. Each farmer only cultivated a few acres of land, and raised but little more than was necessary to support himself and his family. The village was so small in proportion to the number of farmers, that there was little opportunity to sell the farm products, and there was no inducement to do good farming.

"The exportation of furs was the only business that brought an income to the settlement from abroad. The farmers were also hunters and trappers, and most of them bought furs from the Indians and sold them to the traders in the post. The traders brought from Montreal, powder and lead, brandy and trinkets—beads—fancy dress goods, and little ornaments to please the Indians. These were placed on sale or exchanged for furs. The province of Quebec was organized by proclamation of

King George III. in 1763, but Detroit was not in the lines of that province and was thereafter and until 1774, in the Indian country.

“Within a very few years after the British came they had monopolized the trade in furs and the Canadians were driven either to live on their farms, or to join the Indians in the chase. They did both. Living upon their farms they cultivated a little patch of ground during the summer season, but they left everything to the care of the women and younger children, and took to the woods as soon as the hunting season began. Even during the summer, a large portion of the farm work was done by the women, while the men spent their time fishing, and in associating with the Indians with whom they were on terms of the closest intimacy.”

CHAPTER VII

DISAFFECTION OF THE INDIANS AT THE CHANGE OF RULE INCREASES, DUE TO HAUGHTY TREATMENT BY THE ENGLISH—SAVAGES EXASPERATED BY APPROPRIATION BY THE ENGLISH OF THE CHOICEST HUNTING GROUNDS WITHOUT TREATY OR PURCHASE—PONTIAC, CHIEF OF THE OTTAWAS, PLOTS THE EXTIRPATION OF THE ENGLISH—HIS TREACHERY EXPOSED.

A serious mistake was made by the English when, under the terms of capitulation, they took possession of the great territory of the northwest surrendered by France. Instead of pursuing the policy of conciliation and consideration adopted by the French in dealing with the Indians, they assumed an air of haughty contempt which angered the savages. Their jealous pride wounded, the Indians were still further aggravated by the unjust treatment they too often received at the hands of the rank and file of the conquerors; that is, the traders, trappers and adventurers, operating, hunting and exploring under the protection of the red cross of St. George. The choicest hunting grounds of the Indians were often taken possession of without even the semblance of treaty or purchase.

The Delawares and Senecas were most aggravated by these aggressions, and it must be admitted that every means possible were used by the French to add fuel to the flames of discontent, and hatred of the invaders. A prophet arose amid the Delawares. By his alleged visions and his interpretations thereof, he aroused to fury the savages who had been brooding over their wrongs, but who feared to avenge themselves. In 1761 an abortive attempt was made to destroy the posts along the frontier. During 1762 several outbreaks occurred, but no decisive blow was struck. Very often the *coureur de bois* were found in league with the Indians, with whom they maintained the closest relations of intimacy, often marrying into the tribes.

Major Rogers, a few days after the surrender of New France, under order from General Amherst, left Montreal to take possession of Detroit and Michilimackinac. With two hundred rangers, Rogers started out in whaleboats. Ascending the St. Lawrence, they skirted the north shore of Lake Ontario and arrived at Fort Niagara early in October, 1760. They carried their boats around the great falls and, launching them in the river, continued on to the great lakes. On November 7th they reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga river which now runs through the heart of Cleveland, where they encamped for the winter. No troops had ever before borne the English flag so far beyond the mountains. Soon after

their arrival a party of Indians appeared as an embassy from the red ruler of all that territory. Before night Pontiac, the renowned Ottawa chief, was on the scene in person. Taciturn, haughty, a man of imposing presence, he stood among his braves, and, with his dark eyes alight with anger, demanded to know why Rogers and his men had invaded the country without his permission. Up to this time, the shrewd and powerful Indian had been the faithful ally of the French. Still ambitious and suspicious, but with the craftiness which later led to disastrous warfare, Pontiac, upon being informed that Canada had been surrendered to the French, smoked the pipe of peace. Thus harmony was apparently established.* Protected by the powerful influence of Pontiac, Rogers and his men coasted the northern shore of Lake Erie, ascended the Detroit river, and took possession of Detroit, as heretofore described.

The unrest of the Indians, and their constant depredations in the northwest, became so serious that Sir William Johnson, the English superintendent of the northern Indian tribes, deemed it wise to hold a general council with them, and left Fort Johnson, now Johnstown, New York, for Detroit, July 5, 1761. His son, nephew and a few Oneida and Mohawk Indians, accompanied him. Major Gladwin, with Gage's light infantry, joined Sir William at Niagara, and preceded him to Detroit. Johnson, reinforced by the Royal Americans commanded by Ensigns Slosser and Holmes, and a company of regulars from New York commanded by Lieutenant Ogden, started soon after Gladwin. Arriving at the mouth of the Detroit river September 2nd, the second contingent encamped there for the night, and pushed on to Detroit early on the morning of September 3rd, arriving at that post in the afternoon. They were welcomed by a salute fired from the cannons on the fort. The house formerly occupied by Commandant Bellestre was placed at the disposal of Sir William, being the best dwelling in the place. On Saturday, September 4th, the officers of the fort, among whom was Colonel du Quesne, dined with him. The Indians realizing the importance of the visit of the superintendent with such an imposing force, began to assemble outside the fort. Sir William then began the distributions of presents customary upon such occasions.

Cool and a man of great experience, Sir William did not hasten the convening of the council, knowing, as he did, the deliberative tendency of the stoical red man. On Wednesday, September 9th, he called a general council with the Indians. Seats were arranged on the outside of the council-house, as that building was too small to accommodate all who were present, there being more than five hundred Indians. The cannon announcing the beginning of the ceremonies was fired at ten o'clock in the morning, and the council did not break up until five o'clock in the afternoon.

Peace at last seemed assured and the savages expressed themselves as well pleased at the change of rule, accompanied, as it was, with many specious promises and abundant gifts. Had the English kept faith with the savages and pursued the conciliatory policy of the French, many tragedies which have left a crimson stain upon the pages of history would

* Avery's "History of the United States."

not have occurred. Presents dwindled, and the beautiful spot upon which there was destined to arise one of the finest cities in the United States again became the theater of sanguinary encounters between the savages and the whites, the former fighting to retain their lands and hunting grounds, the latter to retain the domain acquired through conquest. Dissatisfaction continued to spread among the Indians, and this feeling was industriously augmented by Pontiac, the recognized leader of the Indian races in the northwest. To his dignity as chief, he added the sacred character of high priest of the secret order of the Mide. Stimulated with the hope that the English would recognize his power, and place him at the head of a great Indian confederacy, he simulated friendship for Rogers and secured for that officer and his men, safe passage to Detroit. When, however, the English failed to buy his influence, his rage knew no bounds. He thirsted for revenge. Pontiac saw that, if not checked, the English would conquer his race as they had the French; would drive them from their hunting grounds, or make them slaves. In the seclusion of his wigwam, or standing solitary on the shore of Peche Island (Island of the Fishes) where he professed to commune with the "Great Spirit," he matured a plan for the union of all western tribes, and the driving from the country of the hated white invaders.

In pursuance of this plan, Pontiac, as principal chief of the lake tribes, summoned them to council at Ecorse (now a suburb of Detroit) in April, 1763. As "high priest and keeper of the faith," he there announced to the great assemblage of savages the will of the Maker of Life as revealed to the prophet of the Delawares on the Muskingum, and called upon them to unite for the recovery of their lands and the extermination of the English, the conquerors of the French. The assembled chiefs listened eagerly to his plans. Messengers were dispatched with reddened tomahawks and wampum war belts. These were sent to enlist the tribes north of the great lakes and even those of the valley of the Mississippi. All the western posts were to be attacked simultaneously in May, at a certain change of the moon. Each tribe was to dispose of the nearest garrison and all were then to turn their attention to the older settlements and forts, and, with the aid of the French, destroy them. The message sent out by the great Pontiac was to "drive the dogs who wore red into the sea." Avery, in his account of the Pontiac war, says that all through the northwest Indian maidens chanted the war songs of their tribes, while, in the light shed by a hundred camp fires, braves were going through the dramatic pantomime of battle.

The attack upon Detroit was to fall to Pontiac personally. He had established himself, with his wives, at his summer home on Peche Island, near the entrance to Lake St. Clair. As early as March, 1763, Ensign Holmes, the English commander at Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne), informed Major Gladwin that a conspiracy was on foot to capture the fort at Detroit. Henry Gladwin the commandant at Detroit, who had learned something of Indian warfare and characteristics under Braddock and in service at Ticonderoga and Niagara, thought the plot was of little consequence, but forwarded an account of it to General Amherst. The date fixed for the uprising was May 7th. On May 1st Pontiac and forty warriors appeared at the fort and danced the calumet before Major Gladwin

and the officers of the fort. This was done for observation purposes, as it afterward transpired. The garrison at Detroit then consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers, eight officers, and twenty men capable of bearing arms. The battery consisted of one two-pounder, two six-pounders and three mortars. Two armed schooners were at anchor in the river.

Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," gives the following description of Detroit and its surroundings at about this time: "Of all the inland settlements Detroit was the largest and most esteemed. The deep, majestic river, more than half a mile broad, carrying its vast flood calmly and noiselessly between the straight and well-defined banks of its channel, imparted a grandeur to a country whose rising grounds and meadows, plains festooned with wild vines, woodlands, brooks and fountains, were so mingled together that nothing was left to desire. The climate was mild and the air salubrious. Good land abounded, yielding maize, wheat and every vegetable. The forests were natural parks stocked with buffaloes, deer, quail, partridges, and wild turkeys. Water fowl of delicious flavor hovered along its streams, which yielded to the angler an astonishing quantity of fish, especially the white fish, the richest and most luscious of them all. There every luxury of the table might be enjoyed by the sole expense of labor."

It was this peaceful scene Pontiac had determined to transform into one of bloodshed and torture. It was not the fault of the wiley chief that his plan for the capture of the fort miscarried. He was betrayed to the English commandant. There has been a romance woven about the revelation of the conspiracy, which for many years passed current as the truth. Carver, in his tales of travels, states that Catherine, a beautiful Ojibwa maiden who was enamored of the dashing Major Gladwin, took advantage of the excuse given her through making a pair of moccasins for him, to reveal the plot the day before the intended attack. Another account is that William Tucker, a soldier at the fort, who in his infancy, had been stolen from his parents, and adopted into the tribe of his captors, on the same afternoon that Catherine informed Gladwin of the conspiracy, received from his Indian sister the details of the plan to surprise the English. These he communicated to Gladwin who, it would seem, was thus doubly warned. Letters recently discovered, however, have established the fact that it was Angelique Sterling, the wife of a fur trader, who gave the information which enabled the English to foil Pontiac in his sinister designs upon the post. It seems that on a visit to an Ottawa village, the wife of one of the settlers noticed that the Indians were cutting off their gun barrels and making other preparations for a secret move. This so strongly corroborated the other information privately imparted to the commandant that he took steps to head off the attack. On the morning of the seventh of May he had every available man under arms, the cannon loaded and ready for action.

Silently, the Indians gathered about the fort, as if to witness a game of ball, a favorite pastime with the Indians. Underlying the apparent indifference of the savages, the keen eyes of Gladwin, now opened, detected a feverish restlessness. Every white man was under arms. The fur traders closed their stores, and added to the fighting force which now calmly awaited the crisis all expected.

About ten o'clock Pontiac and sixty chiefs marched down the road in Indian file, moving with solemn and stately tread, their faces daubed with paint and their heads fantastically adorned. All were wrapped in blankets beneath which were concealed the rifles, shortened for that purpose. Reaching the eastern gate of the fort, Pontiac, who was in the lead, requested admittance which was readily granted. A glance at his surroundings, when he entered the fort, must have convinced the warriors his plans had been revealed.

"Why do I see so many of my Father's children standing in the street with their guns?" asked the startled Pontiac. Gladwin replied it was to keep them perfect in their military exercises.

The council opened and Pontiac, evidently embarrassed, began his address. A fine description of the dramatic scene is given by Mrs. Sheldon Stewart in her "Early History of Michigan": "At any other time the great Ottawa might have commanded admiration. His tall, majestic form was drawn to its full height, as he spoke of the number and prowess of his braves, and the lightning flashed from his eyes while he rehearsed their deeds of valor. When he spoke of the English, his reverence for their superior knowledge, and his desire to conciliate their favor, the subdued expression, bowed head, and half supplicating gestures were the very personification of graceful, appropriate eloquence. But life and death hung upon a single movement of the treacherous hand which held the sacred emblem of peace, a belt of wampum. With the keenest vigilance was every gesture watched by the officers as they listened to his hollow words. Once Pontiac raised the belt to give the preconcerted signal of attack by offering it upside-down, but the quick eye of Gladwin caught the motion and he passed his hand across his brow. A sudden clash of arms was heard without, the drum rolled the charge, and the rapid tramp of armed men resounded along the street. Pontiac stood in mute astonishment, while Gladwin sat unmoved, with his calm eyes upon the treacherous chief. A few more professions of friendship were stammered out, and the belt was presented in the usual manner. After a pause, Gladwin commenced a brief reply. He assured his savage auditors of the friendship of the English so long as they continued to deserve it, but threatened fearful vengeance for any act of perfidy or aggression."

Stepping forward, he quickly pulled aside the blanket draped around the form of one of the chiefs, revealing the shortened rifle. The gates of the fort, which had been closed during the council, were thrown open and the baffled savages departed. No sooner were they beyond the precincts of the fort than their rage broke forth in the most terrific yells. A small party entered a small isolated house on the commons, in which dwelt an English woman and her two sons, all of whom were massacred. Others reached their canoes and, paddling to Belle Isle, wreaked their vengeance on a retired sergeant and his family. Thus opened the Pontiac war on Detroit. The French people generally got along well with the Indians, but they were afraid of them, and were usually prepared for treachery. The French, or Canadians, remained on their farms outside of the village and few of them were molested by the Indians. They lost their cattle and such things as the Indians could steal or eat, but their lives were spared, while no Englishman dared to expose himself to the fury of the savages for the greater portion of the year that the siege lasted.

CHAPTER VIII

FULL EXTENT OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY NOW APPARENT—HIS CAMP MOVED FROM PECHE ISLAND TO DETROIT SIDE OF THE RIVER ABOVE PARENT'S CREEK—MAJOR CAMPBELL AND LIEUTENANT McDUGALL TREACHEROUSLY LURED INTO THE HANDS OF PONTIAC—MCDUGALL ESCAPES—MURDER OF MAJOR CAMPBELL—REFUSAL OF FRENCH TO AID THE INDIANS CAUSES PONTIAC TO SUE FOR PEACE—A TRUCE IS GRANTED AND DETROIT, UNDER ITS COVER, IS PROVISIONED FOR THE WINTER—APPROACH OF ENGLISH REINFORCEMENTS DISHEARTENS THE SAVAGES AND THE YEAR'S SIEGE OF DETROIT IS RAISED—DEATH OF PONTIAC.

Barbarity characterized the warfare of the Indians whose thirst for blood seemed unquenchable. On the same day Gladwin laid bare the treachery of Pontiac, Sir Robert Davers and two soldiers who were engaged in taking soundings at the head of St. Clair river were captured by the Indians and put to death, and tradition has it that the body of Davers was cooked and eaten by the savages.

On Sunday afternoon, May 8th, Pontiac appeared at the fort with a pipe of peace as a token of his friendship. Gladwin was not to be deceived; he relaxed none of his vigilance, and when, on Monday morning, six chiefs went to the fort, they found the garrison under arms and alert. Later, on the same day, fifty-six canoes, each containing seven and eight warriors, crossed the river from the Canadian side where they had been encamped. The gates of the fort were closed and, through an interpreter, the chiefs were informed that not more than sixty Indians would be admitted at any one time. Pontiac replied that unless all his people were given free access to the fort, none would enter, that the English might hold the fort, but the Indians would hold the country.

Upon the throwing off of the mask by Pontiac, the savages made the forest ring with their fierce war cries; steady rifle fire was opened upon the fort, and upon the armed vessels "Beaver" and "Gladwin" anchored in the river. As a means of getting the Indians from under cover, one of the cannons was loaded with red hot spikes and fired into the buildings in the clearing outside of the fort. These buildings were soon in flames, and the disappointed warriors hastily sought the shelter of the woods.

There was then a lull in hostilities. Pontiac called a council at the house of a French trader named Cullierier.* At this council were French

* Avery's "History of the United States."

settlers. Ottawa, Wyandot, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie chiefs. Under promises that they should return in safety that very night, Major Campbell, highly thought of by both Indians and whites, and Lieutenant McDougall, went to Cullierier's, having been assured it would not be difficult to induce the savages to make terms of peace. At the council Pontiac named the French trader as the commandant at the post until the return of the former French commandant, and informed Campbell and McDougall that, to secure peace, the English must leave the country. Being convinced that the Indians would not alter their impossible proposal, Campbell arose to go, when Pontiac quietly said: "My Father will to-night sleep in the lodges of his red children." Thus went on record another unpardonable act of treachery on the part of the Indian leader. McDougall and Campbell were held prisoners under a strong guard. That they were not put to death was probably due to Pontiac's fear that Gladwin would retaliate on Pottawatamie prisoners held at the fort and thus cause the desertion of that tribe from the great conspiracy.

When the terms of peace proposed by Pontiac, and the knowledge of his latest treachery were communicated to Major Gladwin, he promptly refused to entertain them. The problem he had to face was to hold out until the French and Indians could be convinced that a permanent peace had been made between France and England, and that the French government would not come to their assistance. The major had already, under the cover of darkness, been securing provisions from the settlers on the other side of the river. This was done with the utmost secrecy, and he hurried the schooner "Gladwin" forward to meet the reinforcements and supplies he knew to be under way. On the day after the schooner left, as she lay becalmed at the mouth of the river, a large number of canoes filled with savage warriors put out to her from both sides of the river. In one of them was the gallant Campbell, who was held up in the prow as a shield against the fire of the British. The brave officer cried out to those on the schooner to do their duty, without regard to the effect the shooting might have on him. A fresh breeze sprang up about this time and the "Gladwin" soon left the canoes far in her wake, but the vessel also missed the bateaux carrying the supplies from Niagara, all of which fell into the hands of the Indians, who attacked Lieutenant Cuyler and his force at Point Pelee on Lake Erie, not far from the mouth of the Detroit river. Cuyler and about forty of his men escaped. Those in captivity were killed in relays and for several days "naked corpses slashed with knives and scorched with fire were seen floating down upon the pure waters of Detroit, whose fish rose to the surface to nibble at the clotted blood that clung to their ghastly faces."

During this time forts at Sandusky, Miami, and, in fact, all the frontier defenses west of Fort Pitt, were reported to have been captured by the Indians who had carried out the plan as outlined by Pontiac. Detroit alone stood bravely out, and this further enraged the savage chief. Late in June, 1763, the "Gladwin," which had missed Lieutenant Cuyler, and his boats on Lake Erie came back from Niagara with food ammunition and reinforcements. It also brought news of the signing of the treaty of Paris in the previous February. On the fourth of July, then a date of little significance, Gladwin assembled the French and read to them

the articles of peace, and sent a copy of them across the river to the priest. Thereupon some of the French took service under Gladwin, as, by the treaty their allegiance was transferred from France to Britain, and they were subjects of the English king. A few days before this, Pontiac had sent in another summons to surrender. Gladwin replied that until Major Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall were returned, Pontiac might save himself the trouble of sending any more messages. The captives were allowed to take short walks daily and were not ill treated by the savages. On one of these strolls McDougall urged his companion to join him in an attempt to escape. Campbell, on account of his defective vision, feared he would hinder McDougall and refused to go. The noble man, in this way, covered the departure of the lieutenant who reached the fort in safety. A few days later Campbell was murdered by the Chippewas, who cut off his head with tomahawks, cut out his heart and ate it, and divided his body into small pieces.* This was the end of a brave soldier, esteemed loved, and mourned in the army from General Amherst and Colonel Boquet down to the men who served under him.

About a month later, Captain Dalzell of General Amherst's staff arrived at Detroit with twenty-two barges, carrying two hundred and eighty men, besides artillery and supplies, Amherst at last having awakened to the importance of Detroit and the dire need there was for assistance in fighting the Indians. Among the men were twenty independent rangers, commanded by Major Rogers. Pontiac seeing the necessity of crippling the water portion of the force demolished the barns of two settlers, and with the material, constructed rafts piled high with combustible material. These were towed into the stream above Detroit and set on fire, with the belief the current would carry them against the "Gladwin" and the "Beaver," and thus destroy the ships. The precautions taken by the English to form a boom of logs swung the floating furnaces clear of the schooners. A second attempt to burn the vessels failed.

Dalzell, fresh, vigorous and enthusiastic, endeavored to convince the cautious, but brave Gladwin, that he could successfully attack Pontiac's camp under the cover of darkness, and by one decisive blow terminate the vexatious war. After pointing out the dangers of such an attempt, Gladwin gave a reluctant consent. Through carelessness, Dalzell's designs became known to some Canadians who revealed the plan to Pontiac. Forewarned, with him, was forearmed, and he prepared an ambush for the English. His camp at Grand Marais, was secretly and quietly broken up; and the Indians repaired to Parent's creek and stationed themselves along the route Dalzell was to take. One party of warriors sought concealment behind the outhouses and cordwood on a farm just beyond the creek; another was stationed within the pickets that fenced M. De Quindre's farm from the road. In fact, at every point beyond the range of cannon at the fort where shelter and concealment could be obtained, a party of savages was congregated.

A most graphic account of this disastrous attempt to end the Pontiac war is given by Mrs. Sheldon Stewart in her "Early History of Michigan": "On the 31st of July about two o'clock in the morning, the

* Avery's "History of the United States."

gates of the fort swung open, and three hundred soldiers marched silently forth. In double file and perfect order, they proceeded along the river road, while two large bateaux ascended the river abreast of them. Each boat was fully manned and bore a swivel in the bow. The advance guard of twenty-five men was led by Lieutenant Brown. Captain Gray commanded the center and Captain Grant's attachment brought up the rear. The night was dark, still, and sultry. On the right of the advancing troops lay the broad, placid river, and on their left the farmhouses and picketed fences of the Canadian settlers were dimly outlined in the darkness. Parent's creek entered the river about a mile and a half east of the fort. At that point its course lay through a deep ravine, and only a few rods from its mouth, where the road crossed, it was spanned by a narrow wooden bridge. For a short distance beyond the bridge the ground was broken and rough. Along the summit were rude intrenchments which had been thrown up by Pontiac to protect his former camp.

"Unsuspecting of danger the troops pushed forward until they neared the bridge. This was nearly gained. On the left was the house where Campbell had been taken to meet his savage captors; in front was the bridge, scarcely visible, and beyond rose the banks of the ravine, dark as the wall of night. Still onward the soldiers silently marched; the advance guard had reached the bridge and the main body was just entering it, when, from in front and behind, there arose the blood-curdling warwhoop of the Indians, whose guns belched forth a leaden hail of death. Half of the advance guard fell, stricken down in their tracks, and the survivors shrank back appalled. Dalzell advanced to the front. His clear voice rose above the din; the troops rallied and rushed across the bridge and up the slopes on the other side. Their foes had fled; vainly they sought them in the deep gloom of the night; yet the rifles of the enemy cracked incessantly and the war-cry rang out with undiminished ferocity. The English, unacquainted with the locality, were further bewildered by the darkness. At every point the Indians renewed their fire. Farther advance was useless and a retreat toward the fort was begun. A small detachment remained to keep the enemy in check, while the dead and wounded were removed to the bateaux which had been rowed up to the bridge. The remaining troops recrossed the bridge and joined Captain Grant.

"During these proceedings, a sharp fire was kept up on both sides, and Captain Gray was killed. Suddenly a volley was heard in Captain Grant's vicinity. A large body of Indians had taken possession of a farm house and the adjoining orchard. Captain Grant and his men with great bravery attacked the house and dislodged the savages at the point of the bayonet. From two Canadians, whom the captain found in the house, he ascertained it was the purpose of the Indians to effect the complete destruction of the English force, and had gone in great numbers to occupy points along the road below. An immediate retreat became necessary, and the men resumed their marching order. Captain Grant now commanded the advance guard, and Captain Dalzell the rear. About a mile from the fort on the right, as they descended the road, was a cluster of houses and barns intrenched within strong picket fences.

The river ran close to the left, and there was no way of escape except along the narrow passage that lay between. To many on that early morning march, it was the road to death. Hundreds of Indians lay concealed. The troops were allowed to advance unmolested until directly opposite this death trap, when, with terrific yells, the Indians poured in a deadly rifle fire. The troops broke ranks and would have fled in disorder had it not been for Dalzell, who, though twice wounded, rallied his men and restored order. A few moments later the gallant captain stepped from in front of the ranks to aid a wounded soldier, and was shot dead. With the Indians in hot pursuit, and in great numbers, yelling like fiends let loose from Hades, destruction of the surviving troops seemed certain, when Major Rogers and his rangers succeeded in gaining possession of the house of M. Campau which commanded the road. From this point his splendid marksmen covered the retreat of the regulars. Meantime Captain Grant had moved forward a half a mile and was able to maintain a stand in an orchard until the remaining troops caught up with him. All the men he could spare were dispatched to points below, and the constantly arriving men enabled him to reinforce these places till a line of communication was formed with the fort. The bateaux, which, having discharged their wounded, returned and opened fire on the enemy with their swivel guns. This dispersed the savages, and covered the retreat of Rogers and his rangers. Thus terminated the battle of Bloody Bridge, the most sanguinary and terrible conflict on records in the annals of Detroit. Parent's creek was thereafter known as 'Bloody Run' until the stream was filled in, the bridge removed and the site of the creek transformed into city lots. For more than a century a large tree known as the 'Pontiac tree,' stood guard over the scene of the ambush and battle."

This defeat and slaughter of the English renewed the confidence of the Indians in Pontiac, and daily added to his force of warriors. The fort was, however, now well stocked with provisions, and Pontiac was unable to follow up his victory by the capture of the post. During August there were several sharp skirmishes, but the Indians were unable to break through the defenses of the fort. The schooners "Gladwin" and "Beaver" kept the water path open for provisions from the other side of the river, and succeeded in making several trips to Fort Niagara for ammunition and supplies. Upon one of these trips, as the "Gladwin" lay becalmed some miles below the fort on its return from Niagara, a large body of Wyandots silently approached and boarded the schooner. The commander having been killed in the onslaught, the mate gave the order to blow up the vessel. Warned by one of their number, who understood the order, the savages stood not upon the order of their going, but dashed overboard. Agreeably surprised that he had snatched victory from what seemed certain defeat and death, the mate restored order. The schooner was not further molested, and on the following morning safely reached the fort.

During the latter part of August Major Wilkins, commanding Niagara, started with six hundred men for the relief of Detroit by the lake. When nearly at their journey's end they were overtaken by a storm and the flotilla was wrecked. Some of the boats were driven ashore, and

some were dashed to pieces. Seventy men were drowned and all the arms, ammunition and supplies were lost. The survivors of the expedition then returned to Niagara.

Tired of an apparently useless warfare, most of the lake tribes, excepting the Ottawas, were inclined to sue for peace. Their ammunition was about exhausted and they faced the long and cheerless winter of the north. The news that Major Wilkins had left Niagara with a large force was also a factor in influencing the Indians. Gladwin, who had no faith in the honesty of the Indian, merely consented to a truce, under cover of which he gathered enough provisions and fuel to last the winter. Pontiac had never given up hope of assistance from the French in the Illinois country, a part of the land still possessed by France. Under pressure from General Amherst, the French commandant at Fort Chartres sent word to Pontiac that peace had been finally established between France and England, and that, under its terms, to attack one nation was to attack both. Realizing his cause was lost, the wily Indian again put on his mask and made further overtures to Gladwin for peace. Gladwin, ever cautious, would only consent to a truce, and the savage leader withdrew to the Maumee country to stir up the Indians for an aggressive campaign in the spring.

Early in the spring of 1764 comparative quiet reigned at Detroit, and the seat of Indian warfare was in Pennsylvania and Ohio countries. Early in June, Colonel Bradstreet was sent to the great lakes country with twelve hundred men. At Niagara he found an Indian council which Sir William Johnson had, by summonses and threats, succeeded in bringing together.* Treaties of peace were made and the Indians ceded to the English a strip of territory four miles wide on each side of the Niagara river from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. In August, upon his own responsibility, Bradstreet made a treaty with the Ohio Indians at Presque Isle. On June 26th he reached Detroit, and instead of punishing the Indians as he had been instructed to do, he met them in council. Pontiac sent messages of bitter defiance from the Maumee country, and Sir William Johnson denounced Bradstreet's bad management in letters to the British board of trade.

Colonel Boquet's invasion of the Ohio country in the face of Bradstreet's unauthorized treaty of peace, and the reinforcements which constantly flocked to his standard, caused the Indians to not only sue for peace, but to deliver up to Boquet all the English captives they had in their possession. Thus were the hearts of hundreds of parents, husbands and wives made glad, through the restoration to them of their loved ones.

Pontiac's conspiracy was dead, but the savage leader was alive, with but one desire in life—the destruction of the English, and the recovery of the hunting grounds of his nation. He again applied to the French commandant at Fort Chartres for aid, but was again refused. Returning to the Maumee country he gathered four hundred warriors and a disorderly body of Illinois Indians. With these he again appeared at Fort Chartres, and demanded arms and ammunition with which to fight

* Avery's "History of the United States."

the English. The French thus besieged, awaited the coming of the English whom they hoped would extricate them from the dilemma the fierce Pontiac had forced upon them. In the meantime the savage chief had sent a messenger to New Orleans, pleading for French cooperation. With his fierce hatred of the red coats, he could not understand how such a strong compact of peace and alliance could be consented to by the French. Before Pontiac's emissary arrived at New Orleans, the chief learned of the secret cession by France to Spain of the country. Thus was the last hope of the really great Indian leader destroyed. In the summer of 1766 he appeared before Sir William Johnson at Oswego, and there made his formal and final submission to the English.

Broken in spirit, Pontiac withdrew into the depths of the western wilderness and little is known of his life. Avery in his "History of the United States" says that three years later a Kaskaskia Indian followed Pontiac into the forest where East St. Louis now stands, and, in consideration of a barrel of rum, promised by an English trader, killed him. The body of the great chief was claimed by the commander of the post at St. Louis and was buried with the honors of war.

CHAPTER IX

DETROIT UNDER ENGLISH RULE—CLASH BETWEEN THE NORTH WEST AND THE HUDSON BAY COMPANIES—RIVALRY CAUSES BLOODSHED—MERGER FINALLY EFFECTED—FIRST NAVAL BATTLE ON GREAT LAKES FOUGHT BETWEEN INDIANS—BREAKING OUT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—DETROIT USED AS A CENTRAL POINT FOR THE EQUIPMENT OF THE INDIANS FOR WARFARE UPON THE AMERICANS—BRITISH ENCOURAGE SAVAGE ATROCITIES AND RECEIVE, WITH EXPRESSIONS OF PLEASURE THE SCALPS OF THE VICTIMS OF THE RED MEN—SCALPING KNIVES, TOMAHAWKS, RIFLES AND AMMUNITION FREELY DISTRIBUTED TO THE INDIANS—GOVERNOR HAMILTON'S ALLEGED HUMANE INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INDIANS INCONSISTENT WITH HIS RECORD AT DETROIT.

Detroit, being the spot about which clustered so much of interest and importance in the early days of the development of the great northwest, in order to write an intelligent history of the city it is necessary to go into details which might, at first, appear irrelevant.

Under English rule the post prospered, but became a center of contest between the Company of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Company for the fur trade. The boundaries given in the charters of the two corporations were vaguely defined and clashes were frequent, in many cases resulting in bloodshed, and frequent attacks upon the outposts of each other. Lord Selkirk, having placed himself at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company, succeeded in effecting a merger of the two which thereafter held dominion over the territory bordering on the lakes, and studied only to keep it a barren waste, that they might better fill their own coffers. Unauthenticated tradition has it, that the spirit shown by this great fur trust had much to do with the attitude of the savages toward the settlers at Detroit and other outlying posts.

The English made little change in the laws governing the territory wrested from the French, and the commandants at the posts continued to exercise the arbitrary powers wielded by their French predecessors, nor were many changes made as to the manner of trading with the savages. The French settlers were still French in their feelings toward the English. With a few exceptions there was a latent antagonism, fully shared by the Indians. The latter, though, from motives of policy and greed, were loud in their protestations of loyalty to the British, and, when well paid for it, gave evidence of such loyalty through savage warfare.

From 1765 until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, precipitated by the battle of Lexington in April 1775, Detroit was comparatively

quiet, peaceful and prosperous. The Indians however had intertribal conflicts, one of which was terminated by the first encounter between armed men on the great lakes of sufficient magnitude to term it a naval battle. The Senecas had again been harassing their old enemies, the Wyandots. The latter, hearing of an expedition moving against them, left their village near Detroit in twenty canoes, with two canoe loads of Chippewas, and headed for Long Point, where they expected to encounter and surprise the Senecas. At the close of a summer's day, after four suns of paddling, the Wyandots landed. They discovered foot-prints in the wet sands. Early next morning the Wyandot chief sent three scouts over the point to locate the Senecas. These warriors found the enemy to be in force. One party of them pushed out into the lake to cut off the invaders while their comrades should fall upon them on shore. The ruse failed, and the Seneca flotilla of canoes bore down on the Wyandots.

"Hail to the chief of the Senecas!" cried the Wyandot leader.

"If," said the Seneca chief, "you will abandon your hostile intentions toward us, I will not only grant you and your friends pardon, but will meet you with a heart overflowing with friendship.

"Never!" haughtily replied the Wyandot, "as long as you cherish the enmity that now rankles in your treacherous hearts toward the Wyandots."

"What!—Treachery?" cried the proud Seneca, "If, then, you are so foolish as to entertain for one moment the idea of conquering us, you must abide by the consequences."

"Be it so," gravely replied the Wyandot chieftain, "the blood of your warriors and of mine shall mingle in the deep before we will fall into your treacherous hands."

"The deep, then, shall be thy grave," was the taunting answer.

The Wyandot chief then donned his conical shaped panther-skin cap. A flight of arrows and a discharge of firearms from the Senecas followed the action, and the fight was on. The surface of the clear water was crimsoned with the blood of the combatants. The Senecas were killed to a man after a short fight. Not a Wyandot was slain, though many were wounded in the hand to hand struggle with tomahawks and knives. Thus ended the first known naval battle on the great lakes.*

At the outbreak of the American revolution there were a few British soldiers stationed at Detroit. There was no fort here, but there was a citadel located near the intersection of Jefferson avenue and Wayne street, on the western side of the village. This citadel consisted of a parade ground with barracks capable of holding two or three hundred soldiers. The French citizens never took kindly to the English, and although there was no open threat of a revolt or opposition to the constituted authorities, it was thought best to station an extra number of British soldiers at the place. There was also appointed to Detroit, as a civil commandant, a lieutenant governor, Henry Hamilton. In the colonies there were numbers of families that did not want to take an active

* Clark's "History of the Wyandots."

part in the war, and for the purpose of avoiding complications, they moved westward into the Ohio valley. These newcomers aroused the Indians to attack them, and soon the British agents succeeded in attaching the various Indian tribes to their interests.

Detroit now became the headquarters for the Indians, and the depot for the distribution of the great stores of goods that were annually sent up for them. The goods for distribution among the Indians were furnished by the British government, and consisted of clothing, cheap blankets with bright colors, fancy knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced hats and other similar articles. The demands of the Indians for these goods became so great that the governor was frightened at the expense, and was constantly making excuses to his government to show the necessity for his seeming extravagance. Whenever the Indians came to the council the squaws would strip them of their clothing in order that they might appear destitute, and thus be able to make demands for new clothing. The drafts drawn by the commandant in one year for these supplies were as follows:

September, 1780	£ 42,714 7s. 11d.
January, 1781	44,962 6s. 11½d.
September, 1781	55,225 13s. 6¼d.
Making a total of	£142,902 8s. 4¾d.

In addition to this great amount, there were other and probably larger quantities of goods sent to the merchants, and by them sold to the citizens and Indians. The government gave to the Indians as little rum as possible, but the traders were willing to sell them all they could buy. Rum was a necessity to the Indians, and they would get it in some way. About the time the war began, the traders in the village formed what might be termed a "rum trust." They agreed to place all their rum in one store, and employ one or more clerks to see that it was properly disposed of and the avails divided pro rata among the members of the trust. If any other person brought rum into the district to undersell them, they shipped liquor to the place where the rival was established and undersold the intruder until he was willing to quit or to join them. This worked only for a short time, and then dissatisfaction broke out, and the "trust" was dissolved.*

When the position of lieutenant governor of Detroit, with ambiguous powers, was created, Henry Hamilton was captain of the Fifteenth Regiment at Montreal. Governor General Guy Carleton selected Hamilton for the place, and it would seem from the records of the two men, that they were kindred spirits. The chief duties of the lieutenant governor, it seems, was the distribution of goods to the Indians as an inducement for them to make war upon the American revolutionists and their sympathizers, and in fitting the savages out for the warpath. Detroit thus became a great commercial and naval center during the struggle for independence. Savages from all directions flocked to the place. The streets were filled with painted, strutting warriors, to whom presents were liberally given, and more liberally demanded. The appetite

* C. M. Burton's "Early Detroit."

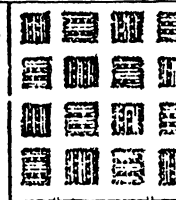
PLAN DU FORT DU DETROIT

Echelle de Soixante Toises



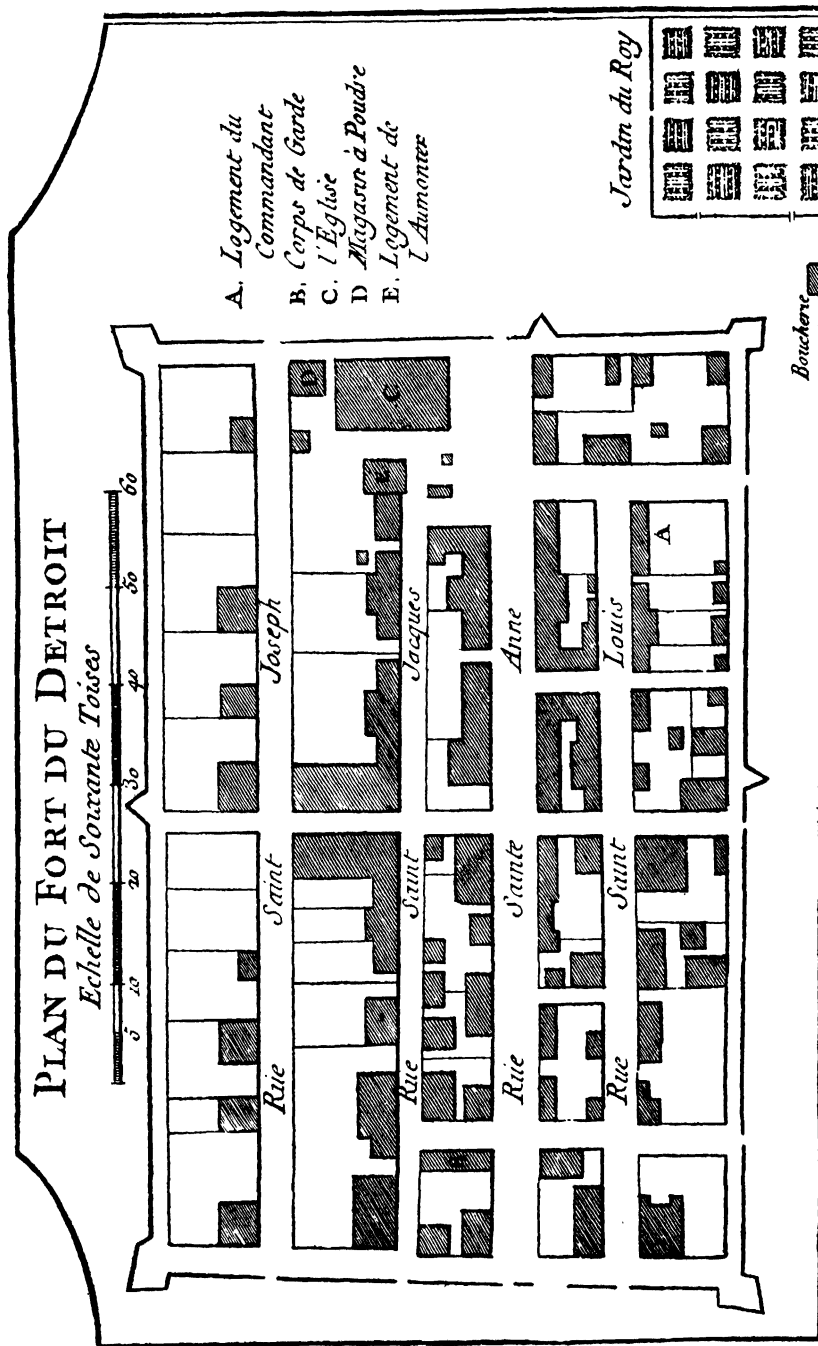
- A. Logement du Commandant
- B. Corps de Garde
- C. l'Eglise
- D. Magasin à Poudre
- E. Logement de l'Aumônier

Jardin du Roy



Bouche

Detroit in 1763 from Bellin's Atlas of 1764.



of the redmen for English supplies, as before stated, became insatiable, but everything possible was done to attach the warriors to the English standard. With a savagery unexcelled by the dusky fighters with whom they did business, the British thus encouraged the barbarous methods of the Indians in their warfare on the whites.

Feasted on oxen roasted whole, filled with rum when they asked for it, given scalping knives and other implements of warfare, the Indians made the days and nights ring with their whoops. Council after council was called and thousands of savages flocked to Detroit to receive their share of the "good things" being passed around by the English. War parties departed and the incoming parties brought prisoners and scalps. The prisoners were either sent on to Niagara, "distributed" among the Indians, or sent to Quebec or Montreal, and the scalps were duly and formally received, counted and recorded. While it does not appear of record that these scalps were paid for at Detroit at so much per scalp, it is an uncontroverted fact that those delivering them to Hamilton invariably went away loaded with presents and war supplies.

There were many secret, and some open sympathizers with the revolutionists at Detroit who, wherever possible, aided the prisoners, and kept the "rebels" informed of the plans and doings of Hamilton. The French were most of them still French, and naturally leaned toward the foes of their conquerors. As fast as these became known, Hamilton made life miserable for them, and for all who were not thoroughly in accord with his actions and ideas.

There was some attempt to conform to legal methods in the punishment of crimes during the early administration of Governor Hamilton. There were two justices of the peace appointed in Detroit, Philippe Dejean and Gabriel Legrand. The exact powers of the justice were not laid down in any work on criminal procedure at that time, but Dejean did not propose to underestimate his authority. In 1777 a storehouse belonging to Abbott and Finchley was plundered and set fire to, and a Frenchman named Jean Coutencinau and a negress named Ann Wiley, or Nancy Wiley, were arrested and brought before Dejean for trial. They were accorded a jury trial and were acquitted on the charge of arson but convicted of robbery. It is very probable that the justice exceeded his powers even in trying the parties for the offenses charged, but he was not contented with trying them, and after the conviction they were both sentenced to be hanged. The high-handed methods adopted by the justice surprised the people, and he could get no one to act as hangman until Hamilton promised the woman he would pardon her if she would act as executioner of the man. The result was that Coutencinau was hanged, and the woman was liberated.

In this matter, the justice had the support of Governor Henry Hamilton, but this act and the hanging of a man named Ellers, in 1775, so aroused the citizens that they complained to the authorities in Montreal. A grand jury was called there and both Hamilton and Dejean were indicted for murder and a warrant was issued for their arrest. Hamilton was so frightened at the knowledge that a warrant for his arrest was issued, that he gathered together all the troops he could at Detroit, stripped the country of all the provisions he could carry, and started

for Vincennes, Indiana. Just before he reached that place, General George Rogers Clark had passed through Vincennes on his way to Kaskaskia. Clark had left the post in charge of Captain Helm and one soldier. When Hamilton reached Vincennes, he demanded the surrender from Helm and, after some negotiations, the place was given up to him. Clark heard of Hamilton's visit, and returned at once and captured Hamilton and his entire army, and the next day he took Dejean a prisoner also.

Those who have read "Alice of Old Vincennes" are familiar with the story of this capture, which Mr. Maurice Thompson has woven into his romance. The surprising part of the transaction is that on this event, in part at least, hung the fate of the entire northwest territory. In the making of the final treaty at the close of the Revolutionary war, our government claimed this territory partly by right of conquest in the capture of Henry Hamilton and Phillippe Dejean. So the lives of Eller and Coutencinau were sacrificed that the great northwest, composing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan might become a part of the new United States, and to subsequently form five members of the great sisterhood of states.

When the news of Clark's victory reached the village, the Canadians (as the French were generally called) celebrated the event by a big bonfire, notwithstanding the presence of the British soldiery under Major Arent Schuyler DePeyster, who succeeded Hamilton as lieutenant governor of Detroit.

"DePeyster, in many ways, undertook to mollify the French and at the same time to keep on good terms with the English and Indians," says C. M. Burton. "He was American born, a descendant of the Dutch families of New York. Somewhat light-hearted and jovial in his disposition, he entered into the pleasantries and amusements of the English and native Canadians on all occasions. He was something of a poet also, and he is best known by the fact that the last poem of the Scotch bard, Robert Burns, was addressed to him. A book of his writings, mostly poems, printed in Dumfries, Scotland, in 1813, is on one of the shelves in my library.

"One of the pastimes most commonly indulged in at this time, and in all subsequent times till the present, was racing on the ice in winter and ending the down-river trip with a feast at the river Rouge (Red river). No one would justly accuse Major DePeyster of being a poet, though he thought himself one, but, for the sake of the old time, I will include a song written by him called the Red River, 'descriptive of the diversion of Carioling, or straying upon the ice at the post of Detroit in North America.'

"In winter, when rivers and lakes do cease flowing.

The Limnades (Lake Nymphs) to warm shelter all fled;

When ships are unrigged, and their boats do cease rowing.

'Tis then we drive up and down sweet River Red.

Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,

Where swift carioling is dear to me ever;

While frost-bound, the *Dunmore*, the *Gage*, and *Endeavor*,

Your ice bears me on to a *croupe en grillade*.

“Our bodies wrapped up in a robe lined with sable,
 A mask o’er the face, and fur cap on the head,
 We drive out to dinner—where there is no table,
 No chairs we can sit on, or stools in their stead.
 Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
 Where sweet carioling is dear to me ever;
 To woods, where on bear skins, we sit down so clever,
 While served with the *Marquis** with *croupe en grillade*.

“‘*Une Verre de Madeir*,’ with his aspect so pleasing,
 He serves to each lady, (who takes it in turn),
 And says, ‘*Chere Madame, dis will keep you from freezing,*
Was warm you within where the fire it would burn.’
 Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
 For your carioling is dear to me ever;
 Where served by the *Marquis* so polite and clever,
 With smiles, and Madeir, and a *croupe en grillade*.

“The goblet goes round, while sweet echo’s repeating
 The words which have passed through each fair lady’s lips;
 Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,
 And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips.
 Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
 Your fines wooded banks shall be dear to me ever,
 Where echo repeats Madame’s *Chancon* so clever,
 Distinctly you hear it say—*croupe en grillade*.

“The fort gun proclaims when ’tis time for returning,
 Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;
 We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,
 For those who may next drive up sweet River Red.
 Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
 On you, carioling, be dear to me ever,
 Where wit and good humor were ne’er known to sever,
 While drinking a glass to a *croupe en grillade*.”

“It will not be necessary, or perhaps best, to attempt to give any more of the ‘poem.’ The ‘Dunmore,’ ‘Gage’ and ‘Endeavour’ were three small vessels, the largest on the lakes then that were wintered in the river Rouge.

“The sleighing party, clad in furs and with faces covered with masks to protect them from the flying snowballs from the horses feet, raced up and down the river until tired and hungry. They then partook of refreshments served in the open air by a Frenchman named Guillaume LaMotte, a ‘character’ from the fort. The dinner consisted largely of

* Guillaume Lamotte, the marquis, was a captain in the Indian department during the Revolutionary war. He was a prominent and enthusiastic leader of the Indians in their Ohio incursions. He remained in Detroit many years, and became an American citizen. Gov. Woodbridge speaks of him as late as 1815, performing the same duties for pleasure parties on the Rouge, as does DePeyster in 1784.

wild turkey, bear and venison meats. The Major would make us believe that the wild deer and bears came from the woods, and watched them at their repast. They did not cease their racing until the fort gun proclaimed it was time for returning."

Persistent as they were the English were unable to enlist the aid of all the Indians. As early as 1776 the Delawares had received a message from the Hurons of Detroit requesting them to "keep their shoes in readiness" to unite with the Huron warriors. Netawatees, the chief of the Delawares, however, desired to remain neutral and would not listen to this proposal. He sent to the Huron chief in return several belts of wampum, admonishing him to keep quiet and remember the misery the Hurons had brought themselves to in taking sides with the French in former wars. The reply of the Delawares was delivered in the presence of DePeyster, who cut the wampum belts in pieces, threw them upon the ground and bade the messengers to leave the country at once.

Certain Moravian missionaries, engaged in their pious, peaceable pursuits on the banks of the Muskingum, were accused of holding secret correspondence with congress at Philadelphia, and of contributing their influence, as well as their Indian converts, to aid the American cause. A British Indian agent was sent to Niagara and a grand council of the Iroquois was assembled, at which the tribes of that nation were urged to break up the Moravian congregation of red men. Not wishing to have anything to do with it, the Iroquois sent a message to the Chippewas and Ottawas with a belt, saying that they gave the Indian congregation into their hands "to make soup of."

In 1781 the Moravian missionaries arrived at Detroit and were at once taken before DePeyster. A war council was held at the same time, when the council house was completely filled, the different tribes being arranged on opposite sides of the hall. The assembly was addressed by Captain Pipe, the principal chief of the Wolf Indians, who had committed the most savage barbarities upon the scattered American settlements. The attack upon the integrity of the Moravians evidently stirred him against his employers. He told Commandant DePeyster, "that the English might fight the Americans if they chose, it was their cause, not his; they had raised a quarrel among themselves, and it was their business to fight it out. They had set him upon the Americans," he said, "as a hunter would set his dog upon the game." By the side of the commandant stood a war chief of another tribe, who, when Captain Pipe ceased speaking, held at arms' length a stick four feet long strung with scalps of Americans. "Now Father," said he, presenting the stick, "here is what has been done with the hatchet you gave me. I have made the use of it you ordered me to do, and found it sharp."* It was by such influences that these savage tribes were instigated to commit the most atrocious cruelties against the defenseless American settlers during the whole course of the Revolutionary war, and Detroit was the head center of such endeavors.

It was a blot upon the pages of civilized history and it is unneces-

* Lanman's "Red Book of Michigan."

sary to dwell further upon that feature of Detroit's past. Suffice it to say, that after the whole country from Maine to Florida had been drenched in blood during the great struggle for freedom, the American cause was at last triumphant; and by the treaty of peace concluded at Versailles in 1783, an end was temporarily put to these barbarities. Settlers were allowed to return to their homes and a breathing spell of peace was granted to the country.

CHAPTER X

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PROPHECY THAT THE WAR OF FREEDOM HAD BEEN FOUGHT AND WON, BUT THE BATTLE FOR INDEPENDENCE WAS YET TO COME, ABOUT TO BE FULFILLED—"DIPLOMATIC" DELAYS UPON THE PART OF ENGLAND IN THE SURRENDER OF THE NORTHWEST, INCLUDING DETROIT—DEPEYSTER'S CONCILIATION OF THE INDIANS AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—SURRENDER OF DETROIT TO THE AMERICANS JULY 11, 1796, THIRTEEN YEARS AFTER PEACE WAS DECLARED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES—MICHIGAN'S LAST COLONIAL GOVERNOR.

Had there not existed a jealousy between Colonel George William Clark, the gallant Virginian, and Colonel Daniel Brodhead, in command of the colonial troops at Pittsburg, the history of Detroit and the northwest would have been different. Clark several times planned an attack on Detroit, and was only deterred by the lack of cooperation and want of men and supplies. Shortly after his capture of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, at Vincennes, and the dispatch of that Englishman and his officers, as prisoners of war, to Virginia, Clark and Brodhead both contemplated an attack on Detroit. Colonel Brodhead however was the first to entertain the idea of wresting the place from the English before the close of the Revolutionary war, having on September 4, 1779, written Colonel George Morgan that he had applied "some time past" for leave to start an expedition against that post, but feared it would be put off until the season was too far advanced, for, "although the operations should not be terminated before the beginning of the winter, they ought to be begun in the early fall." He then informed Brodhead that there was a shortage of supplies and that Detroit was much stronger than two years before, when eighteen hundred men could have taken the place. In concluding his letter to Morgan, Brodhead said: "I conceive it to be next to impossible to carry on a secret expedition against that place, while the English have goods to engage the Indians on their side, while we have nothing but words." On November 10, 1779, Brodhead wrote General Washington to the effect that a winter campaign against Detroit would undoubtedly place the Americans in possession of the enemy's shipping, "and, of course, give us command of Lake Erie." He called attention to the fact that winter movements would be attended with loss of horses and cattle and that forage would have to be provided, but that this would be amply compensated

for by the acquisition of the English garrison and shipping, and securing the further tranquility of the frontier.

"My best intelligence," continues Brodhead in the same letter, "is that the enemy have erected a very strong work near the old fort, and on the only eminence behind the soldiers gardens and that the garrison consists of three hundred rangers (some say more) and about the same number of militia. Some of the latter description, it is said, will join our troops on their arrival in that neighborhood. The Wyandots, Tawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatamies live in the vicinity of Detroit and many of them are, without doubt, under British influence." In a later letter to Washington, the colonel said: "The Delaware chiefs inform me that the English at Detroit have refused to supply the Wyandots with clothing because they have entered into a treaty of friendship with us. They likewise say the new fort at that place is finished and that the walls are so high that the tops of the barracks can scarcely be seen from the outside, but they do not know if there are any bomb-proofs, as they were not allowed to go inside. They think that the number of the soldiers is three hundred and that some of these remain in the old fort."

Being anxious to ascertain just what the defenses at Detroit were, Colonel Brodhead wrote to Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, asking him to appoint a reliable man to ascertain if there were bomb proofs at Detroit, and, if so, how constructed—whether arched with stone or brick or wood; what number of cannon were mounted, and of what size, and how the inhabitants stood with regard to the American cause. The Colonel said he would pay Zeisberger's spy eighty 'bucks', or one hundred if eighty was not sufficient, and that he was about to secure the same information as to Fort Niagara. In September, 1780, Brodhead wrote Washington that he had ascertained that the French at Detroit were strongly in favor of the Americans, and would heartily wish to see an American force advancing. Before either Brodhead or Clark could make an attempt to take Detroit, Colonel La Balm, who came to this country with Lafayette, tried to capture the place with a body of Frenchmen he had attached to his standard. He arrived with a hundred and three men and some Indians, expecting reinforcements from Post Vincent. He entered the village of the Miamis. After finding he was not to be reinforced he took a number of horses, destroyed some cattle and a store which DePeyster, commandant at Detroit, had allowed to be maintained for the convenience of the Indians, and started a retreat. He encountered a large force of Miamis and he and between thirty and forty of his men were killed.

Soon after La Balm's defeat the proposed expedition of Colonel Clark's was again considered. On December 13, 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson of Virginia wrote General Washington that the time had come to strike Detroit, and that, with the force of regulars Colonel Clark had, and with a proper draft from the militia beyond the Alleghanies, as well as of three or four of the northern counties of Virginia, the reduction of Detroit could be accomplished. This was a move of the state of Virginia. Supplies were gathered at Pittsburg for the expedition. Both Pennsylvania and Virginia at that time claimed the services of the militia in the region of the Alleghanies, the boundaries of both states

being illy defined, and many of the settlers made this an excuse for not taking up arms. Rogers wrote Washington that lack of men was all that held him back. Reinforcements were not forthcoming and General Clark, promoted, moved down the Ohio.

In answer to a later dispatch from Governor Jefferson, of Virginia, regarding assistance for General Clark, General Washington said: "I have ever been of the opinion that the reduction of the post at Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the entire western frontier, and I have constantly kept my eye upon that object, but such has been the reduced state of our continental force, and such is the low ebb of our funds, especially of late, that I have never had it in my power to make the attempt." Here was the explanation of the failure to take a step that would have (as Washington said) secured peace on the entire western frontier, and which, if taken, would probably have changed the map of the northern portion of this hemisphere, for had General Clark been in command at Detroit, there is no question but that he would have not only maintained the control of this point, but would have crossed the river with his jurisdiction and planted the American flag on what is now Canadian soil.

One of the darkest pages of the history of the Revolutionary war was the attack by Major Williamson, on a village of peaceful, neutral Indians, converts of the Moravian missionaries on the Muskingum. These Indians had remained absolutely neutral, even after the enforced removal of the Moravian leader, Ziesberger, and his followers to Detroit. It is true that Indian massacres were so prevalent that all red men were considered hostile, unless classed as open allies. The success of the British in enlisting a portion of the Delawares who had remained neutral, accentuated the antagonism of the American militia. The force under Williamson killed sixty-four grown people and thirty-four children. This occurred on March 8, 1782. The increased hostility of the Delawares and Williamson's exploit led to the formation of another expedition against the Indians, with Detroit as an objective point, under the command of Colonel William Crawford. When near what is now Upper Sandusky, Crawford was attacked by two hundred Indians and a company of Butler's rangers from Detroit. Crawford won the day, but on the following morning the enemy, reinforced by more rangers and English soldiers, renewed the attack on Crawford's forces, and the Americans were forced to retreat. Colonel Crawford, who became separated from his command, was captured by the Indians and burned at the stake. DePeyster, who was in command at Detroit, was not in sympathy with the cruelty of the Indians, but was in a position in which he did not dare to too strenuously oppose their barbarous methods. His letter to General Haldiman shows this. He said that even if a truce between Great Britain and her colonies in revolt were arranged, and the English continued to supply the Indians with munitions of war, the back settlers would be in danger from raids and massacre, for which the English would be held responsible.

General Cass, in an article printed in the "North American Review," shows that DePeyster was right. It is said that several thousand persons were killed or made prisoners by Indians from the vicinity of De-

troit between the years 1783 and 1790. General Cass in that article says: "When the foraging party returned they were introduced to the commanding officer. The scalps were thrown down before him in the council house and the principal warrior addressed him in these terms: 'Father, we have done as you directed us; we have struck our enemies.' They were then paid off and dismissed, and the scalps were deposited in the cellar of the council house. We have been told by more than one respectable witness that when the charnel-house was cleansed, it was a spectacle upon which the inhabitants gazed with horror.

"We are indebted to a respectable gentlemen of Detroit, Mr. James May, for the following relation, and as it elucidates important traits in the Indian character, and discloses facts not generally known, we give it in his own language: 'During the American Revolutionary war, when Indian war parties approached Detroit, they always gave the death and war whoops, so the inhabitants who were acquainted with their customs, knew the number of scalps they had brought and the number of prisoners they had taken, some time before they reappeared. Soon after I arrived at Detroit, the great war party that had captured Ruddles Station in Kentucky, returned from that expedition. Hearing the usual signals of success, I walked out of the town and soon met the party. The squaws and young Indians had ranged themselves on the side of the road with sticks and clubs, and were whipping the prisoners with great severity. Among these were two young girls, thirteen or fourteen years old, who escaped from the party and ran for protection to me and to a naval officer who was with me. With much trouble and some danger, and after knocking down two of the Indians, we succeeded in rescuing the girls and fled with them to the council house. Here they were safe, because this was the goal, where the right of the Indians to beat them, ceased. Next morning I received a message by an orderly sergeant to wait upon Colonel DePeyster, the commanding officer. I found the naval officer, who was with me the previous day, already there

"The colonel stated that serious complaint had been preferred against us by McKee, the Indian agent, for interfering with the Indians and rescuing their prisoners. He said the Indians had a right to their own mode of warfare and that no one should interrupt them; and after continuing his reproof for some time, he told me, if I ever took such a liberty again, he would send me to Montreal or Quebec. The naval officer was still more severely reprimanded, and threatened to have his uniform stripped from his back, and to be dismissed from His Majesty's service, if such an incident occurred again. And although I stated to Colonel DePeyster that we saved the lives of the girls at the peril of our own, he abated nothing of his harshness and threats.'"

Although the war was at an end and the treaty of peace was signed in 1783, the forts and trading posts along the line of the great lakes within the acknowledged lines of the United States, were not given up. The situation was one of peril and anxiety for the Americans, and pointed to the truth of Benjamin Franklin's prophecy that though the war for freedom was fought and won, the battle for independence was yet to come. The new nation was in no position to enforce treaty stipulations. Great Britain was aware of this, and it is evident that nation deemed that its

relinquishment of this country was but temporary. If the English government did not actually promote the Indian warfare upon American whites which was waged after the treaty of peace had been signed, it certainly did not attempt to check it. There is ample evidence to show that British emissaries were sent to the remote tribes on the borders of the lakes to instigate them to take up arms, and that after they had done so, they looked for aid to the English garrisons within American territory.* Detroit was the principal point where this breach of faith was most manifest. Early in the fall of 1783 Sir John Johnson, the British Indian commissioner, called a council of Indians at Niagara and informed them of the peace between Great Britain and the United States, but told them that the Ohio river was a line west of which the Americans should not be allowed to pass in safety, and advised the savages to wage warfare whenever the Americans encroached upon their territory. President George Washington in July, 1783, sent Baron Steuben to Canada for the purpose of arranging for the turning over of Detroit to the Americans. The baron was received politely by General Haldiman, but the English commander refused to give him passports, and delivered to the baron a letter to Washington in which it was stated that the treaty was only provisional, and that no orders had been received to deliver to the Americans the posts along the lakes.

British influence continued to be supreme among the Indians, and the officers of the king took advantage of every opportunity to assure the savages of their friendship and protection. This resulted in the massacre of so many settlers that President Washington determined to chastise the Indians. A mistake was made by the American secretary of war, who caused the English commandant at Detroit to be notified that the expedition was solely against the Indians. The force placed under command of General Harmer was defeated, the British acting in concert with the savages. After this defeat, long poles from which dangled American scalps were daily paraded by the Indians through the streets of Detroit. Another expedition against the Indians, under command of General St. Clair, met with the same fate. He was defeated near the headwaters of the Wabash November 4, 1791.

In 1793, the Americans having made an impression upon the Indians at a council held with the savages, English efforts to retain their influence were redoubled. Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, of Canada, was especially active in this movement and twice visited Detroit, in 1793 and 1794. On the last visit, by order of Lord Dorchester, he selected a site for a fort on the banks of the Miami river. This fort was built and garrisoned by three companies of British soldiers from Detroit. This move plainly showed that England did not intend to relinquish its hold, and that another conflict with the United States was contemplated. So sinister was the attitude of the British that the government at Washington became aroused. One of the factors in causing President Washington to again prepare for hostilities, and determine upon sending a force sufficient to conquer Detroit was the address of Lord Dorchester to a body of Indians which met at Quebec February 10.

* Lanman's "Red Book of Michigan."

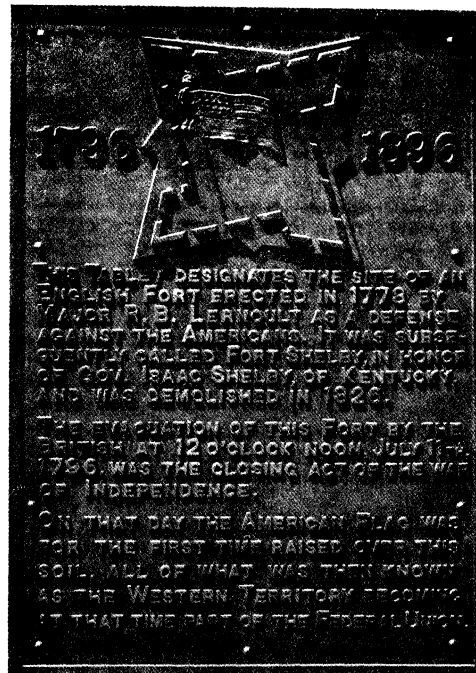
1794. In this address Lord Dorchester said: "Children, since my return I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the state push on, and act and talk, on this side, and from what I can learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall be surprised if we are not at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors." This was a suggestion to the savages to make war upon the Americans, and followed up as it was, by the erection and garrisoning of the fort at Miami, fifty miles within the Indian country, it was no wonder the new republic which had pursued a friendly course toward Great Britain should awake to the necessity of wresting, by force of arms, the northwest from the possession of the British.

For this purpose, President Washington selected General Anthony Wayne, known in history and legend as "Mad Anthony Wayne," a gallant and fearless officer. Wayne was forced to wait until the middle of the summer of 1794 before he had a force sufficient in his judgment, to move forward. Meanwhile the Indians, about a thousand of them, appeared before Fort Recovery. There were a number of British soldiers with them. During the day they made several attacks upon the fort. During these assaults the Americans lost fifty-seven men in killed and wounded and one hundred and twenty-one horses. The Indians lost more, they said, than they did in the battle with General St. Clair.

Less than a month afterward, General Wayne was joined by Major General Winfield Scott, with sixteen hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky, and two days afterward moved toward the Maumee country. Admonished by the fate of St. Clair, he moved so cautiously and quietly that the Indians called him the "black-snake." Little Turtle was again on the alert with two thousand warriors of his own, and those of neighboring tribes within call. Wayne was aware of this. He had competent and faithful guides and scouts, and, by unfrequented ways and with perplexing feints, he went steadily onward leaving strength and security in his rear. So successful was his movement, that the Indians fled before him, deserting their villages and fields of growing corn. At the present site of Defiance, Ohio, he found a deserted Indian village with more than a thousand acres of standing maize. Here he tarried for ten days, building a strong fortification of the rough frontier type. Although he was now in a position to destroy and punish the Indians, Wayne was averse to bloodshed and sent messages of good will down the Maumee, offering the Indians peace and security and advising them not to be misled by bad white men at the foot of the falls. His overtures for peace were rejected, much against the wishes of Little Turtle who had twice defeated the Americans. He said: "We have beaten the enemy twice, under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him; and during all this time he has been marching on our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something that whispers me it would be prudent to listen to the offers of peace."*

* Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812."

Perceiving that nothing but a severe blow would break the spirit of the Indians and end the war, General Wayne decided to mercilessly pursue the savages. He built a supply depot called Fort Deposit. On the 20th of June he began the movement which brought on the battle of Fallen Timber. Lossing in his "Field Book of the War of 1812" says of this engagement: "Wayne advanced with his whole army according to his plan of march adopted at a council of war, during which Lieutenant William Henry Harrison who afterward, as commander-in-chief, performed brilliant exploits in that portion of the Maumee valley, was consulted. They had proceeded about five miles when the advance guard, under Major Price, was smitten by heavy volleys



CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL TABLET

from a concealed foe and was compelled to fall back. The legion was immediately formed into two lines, principally in a dense wood on the borders of a wet prairie, where a tornado had prostrated a number of trees, making the operations of cavalry very difficult. The fallen timber afforded an admirable covert for the enemy, who, fully two thousand strong and composed of Indians and Canadian volunteers, were posted in three lines, within supporting distance of each other. Wayne's troops fell upon the foe with fearful energy and made them flee toward Fort Miami like a herd of frightened deer. In the course of an hour, the victory was complete. The mongrel horde were driven more than two miles through the thick woods, and left forty of their number dead in the pathway of their flight. By the side of each victim lay a musket

and bayonet from British armories." Wayne's loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and thirty-three men. In September, the Americans moved farther into the wilds, and to Fort Wayne.

In August of 1795, at a council called by Wayne at which eleven hundred Indians were present, a satisfactory treaty of peace was signed, the savages becoming convinced that the English were no longer in a position of supreme power. The nations represented were Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, Miamis, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias and Ell River Indians. By this treaty the Indians ceded twenty-five thousand miles of territory within the United States, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of this cession the Indians received from the United States \$20,000 in presents, and an annual allowance equal to \$9,500, to be distributed equally among the tribes, parties to the treaty. Many of the Indians who had been so severely punished by General Wayne fled to Detroit for protection and there were gathered, in the fall of 1795, fully three thousand savages.

During Wayne's operations against the English, John Jay who had been sent as special messenger to England, was arranging another treaty by which the eastern boundary of the United States was fixed; for the payment of claims for illegal captures during the Revolutionary war, and for the surrender by the British of Detroit and other posts in the northwest, on or before June 1, 1796.

An order for the evacuation of Detroit, signed by George Beckwith, adjutant general at Quebec, and dated June 2, 1796, was delivered to the American secretary of war, James McHenry. Under the terms of the order, a captain and fifty men of the Queens Rangers were to remain at the post as a guard of the fort and public buildings until the troops of the United States should arrive. This occurred on July 11th of that year when Captain Porter, an officer under Colonel Hamtramck, formally took possession of Detroit in the name of the United States; and at noon of that day the flag of Great Britain was hauled down and that of the Union hoisted in its place.

General Wayne arrived in Detroit during the latter part of August, 1796, remaining there until November 14th, when he went to Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania, where he died December 14, 1796.

Lanman in his "Red Book of Michigan" states positively that the retiring garrison of English troops, to show their spite against the Americans, locked the gates of the fort, broke the windows in the barracks, and filled the wells with stones. Simon Girty, the renegade whose fame was achieved through his cruelty to the whites and leadership of the savages, was, according to tradition, among the last of the implacable enemies of the Americans to leave Detroit. Upon the approach of the American forces he forced his horse into the river and at the risk of his life swam the river with her. As he ascended the bank on the other side, he shook his fist at Detroit and in no choice language cursed the newcomers and everything American.

The treaties made with Great Britain displeased France, which was then at war with Spain, and on August 19, 1796, these two nations formed an offensive and defensive alliance, undoubtedly for the pur-

pose of securing the neutral territory in the far west. The plan was to disintegrate the Union, if possible, and create another federation. Their spies were active and a man named Powers made a map of the fort at Detroit. He was arrested by Colonel Strong during the absence of General Wilkinson, but was released by the latter upon his return to Detroit. It was believed that Wilkinson was bribed to aid Powers in behalf of Spain. He was tried three times, on charges preferred against him, but each time secured his acquittal.

The United States, in 1798, was endeavoring through a commission to negotiate a settlement of all difficulties between France and this country, and in the meantime were preparing for a war of invasion by France. This was actually started on the ocean, though hostilities had been proclaimed by neither. On July 7, 1798, congress declared the old treaties with France at an end and two days afterwards passed a law authorizing American vessels of war to capture French cruisers wherever found. Active measures for strengthening the American navy were taken. Stephen Decatur captured the French cruiser "La Croyable" and sent her to Philadelphia, where she was condemned by the prize court and added to the American navy under the name of the "Retaliation." From that time on until 1800, a number of important victories were won by the Americans on the seas. This ocean warfare was ended through a treaty of peace with Napoleon Bonaparte—then first consul of France—and hostilities ceased.

Reports of the conflict, however, intensified the feelings of the Canadian French and things looked dark for the Americans in the northwest. The Indians, however, had been so severely punished by General Wayne that they saw little to be gained by digging up the hatchet, in a general warfare. They were so constantly urged on by the British, however, that from 1796 until the breaking out of the war of 1812, there was little peace and security for the American settlers in the territory surrounding Detroit.

C. M. Burton in his "Early Detroit" throws some interesting light upon the situation at that place during the latter part of English rule. He says: "At the close of the war, England agreed to surrender Detroit and the other frontier posts to the United States, but she refused to carry out the agreement, and it was not until thirteen years after the war closed—not until 1796—that Detroit was in the actual possession of our government. During this period the laws of Canada governed the village. Courts were established and at least one election to parliament was held here. The first and only Canadian judge appointed by the Canadian government for Detroit was William Dummer Powell, and, although he continued to be a Canadian justice during his life and filled that position with great honor, he was an American, having been born in Boston before the Revolution. There were three members of parliament from Detroit—D. W. Smith, who lived at Niagara, but was elected in Detroit and who was subsequently surveyor general of Canada; Alexander Grant, who was commonly called the commodore of the lakes, from his having charge of the British armed vessels on the upper lakes, and who lived at Grosse Pointe; and William Macomb, the ancestor of one branch of the Macomb family in Detroit and the uncle of General Alexander Macomb.

"The village authorities consisted of the justices of the peace, appointed by the governor of Upper Canada. They could make some rules for the government of the village, and doubtless had power to enforce them. Among the official documents of this period is a long list of people in the village who violated the rules laid down for their governance; a few were as follows: Mr. William Scott complained of, for allowing two cows to run at large in the streets; Mr. Girardin, Mr. Dolson and several others committed the same offense; George McDougal left his cart in the street at night. Mr. Fraro's apprentice boy galloped his horse through the street. Hogs were daily found at large in the streets and their owners complained of. Mr. Baby had provided no ladders either for his own house, or for another which he owned and leased. Ladders were necessary in order to reach the roofs of the houses in case of fire, though you will recall that only a few years later neither ladders, nor buckets, nor the work of willing hands could save even a single house in the village, when, in 1805, every house, save one, was destroyed in open day. Citizens were repeatedly complained of for having chimneys in a dangerous state, and no person, however high in authority, was exempt from inspection and complaint. William Macomb, member of parliament, and a wealthy trader; Lieutenant Hill, an officer in the regulars; the Reverend J. Fitchet, probably a chaplain, and the fife major of garrison, were all in the list of delinquents.

"The entire village was located between Griswold street on the east, Wayne street on the west, the high bank of the river a little below Jefferson avenue on the south, and Larned street on the north. From Larned street to a short distance above Congress street, was a low marshy tract of land through which ran a little creek. At the wet season of the year, this creek was so large that, even as late as 1830, there was a bridge over it where it crossed Woodward avenue, but in dry seasons it contained very little water. Even within the recollection of many persons now living, the lands now occupied by Grand Circus Park, and extending easterly and southerly through Miami avenue and down to Congress street, were too wet to be cultivated. Some of the lands on Madison avenue were given by our city government to the Catholic church for a burial ground in 1817, but as late as 1834, the church reported to the common council that the lots were low, covered with water a large portion of the year, and wholly unfitted for cemetery purposes. The city then permitted the church to sell the lots, and purchase some higher and dryer land for its use."

Recently a gang of workmen were digging a sewer in front of 144 Jefferson avenue. One of the men encountered an obstacle and striking hard with his pick, opened a box under the surface of the ground. Then he drew forth the bones of a man, the skull remaining where it was found. He called to his boss, Peter Dunn, superintendent of sewers. Mr. Dunn had his mind on his sewer. Skeletons were common things in public work in Detroit and he ordered the man to lay the bones to one side and allow the skull to remain where he found it.

There was a crowd about the place watching. The superintendent,

forgetting the skeleton, turned away, the men stopped work, the crowd rushed forward and only bits of the coffin were left behind. The next morning when Mr. Dunn returned only a few pieces of time-worn wood were in evidence. That was in 1911.

C. M. Burton, city historian, has gone into the matter carefully and is convinced that the skeleton was that of the last colonial governor, a man who was supreme over a territory extending from the Detroit river past Wisconsin on the west, and as far south as Vincennes, Indiana, and as far north as the uppermost boundary of the lower peninsula, Patrick Sinclair having been governor of Mackinac Island.

In 1795 the scarlet clad soldiers of Great Britain stood with uncovered heads. A priest was intoning a burial service. In a box of



JEFFERSON AVENUE AND GRISWOLD STREET

black walnut, laboriously sawed by hand, was the body of Jehu Hay, who was the last colonial governor of Michigan.

An Indian, his supplies exhausted, had come into the town and noting that the streets were deserted and the store closed, wandered down toward the commandant's house, where he saw a throng of persons gathered. There was something out of the ordinary happening that he could not sense and he had half a mind to retreat into the forest that almost encroached upon the settlement.

The caps were placed upon the heads of the soldiers, a command rang out and a volley was fired. The Indian flattened himself against the green, but there was no whine of flying lead, and he raised himself cautiously and through the hazy August air saw the soldier lower a box into a grave in the corner of the garden. His fears vanished because he knew that another of the short-haired men had gone and would not return. A little later he understood why the shops were closed and why the cross of St. George was not at the mast-head of Fort Pontchartrain. It was the governor they were burying.

Jehu Hay came to Detroit from England about 1761 and was a lieutenant in the garrison here. He had some political influence and wealth, and after Hamilton was captured at Vincennes, Indiana, by General George Rogers Clark in the spring of 1779, Hay went to Montreal and remained there for some time, pulling his wires to be made governor to succeed Hamilton.

After he had overcome all obstacles and received the appointment, he did not come to Detroit until 1783 for two reasons. First because he was ill with tuberculosis and second because A. S. DePeyster, commandant of the garrison refused to serve under a former inferior officer. Finally Governor-General Haldimand arranged matters with Commandant DePeyster, and on October 30, 1783, Hay set forth for his territory. On the way he was taken ill and had to stop at Carleton island, not reaching here until July 12, 1784.

Deep disappointment awaited him when he finally arrived in Detroit. He had paid a large sum for his commission, expecting to make it back through the emoluments of his office, presents from Indians, rents from crown lands and through other sources. But when he got here he found the militia disbanded practically and the distribution of goods to Indians in the hands of another. He complained bitterly, but to no avail, and his worry and disappointment, hastened his end.

Ste. Anne street in those days ran down the middle of what is now Jefferson avenue. On the south side and practically at what is now the corner of Griswold street, was the guard house and behind that, the gardens of the commanding officer, and the big house was right in front of where the skeleton was found.

"They didn't go to the trouble of making coffins for common people in those days," said Mr. Burton, "and nobody else would have been buried in the gardens of the governor, so I believe that the body found last week was that of Jehu Hay. Judge Campbell's history says the body was buried there, but was later moved, but with the evidence at hand it is possible that the removal did not occur."

Lieutenant Hay accompanied General Hamilton to Vincennes and was captured and taken to Virginia with his superior officer. After being there for some time he was released on parole, but Hamilton refused to take the oath.

Owing to the illegibility of Hay's handwriting, the name has been printed John instead of Jehu.

CHAPTER XI

DETROIT UNDER AMERICAN RULE—WAYNE COUNTY ESTABLISHED AS A PART OF OHIO, ITS BOUNDARIES REACHING TO THE WEST BANK OF THE CUYAHOGA RIVER, NOW THE CENTER OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN ASSEMBLIES BOTH MAKE LAWS FOR THE NORTHWEST—DETROIT INCORPORATED AS A VILLAGE OF INDIANA IN 1802—CITY IS TOTALLY WIPED OUT BY FIRE IN 1805—WILLIAM HULL'S ADMINISTRATION AS GOVERNOR.

The determination of the British to retain control of the northwest even after the ratification of the Jay treaty, caused confusion and conflict in the administration of the laws, there often being two sets, American and British, owing to the ill-defined boundaries of the practically unexplored regions. Finally, following a meeting of the territorial general assembly at Cincinnati, in 1799, an upper council was established. This body was composed of five members and, as nominated by the assembly and named by the president, were: Jacob Burnett, David Vance, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburg and Robert Oliver. Solomon Sibley was later elected to fill the vacancy caused by the disability of Vanderberg whose residence was in the Indian territory, when it was established. The delegates from Wayne county to the second assembly November 23, 1801, were: Charles F. Chabert Joncaire, George McDougall and Jonathan Schefflin. Both Joncaire and Schefflin had served under Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and had been active in assisting the Indians to scalp and massacre the American settlers. It is said that as late as 1797 Schefflin declared he did not intend to become an American citizen.

At the session of the assembly held at Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1802, Solomon Sibley, presented a petition from Detroit for the incorporation of the settlement as a town. The petition, which was read to the delegates in January, 1802, was formally passed as a bill on the 18th of February. It bore the signatures of Edward Tiffin, speaker of the house of representatives, and of Robert Oliver, president of the Northwest territorial court. It was immediately approved by Governor St. Clair.

The bill provided for the election of town officers on the first Monday in May, 1802, and named five trustees who were to serve as guardians of the new corporation until such election. The town by this measure was officially extended for a distance of two miles northward from the river; on the east to the westerly line of the farm of Antoine Beaubien; thence westerly to the line between what were later known as the Cass and Jones

farms.* The act of incorporation provided that only land owners, citizens paying a minimum of forty dollars a year rental, and those privileged with what was known as the "freedom" of the settlement, were allowed to cast their votes.

Mr. Burton says that immediately after the trustees took their oaths of office they entered upon a strenuous existence of guardianship and execution. Nearly all citizens possessed of political ambition, found outlet for their energies in fulfilling the duties of appointees of the trustees. A secretary, marshal, assessor, collector and messenger were at once chosen to look after the smaller details of home government. At one of the early meetings of these trustees, the suggestion that the town was in need of better fire protection was favorably received and at once acted upon. A long-drawn ordinance was the result. This measure compelled every citizen possessed of a defective chimney, under penalty of a fine for failure to comply with the order, to make such repairs as safety required; provisions were made requiring householders to provide themselves with water barrels, buckets and ladders, and directing that merchants keep in constant readiness large sacks which might be wet and used in protecting roofs adjacent to burning buildings. No citizens could hope to retain the respect of the community if he failed to volunteer his services if they were needed. Five days after the formation of this embryo fire department, the first blaze broke out. A detail of soldiers was ordered, by Colonel Hamtramck to serve as a nucleus of the fire brigade. Citizens made up the bucket and axe brigades and a large log was used as a battering ram to demolish buildings impossible to save.

There was no town hall and the trustees met at the house of one of the members. Ordinances became numerous, as the needs of the town grew. A market place was established and regular market days appointed. Inspectors were appointed whose duty it was to visit the various dwellings and see that the terms of the ordinance, as to fire protection, were complied with.

At the first election held May 3, 1802, James Henry, George Meldrum, Charles Francis Girardin, Joseph Campau and John Dodemeade were elected trustees. The town treasurer and collector were paid three per cent of the moneys they collected, and the marshal and messenger allowed a dollar per diem each. Like most frontier towns Detroit was at that time the scene of much roistering, which was leniently dealt with by the authorities, and it was not until 1804 that Thomas McCrae was appointed the first policeman. He was also recorder of the market, all for the salary of seventy-five cents a day.

The sinister attitude of the English and their constant work among the Indians, many of whom gathered in the vicinity of Fort Malden on the Canadian side of the river, forced the trustees to take cognizance of the undercurrent of danger, and sentries were posted, not only at night, but in the daytime.

The territory of Indiana was created in 1802 by an act of congress, and its boundaries contained all that is now the state of Michigan. General William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of Indiana terri-

* C. M. Burton in "Detroit and Wayne County."

tory, and was authorized to call an election for territorial delegates. His proclamation ordered this election to be held in January, 1805, the first of the following month being the date set for the convening of the delegates elected. Owing to a lack of facilities for communication, or a misunderstanding, Wayne county sent no delegates to the convention. Before the matter could be adjusted, an act of congress relieved Governor Harrison of his jurisdiction over Wayne county.

Dissatisfied with the manner in which their interests had been handled, the people of the lake regions, desirous of carving for themselves a future, became active in behalf of a new order of things. In December, 1804, an assembly convened at Detroit, and to James May and Robert Abbott was entrusted the task of petitioning congress for the establishment of a separate territory to be known by the name of Michigan. The petition asked that the territory embrace all the country contained in Wayne county, which had comprised, since 1796, the area to the northward of an imaginary line drawn eastward from the foot of Lake Michigan. On June 30, 1805, the act was passed, and the territory of which what is now the Wolverine state forms the major part, was born. A governor and three judges constituted the legislature for the new territory, which organized within a month after the passage of the act.

The new territory consisted of all of the area now contained in the lower peninsula of the state; the eastern half of the northern peninsula, and that portion of the present states of Ohio and Indiana which lay north of an easterly line drawn from the foot of Lake Michigan. The easterly confines of the territory lay along the Canadian frontier; and this, under the Jay treaty, extended from Sault Ste. Marie to the north of Mackinac Island, and thence through the centers of Lakes Huron and St. Clair, and along the principal navigable waters of the St. Clair and Detroit rivers. On the west the territory was bounded by a line running nearly north and south through the center of Lake Michigan. Those to whom was allotted the task of governing the new territory were: William Hull, governor; Stanley Griswold, secretary; Frederick Bates, treasurer; and Augustus Woodward, Frederick Bates and John Griffin, justices of the supreme court. Among these the executive, legislative and judicial functions of government were divided. The federal ordinance of 1787 was adopted as the underlying law of the territory. Detroit became the capital.

In the light of future events, it is interesting to present a sketch of the careers of those to whom the reins of power were then entrusted, as given in Burton's "The Landmarks of Detroit," a well written work: "William Hull was a native of Derby, Connecticut, and was born June 24, 1753, of English ancestry. Young Hull entered Yale college and graduated after a four-years' course when he was nineteen. He taught school and afterward studied law at Litchfield, being admitted to the bar in 1775. He was elected captain of a Derby regiment which proceeded to Cambridge, then Washington's headquarters. It is said Hull was a brave soldier, but the only separate command he was entrusted with was a force of four hundred men in an expedition against Morrisania, on the East river near Hell Gate, New York. At the conclusion of the Revolution he settled at Newton, Massachusetts, and practiced law. In

1793 he was appointed commissioner to make arrangements for a treaty with the western Indians, then at war with the United States, but nothing came of it. In the same year he was appointed judge of the court of common pleas, and was also elected senator in the Massachusetts legislature. He was a popular man and was reelected every year until he was appointed governor of Michigan territory. In the latter position he was appointed for three years and was reappointed for two successive terms. When he arrived at Detroit, he was a little over fifty-two years of age.

"Augustus B. Woodward, the presiding judge of the territory, was a native of New York City. He held the position from the time the territory was created until 1823, when he was virtually legislated out of office. He began the practice of the law in Washington in 1795. Personally and judicially, the judge was an unique and interesting character, and his name and fame are indissolubly connected with the history of Detroit. Woodward had a legal mind of no common order; he had great literary ability and fine executive and administrative powers, but his merits as a jurist and legislator were obscured by his colossal vanity. No ruler of Detroit was ever so detested by the more intelligent citizens, but he nevertheless had many friends. His initiative in law, politics and municipal affairs was generally adopted. Complaint after complaint with reference to his official conduct went to congress, signed by the most influential citizens, but his influence at Washington was strong enough to enable him to hold his position, until an act was passed providing that the people of the territory should elect their own legislature in 1824 and thereafter. His experience in trying to be elected delegate to congress, in which he was twice defeated, showed him that his career in Michigan was over. He resigned shortly after the act was passed and went to Washington, where he was appointed judge of the territory of Florida.

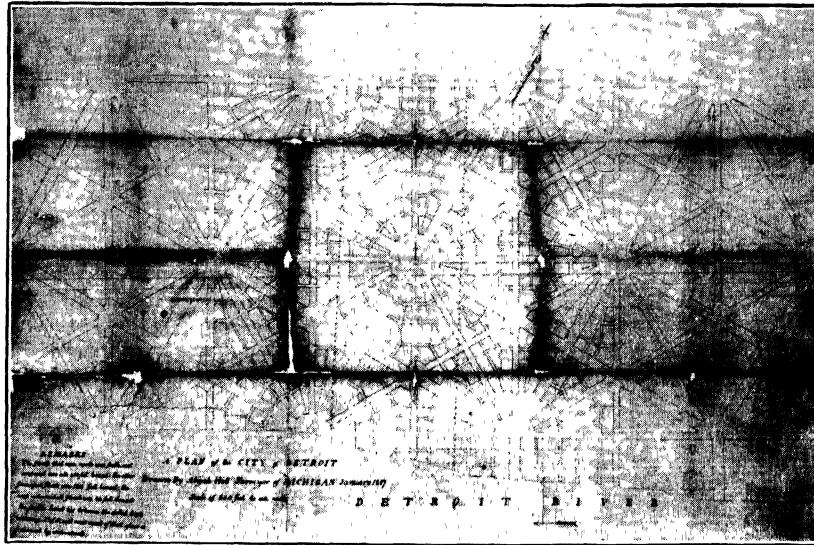
"Frederick Bates came to Detroit from Ohio in 1797 and engaged in mercantile business, improving his mind in his leisure hours by studying law and history. He was postmaster of Detroit from 1802 to 1806. Official honors then came thick upon him. In 1804 he was appointed receiver of the Detroit land office; trustee in 1804-5, territorial judge in 1805-6, and territorial treasurer in the same year.

"John Griffin who was territorial justice of the supreme court from 1805 to 1823 was exactly contemporary with Woodward in that office. He was subservient to Woodward and invariably voted with him on the bench. Griffin was territorial judge in Indiana before the territory of Michigan was formed."

As a logical sequence to the disordered state of the times, the sudden shifts from one government to another, and the mixture of races gathered, Detroit was in a state of social, business and political chaos, and personal rights, as enjoyed in this age of enlightened liberty, were frequently violated by those who had the power. The autocratic tendencies of the old world had been deeply engrafted upon the disposition of the people. Wealth and education were factors in forming an aristocracy which raised social barriers that were impassable. Petty officials demanded a recognition of sharply defined lines of social demarkation, and, naturally, much ill feeling was engendered which later embittered the political contests of the early years of civil government.

Governor Hull ruled with almost despotic power, leaving a record which vied with that of the chief justice for disregard of the rights of the people. Thus Detroit and the territory became victims of the selfishness and egotism of the governor and chief justice, and they were soon at odds about many matters of public policy. The first outbreak of this antagonism followed the great fire in 1805.

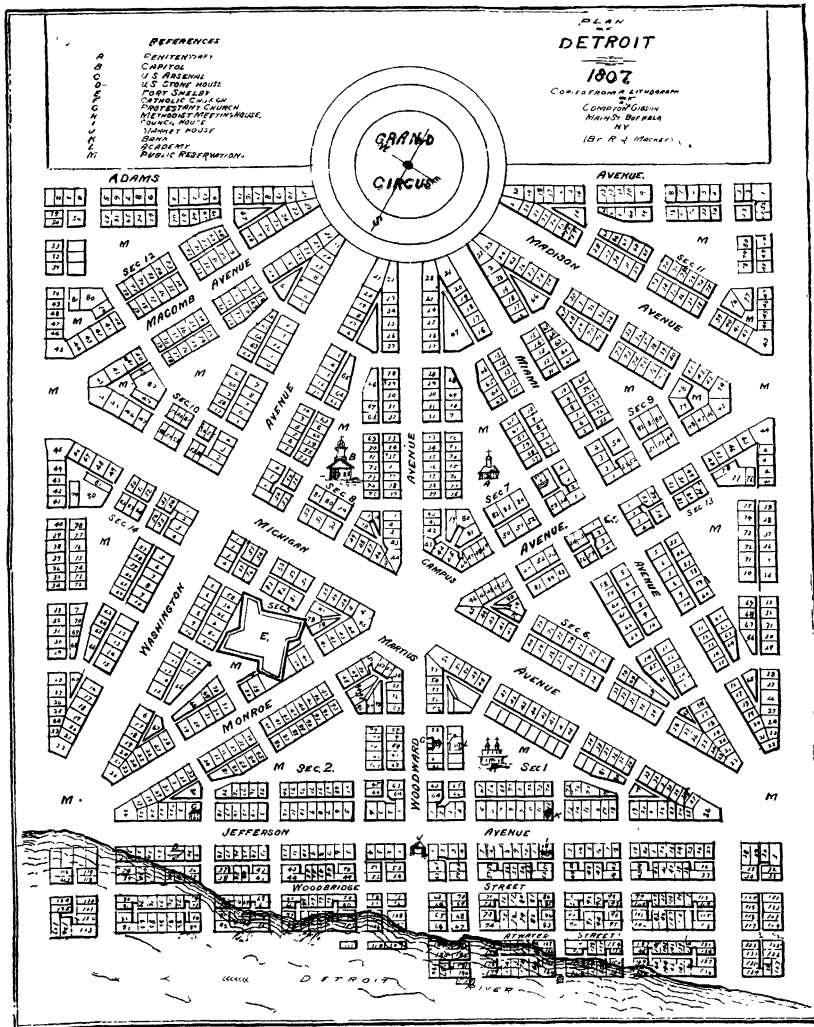
"Governor Hull did not reach the place until June 12, 1805, and he found what had been the village, only a mass of ashes and smoldering embers," says C. M. Burton. "It had been destroyed by fire the day before. As many of the people as could be accommodated, were taken into the fort, which occupied the site of present postoffice, and the others camped on the commons in such places as they could find. The garrison furnished



PHOTOGRAPH OF WOODWARD'S PLAN OF DETROIT (1807)

some tents, and some slept in the open air. In all history I do not recall another instance of the complete destruction of a village such as Detroit suffered at this time. Everything was in the utmost confusion, and remained so for a long time. There were no great mills to turn out lumber for new houses, but the people set to work, almost in desperation and prepared habitations for the coming winter."

The conflagration started from the carelessness of a laborer employed by John Harvey, a baker, who smoked a pipe while putting the harness on a team of horses in a stable on St. Anne street, now Jefferson avenue, between what are now Shelby and Wayne streets. It began at nine o'clock in the morning and raged until well on toward night. Though the citizens and soldiers worked heroically, nothing could check the spread of the flames. The narrow streets offered no impediment to the fire, fed as it



ORIGINAL PLAN PERFECTED AFTER THE FIRE OF 1805

was by the wooden structures and thatched roofs. Out of more than two hundred buildings within the stockade only one was left standing, a warehouse belonging to Robert McNiff on St. Anne street.

One great good that resulted from the fire was the laying out of a new plan for the village on a larger scale, in cobweb form designed by Judge Woodward.* During the winter of 1805-6 congress passed laws authorizing the platting of the new village and distribution of lots to those who lived in the settlement before the fire. The resurrection of the village was rapid, but the site changed somewhat, and stores were built on Woodward avenue below Jefferson avenue, and on the side streets. An attempt was made to divert the center of trade to the corner of Randolph and Atwater street, but the attempt only demonstrated that it is not within the power of man to control the movement of the center of trade of a city. No new picket line was established around the new village until a little before the commencement of the war of 1812. The people then became frightened at the threats of an Indian uprising, and a new picket line was built, extended from the governor's house, where the old Biddle house (at present used for stores) now stands, northerly along Randolph to Cadillac Square, and thence along that street and Michigan avenue to the old picket line at Wayne street, and thence to the river. Just outside this picket line on the east was the farm of Elijah Brush. Mr. Brush was an attorney who had come to the village shortly after the American occupancy, and who became prominent in village affairs, and a man of influence and wealth. He married Adelaide, the daughter of John Askin, who then resided on the Canadian side of the river. Mr. Askin was deeply involved in debt, and his son-in-law took from him the present Brush farm and agreed to pay the purchase price to Askin's Montreal creditors. It was with much privation and hard work that he was enabled to carry out his contract, but he worked with indomitable will and finally left the farm as a rich legacy to the support of his descendants to the fourth generation, who are now living from its income, and it bids fair to last at least another generation.

* The plan of Judge Woodward was evolved from ideas he received while in Washington, where he was the great friend of a noted architect. It was in the form of a half wagon wheel, with the present site of the City Hall as the hub, the streets running north, northeast, east, northwest and west, forming the spokes, broken by park spaces; the cross streets were like the lateral strands of a spider's web. An instance as to how far Judge Woodward looked ahead of his time can be seen from the remarks of a writer on the subject, who said that the Judge's plan would take more years to fill the contemplated city, than those between the fall of Rome and the present day (1876). Now, one hundred and six years after the destruction of the city, public spirited men wish that Judge Woodward's plan had been adhered to, as the metropolis of the state has spread beyond the wildest prophecy of even the progressive leaders of a quarter of a century ago, containing within its limits 41.44 square miles.

CHAPTER XII

MORE TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS—TECUMSEH AND HIS BROTHER, THE PROPHET, UNDERTAKE A SECOND PONTIAC CONSPIRACY, INSTIGATED AND AIDED BY THE BRITISH—REVIVAL OF THE OLD STORY AS TO AMERICAN GREED AND AGGRESSION—BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR OF 1812—SAVAGES AGAIN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH—HULL CROSSES INTO CANADA.

While Detroit was basking in the sunshine of prospective peace, and petty internal jealousies took the place of savage combat, the clouds of conflict were again gathering, casting their shadows over the great lakes country.

In addition to the settlements along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers and Lake St. Clair, where there was a continuous line of cottages with farms adjoining containing orchards of apple and pear trees planted by the pioneers of New France during the time of Louis XIV, and the old posts at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, the French had a line of cottages on the River Raisin at Frenchtown (now Monroe). The interior of the country was little known, save to those who were engaged in the fur trade, and these were interested in representing it in as unfavorable a light as possible. The Indian titles to the land had been only partially extinguished, and few American settlers had, therefore, ventured into this region, though the adjoining state of Ohio had acquired a considerable population. The distance of this territory from populous centers, and the unsettled state of affairs along the western borders of the lakes, necessarily prevented immigration. On the opposite shores was installed a jealous foreign power, and the country thus secluded was occupied by different savage tribes.*

The third attempted Indian confederacy was not only countenanced by the English, but was directly instigated by them. The motives which led to it, the means which were used to bring it about, were the same as used in inciting the former uprisings under Pontiac and Little Turtle. The old story was revived that the new rulers of the lands were about to drive the Indians from them. The chief projectors of this third confederacy of the savages were Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. The warlike leader of the uprising was Tecumseh, while the Prophet, whose Indian name was Elkswatawa, was to operate on the minds of the savages by means of superstition and to excite them to fanatical fury.

* Lanman's "Red Book of Michigan."

The Indians claimed the treaties made by them had not been lived up to by the Americans; that the Indians were deceived, being in a state of intoxication when they signed away their lands. The Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies, operating under one management, were most active in influencing the Indians against the Americans, as, if the Americans were permitted to occupy this territory, the occupation would cut the companies off from valuable trade.

The Prophet began his campaign among the Indians in 1806. Taking advantage of the superstitions of the savages, he told them the Great Spirit had appeared to him in a dream and appointed him his agent upon the earth; and as such, his own tribe, the Shawanese, being the oldest tribe of the west, he was commanded to form a confederacy against the United States. He said he had also been instructed to proclaim to the red men that it was the will of the Manitou that they should throw aside the arts of civilization, return to their skins for clothing, to their bows and war clubs for arms, renounce the intoxicating drinks of the white men for pure water, and resume in all things the customs of their ancestors. The whites, the Prophet said, had driven the Indians from the seacoast, and now there was no alternative but to make a stand where they were and drive the invaders back to the other side of the Alleghany mountains.

The plan of this league was similar to that of Pontiac. Tecumseh's intention was to surprise the posts at Detroit, Fort Wayne, Chicago, St. Louis and Vincennes and to unite all tribes from the western borders of New York to the Mississippi. As early as 1807 Tecumseh and his brothers were actively engaged in sending emissaries to the more distant tribes to distribute presents and war belts, to induce them to join in the general uprising, and when in 1811 the comet appeared, they artfully turned it to their account, telling the savages it was a signal from the Great Spirit to begin a war of extermination. On May 4, 1811, a special mission of Ottawas was sent to a distant post on Lake Superior to tell them that such villages as did not join in the war would be cut off from the face of the earth. Such were the means used to arouse the Indians to attack the settlements of the west, and to later unite with the British in the following year.

Detroit, right in the path of the brewing storm, was poorly defended. The population was small and little had been done to encourage the settlement of the lands in the territory of Michigan. It was cut off from the east, not a single steamer navigated the lakes, and no roads had been built into the interior. There was nothing to the north and west save Indian trails. No land had been offered for sale, and a large portion of western New York was still unoccupied. There were not lacking symptoms of coming trouble at Detroit. In September, 1808, a council of Hurons was called at Brownstown, near Detroit, and at the instigation of their principal chief, Walk-in-the-Water, they spoke to Governor Hull freely of their grievances. Walk-in-the-Water was spokesman. He set forth the title of his tribe to a large tract of territory near the mouth of the Detroit river which was claimed by the United States under the treaty of Greenville. Much dissatisfaction with this treaty was expressed, and

the encroachments upon the soil of the Indians was most vigorously protested against.

There were, in the entire territory of Michigan, but nine settlements of any consequence; nor was the character of the population such as would give much hope of active resistance to the enemy in the conflict that was to come. These nine settlements were situated on the rivers Miami and Raisin; on the Huron or Lake Erie; on the Ecorse, Rouge and Detroit; on the Huron of Lake St. Clair, the St. Clair river, and at Mackinac. The villages on the Miami, the Raisin, and the Huron of Lake Erie, contained about thirteen hundred people; the post at Detroit, and the settlements on the Rouge and Ecorse, and on the Huron of St. Clair, numbered two thousand two hundred; the Island of Mackinac, with the small detachment of log houses, about a thousand. Detroit was garrisoned by ninety-four men, and Mackinac by seventy-nine. Thus it will be seen that the entire white population of the territory of Michigan, in 1811, was only about four thousand eight hundred, four-fifths of whom were French Canadians and the remainder chiefly American, with a sprinkling of English and Scotch. As there was no longer any doubt of the hostile intentions of the Indians it was deemed prudent to present a memorial to congress setting forth the defenseless condition of the territory and praying for aid from that body. Accordingly on December 27, 1811, such a petition was drawn up, signed by the prominent citizens of Detroit and forwarded to Washington.

As a result of the joint efforts of Tecumseh and the Prophet, a large body of Indians, numbering about eight hundred, were drawn from Lake Superior to the Prophet's station at Tippecanoe. Tradition has it that nearly one-third of them perished on the way from **want and exposure**. The plans of Tecumseh and the Prophet were nearly ripe for action, and parties of the Miamis, Chippewas, Wyandottes, Mississauguas, Shawnees, and Winnebagoes were to be seen with their bodies painted for war and with the tomahawk in their hands. These hostile demonstrations were made against the French settlements where the warriors made their appearance fully armed, their faces hideously painted, their heads decorated with eagle feathers and bear's claws hanging about their necks. Houses were broken into, pillaged and destroyed, and the bee hives of farmers were chopped to pieces. Near the banks of the Kalamazoo river a smith's forge had been set up, and in a retired spot, not far from it, surrounded by a dense piece of timber, were gathered the Indian women and children for the purpose of raising corn to supply food to the warriors. Tecumseh, when asked about the movement, denied the existence of any confederacy, and said the gathering of Indians was for the purpose of strengthening the amicable relations between the savages and the whites. Indian warriors from all directions now flocked to Tecumseh. The British were intently watching the red men and an agent of that government said to a chief: "My son, keep your eyes fixed upon me. My tomahawk is now up. Be ready, but do not strike until I give the word."

It could be plainly seen that the storm of conflict was soon to break, and that while the Americans had strictly observed treaty stipulations and hoped for peace, England had prepared for war. Patience ceased to be a virtue, according to the weight of historical authority, and the storm

broke with the declaration of war against Great Britain by the United States on June 12, 1812. In addition to the petition sent to congress the year before, Governor Hull again called the attention of congress to the defenseless condition of Michigan territory. He showed that the posts at Detroit, Mackinac and Chicago were badly fortified, and had insufficient garrisons, while at no great distance from them there were large bodies of British subjects who could, when hostilities started, be brought against them. He pointed out that the entire American force in the territory amounted to but five thousand men, whereas the Canadian militia numbered more than one hundred thousand, and that the forests about Detroit were filled with hostile savages, secretly pledged to the confederacy of Tecumseh. He dwelt upon the importance of Detroit, saying it commanded a wide extent of territory and furnished a point of supply in operations against the Indians. He counseled that a powerful naval armament be equipped on Lake Erie, sufficiently to command the inland seas and to cooperate with the forces at Detroit.

A body of troops, twelve hundred strong, was soon gathered at Dayton, Ohio, augmented by a few volunteers. These were formed into three regiments commanded by Colonels Duncan, McArthur, James Findlay and Lewis Cass, and a fourth regiment of about three hundred was placed under the command of Colonel Miller; the whole being placed under the command of General Hull, governor of the territory of Michigan. This command was in the face of the fact that Hull, in the disposition of lots after the fire at Detroit, had sold to the privileged few the choicest pieces of property, had enriched himself in the formation of the militia by specifying uniforms which could only be purchased at his store, and had, as governor, committed many other acts in violation of personal rights. John Gentle, who was at that time correspondent of a Pittsburg paper, wrote of Hull: "The farmers were commanded to quit their harvest fields and repair to the city, armed and equipped with pick-axes and shovels, all day, to dig trenches and plant pickets around the Brush farm, adjoining the city, without fee or reward, and to stand guard over their 'lords and masters' during the silent night, with hungry bellies; whilst their families in the country were exposed to the dangers of the scalping knife, and their grain to rot." There was no redress, for the autocratic governor promptly clapped any insubordinate into the lock-up. Hull was commander-in-chief of the gaudily dressed militia, uniformed appropriately for a royal guard, at their own expense and his profit.

On May 23, General Hull started from Dayton for Detroit, with the troops which had been collected to strengthen that post. From Urbana to Detroit, a distance of two hundred miles, the march lay through trackless forests through which a road had to be cut. During this laborious movement war with Great Britain was declared, but the government, with a negligence that has never been explained, trusted to the slow movement of the mails of that period in notifying General Hull of the opening of hostilities. Upon the arrival of the troops at the Maumee of the Lakes, a vessel was secured for the transportation of sick soldiers and such articles of bulk as could not easily be transported by land. As this vessel was on its way to Detroit, via the Malden channel, it was captured by the British who communicated to the Americans the first news of the declara-

tion of war. It was not until July 2nd that General Hull received from his government the official notice of the declaration of war.

Clarence M. Burton says: "There was a small force of British regulars at Fort Malden, now Amherstburg, Ontario, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel T. B. St. George. He had been informed of the opening of hostilities, and was on the lookout for the approach of Hull's army, and thus captured the schooner 'Cuyahoga,' employed by Hull for the transportation of the sick and some supplies. In the luggage was a dispatch box belonging to General Hull containing private letters and instructions from Hull telling of his plans for the future. This, of course, gave the British much valuable information. Hull pushed on with his troops to Detroit, but being delayed by rains, did not reach the post until July 7th. On the day before, Hull sent from the River Rouge, Colonel Cass, and Captain Hickman, Hull's son-in-law, with two hundred and fifty men to Colonel St. George at Amherstburg, with a note demanding the return of the baggage captured on the 'Cuyahoga.' He also suggested that an arrangement be made for the exchange of prisoners. The baggage was not returned." "In anticipation of the declaration of war," continues Mr. Burton, "the citizens of Detroit had made some preparations for arming the militia. There were many men living in the place who had taken an active part in the Revolution, and their ardor was not abated by the trials through which they had passed." Their desire to punish England for her constant insults and acts of aggressions since the close of the former conflict caused them to readily enroll themselves in the militia companies, and they were well drilled in anticipation of active service in the conflict to come. Governor Hull, who was commander-in-chief of the militia, being absent, his duty fell upon Reuben Attwater, secretary of the territory and acting governor. James Witherell, one of the judges of the supreme court, was appointed major in command of the detachment of militia raised at the Rivers Raisin, Huron and Maumee. A troop of cavalry was organized at Detroit and a three-gun battery was erected close to the military store on Jefferson avenue near the present Wayne street, on the bluff that overlooked the river. Other officers of the militia, George McDougall, Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush, were present with their companies to welcome General Hull with his army when he arrived. The tired soldiers rested from their long march for a few days, and were engaged in cleaning their arms preparatory to active work. Early on the morning of July 12th the army passed eastward along the river road, the scene of Dalzell's defeat at the hands of Pontiac, and crossed the river at Belle Isle to the Canadian shore, meeting with no opposition.

The Canadian militia had been summoned to the aid of the British regulars and had gathered at Malden and Sandwich under Colonel James Baby and Matthew Elliott. In addition to these troops, there were as allies, between two and three hundred Indians under Tecumseh. The militia were but imperfectly armed, having been called from their farms to fight for the king. Colonel St. George had a poor opinion of the militia. In a letter written on July 12th he said if the companies from Kent and Essex counties continued to be as much alarmed as they then were, he would withdraw them. "I am at present so disagreeably situated from

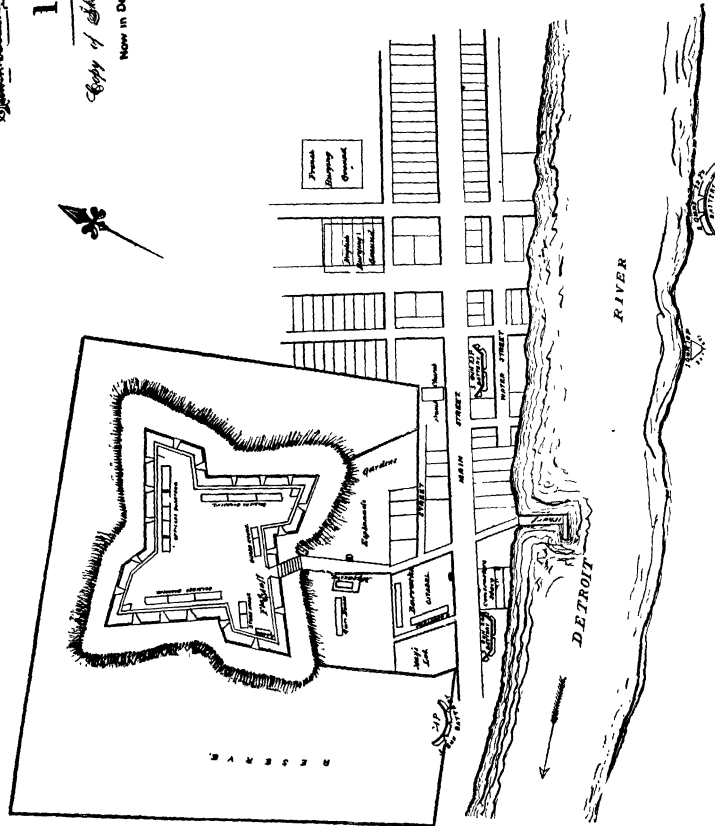
the prevailing disposition of both officers and men," he continued, "that I have no doubt in an attack on Sandwich, which the enemy seems to be preparing for, the force there will be compelled to retreat to this place (Amherstburg) before that happens, which would throw the militia into a state of confusion and disorganize the entire body. Before it is too late, I shall most likely think it incumbent upon me to bring them down here and make the best of them—perhaps they will show a better spirit when they have a larger body of regulars to set them an example." Immediately on seeing Hull and his army cross the river, the Canadian militia withdrew to Amherstburg, taking with them all the cattle and provisions that could be found, Francis Baby having been commissioned to carry off everything that might assist the Americans if captured by them. The Canadian militia then began to desert from the British army in large numbers, and Colonel St. George reported a few days later that only four hundred and seventy-one men were left. These were in such a state as to be utterly inefficient in the field.

General Hull marched on to Sandwich and took possession of Mr. Baby's house as his headquarters. Intrenchments were thrown up, and barriers were erected along the line toward Malden. Hull issued a proclamation of protection to the Canadians, directing them to remain in their houses. Colonel Lewis Cass is claimed to be the author of the proclamation which was dated July 13th. "After thirty years of peace and prosperity," it said, "the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance, or unconditional submission." The proclamation then declared that the Americans came, not as enemies, of mere conquering invaders, but to tender the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty, and their necessary results, individual and general prosperity. The Canadians were warned, however, that they would be shown no mercy if they were found fighting by the side of the Indians. "No white man," continued the proclamation, "found fighting with the Indians will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot." It was this proclamation, it is said, that caused the wholesale desertion of the militia from the British army.



1812.

Copy of Sketch by Wm. Evans.
Now in Detroit Public Library.



WILLIAM EVANS DREW UP THIS SKETCH DURING WAR OF 1812

CHAPTER XIII

WAR OF 1812 CONTINUED—MOVEMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY TOWARD AMHERSTBURG—FIRST BATTLE OF THE WAR AT RIVER CANARDS—IMPETUOUS BRAVERY OF COLONEL LEWIS CASS—FRUITS OF VICTORY NULLIFIED BY HULL'S DILATORY TACTICS—OFFICERS LOSE FAITH IN THE COMMANDER—INEXCUSABLE INACTIVITY ON THE PART OF GENERAL HULL—EXPEDITION DISPATCHED TO MEET CAPTAIN BUSH, EN ROUTE TO DETROIT WITH SUPPLIES, DEFEATED BY INDIANS.

This portion of the war of 1812, affecting, as it did, Detroit and its future, will be read with mingled feelings of pride and regret; pride at the fearlessness and energy of most of those connected with those events, and regret that the record should be smirched by Hull, no matter what the reasons for his course may have been. This is a chronicle of events in which both sides of the question will be given as far as possible.

On the morning of July 13, 1812, General Hull sent a reconnoitering party toward Fort Malden, at the little village of Amherstburg, eighteen miles below his headquarters, a spot associated in the minds of the people of the west with everything hideous in the annals of their suffering from Indian depredations, for there the raids upon the frontier settlements had been arranged by Elliott, McKee, Girty and others. The troops were anxious to break up that nest of vultures; and the reconnoitering party under Captain Henry Ulery, of Colonel Findlay's regiment, went most willingly. They returned toward evening with the intelligence that at Turkey creek, nine miles below the camp, they had been informed that about two hundred Indians, under Tecumseh (then in the British service) had been lying in ambush at the southern end of the bridge over that stream, and the forest was full of prowling savages. Hull immediately ordered the camp to be fortified on the land side, and what cannon he had to be placed in battery on the bank of the river; for vague rumors came that the British were about to send a fleet up to cooperate with the land forces in an attack on the Americans. Rumors also came of Indians up the river, and a detachment of Sloan's cavalry was sent in that direction. This detachment sent back word that it had discovered a party of savages. At eight o'clock, on the same evening, Colonel McArthur with one hundred men went in pursuit. The chase was a lively one and at Ruscum river the Americans fell upon the rear of the fugitives who dispersed, fled to the woods and escaped. McArthur was about to return, when Captain Smith of the Detroit Dragoons overtook him with orders to push on to the settlements on the Thames river in search of provisions. He instantly

obeyed and penetrated as far as the Moravian settlement, sixty miles from its mouth, near which the battle of the Thames occurred in 1813. Here he found many farm houses along the picturesque banks of the stream, with fertile fields abounding on all sides. Among the homes near its mouth was that of Isaac Hull, a nephew of the general. The owner had fled upon the approach of the Americans. The house was guarded by a file of British soldiers. These were disarmed and paroled. Boats along the stream were seized and loaded with provisions, the winnings of the expedition, and on the seventeenth of July, McArthur returned to the American camp with two hundred barrels of flour, four hundred blankets and quite a large amount of military stores. These were chiefly British property, collected for the British troops at Malden, yet Hull gave a receipt for the whole, public and private.

Meanwhile, small expeditions had been sent toward Malden. Colonel Cass, with two hundred and eighty men accompanied by Colonel Miller, pushed forward to the Ta-ron-tee, as the Indians called it, a stream named by the French Riviere Aux Canards, which passed through the broad marshes into the Detroit river, about four miles above Malden. On the southern side of a bridge was an English picket composed of some of the Forty-first regiment, and a body of Indians under Tecumseh. Leaving a company of forty riflemen in ambush, Colonel Cass marched three or four miles up the stream to a ford, came down on the south side, wading streams armpit deep, and confronted the enemy at sunset. He was checked by a deep tributary of the main river, and was compelled to make a detour of more than a mile to gain the shore next to the guardians of the bridge. This was soon accomplished, and forming, with his riflemen on each wing, Cass dashed upon the foe with great impetuosity, causing them to flee at the first volley. Cass had been reinforced, and three times he rallied, changed front and fired upon the enemy who were now completely demoralized. Cass chased the fugitives three miles, the drums beating "Yankee Doodle." When night fell the pursuit was given up and Cass and his men returned to the bridge. A courier was sent to headquarters to ask permission to hold the bridge, as it would be of great importance in the march of the army toward Malden. Having been reinforced by the remainder of the Fourth United States regiment and a piece of artillery under Captain Eastman, a council of officers was convened, a majority of whom favored leaving the bridge, while Colonel Cass and Captain Snelling insisted on holding it. Hull refused Cass's request, saying it was too near the enemy to be held with safety by a small detachment, and not having received his cannon from Detroit, the general was not prepared to attack Malden. The impatient officers and the soldiers murmured loudly, but Hull was unyielding. This was the first battle and first victory in the second war for independence. It was hailed throughout the United States as an omen of success, and Colonel Cass was dubbed "the Hero of Ta-ron-tee." He took two prisoners and learned from deserters that some of the enemy were killed and nine or ten wounded, while he did not lose a man.

This is acknowledged by historians to be one of the most fatal of the delays of Hull in the early movements of the Canadian invasion. "This determination," says Wallace, in the *Licking Valley Register*, 1842, "oe-

casioned a delay of nearly three weeks, which proved most fatal to the results of the campaign. Had he been prepared for an immediate attack upon Fort Malden, our campaign would have been as glorious as it was otherwise disastrous, and the name of General Hull would have been exalted to the skies."

That the Americans could have easily taken Malden, there is no doubt. The fort itself was weak, and the garrison weaker. The Indians and militia were constantly deserting. The fort, according to Lossing, consisted of four bastions, flanking a dry ditch, with a single interior defense of picketing, perforated with loop holes for musketry. All of the buildings were of wood, roofed with dry shingles. A few shells would have destroyed the works. The garrison was composed of about two hundred men of the first battalion of the Forty-first regiment, commanded by Captain Muir; a very weak detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Invincibles, and a subaltern command of artillery, under Lieutenant Troughton. The exact number of Indians there at that time is not known. Colonel St. George, the commander of the fort, was so well convinced of his inability to hold it against a respectable force, that orders were given to the garrison to be ready at a moment's notice to leave the works. He preferred to risk a battle in the open field rather than to incur the dangers of a siege in a fortification so untenable. Hull did not advance upon Malden, and the post was thus saved, and speedily strengthened. The activity of the American army was confined to small expeditions and foraging expeditions which broke the monotony, while time most precious to the American cause was passing away; "wasted," as one young officer put it.* "I can scarcely restrain my indignation sufficiently to describe the event in deliberate terms," said an officer in 1817. "The officers under Hull, from this occurrence, began to distrust the views of the general, and their opinion of his abilities began to dwindle into contempt."†

A report reached the camp on the evening of July 17, that "The Queen Charlotte," a British armed vessel of eighteen guns, was sailing up the river committing depredations on the American side. Colonel Findlay was dispatched with a small reconnoitering party toward the Aux Canard, and found the planks of the bridge torn up and the timbers formed into breastworks on the south side of the river, while the "Queen Charlotte" lay at the mouth of the stream within easy supporting distance. The great advantage obtained by Colonel Cass in gaining possession of the bridge was thus irretrievably lost. On the following day a small party under Captain Snelling went down as a corps of observation; and, to the delight of the whole army, Hull issued an order for its movement which gave implied assurance of an advance on Malden. Under the direction of that order, Colonel McArthur, on the morning of the 19th, marched down the river with a detachment of his regiment, one hundred and fifty strong, and joined Captain Snelling at Petite Cote, a settlement about a mile above the bridge.

McArthur was instructed to ascertain the situation at Aux Canard, but not to go within reach of the guns of the "Queen Charlotte." With

* Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812," page 265.

† Robt. McAfee's "History of the Late War in the Western Country," page 65.

his adjutant, he went to the top of a ridge. He found that the battery on the south side of the river was supported by about sixty regulars, twenty-five dragoons, and fifty Indians. Skirmishing ensued between Indians who had crossed the stream on a few remaining timbers of the bridge, and the American riflemen. Colonel McArthur was fired upon by a gun-boat lying under the bank, the presence of which had not before been discovered. He was also in danger of being cut off from the remainder of his command by a body of Indians under Tecumseh. Soon afterward the whole American force became engaged with the Indians. The ammunition of the former becoming scarce, they fell back and Colonel McArthur sent a courier to camp for reinforcements. On the arrival of the message, Colonel Cass hastened down the river with one hundred and fifty men and a six pounder. He met the retreating detachment at Turkey creek bridge, and the whole force again pushed on to Petite Cote where they encamped for the night. The enemy, in the meantime, had been reinforced with both men and artillery. Cass was anxious to attack them, and, at his request, Colonel McArthur ordered the whole force toward the bridge. A few shots from the six pounder were exchanged with the artillery of the enemy, but with little result; and toward evening the Americans marched back to camp, fatigued and dispirited, and bereft of all confidence in the commanding general. All accused him of incapacity; many of them denounced him in private conversation as a coward, and a few expressed the belief that he was treacherous. These suspicions were confirmed in their minds by his leaving his army on July 21st, and remaining at Detroit four days, without, as they alleged, any but frivolous pretexts.

During the absence of Hull, the command of the army developed upon Colonel McArthur, who resolved to make an effort to attack Malden. He dispatched Captain McCullough with rangers to seek a passage for artillery over the Aux Canards above the bridge, so as to avoid the guns from the "Queen Charlotte" and the gun-boat. He found it practically impossible, owing to the deep morasses that bordered on the stream for several miles. Informed that the Indians had been seen between the river and Turkey creek, McArthur sent Major Denny and one hundred and seventeen men, all militia, to drive them back. The major marched on the night of the 24th and early next morning found an Indian ambuscade at the Petite Cote settlement, where he captured a French captain of militia whose company was stationed at Malden. During the day Americans had several skirmishes with the Indians. In the last encounter part of Denny's line gave way, and he was compelled to retreat in confusion for two miles and a half, closely pursued by the Indians. Near the Turkey creek bridge the major tried to rally his men, but in vain. They crossed the bridge and met General Lucas, with reinforcements, when the whole party returned to camp. Denny had lost six killed and two wounded. This was the first American bloodshed during the war.

On the morning of July 17th, Mackinac, under command of General Hancks, was surrendered to the British, who had an overwhelming force, consisting of forty-six regular troops, two hundred and sixty Canadian militia and 1,021 Indians. John Askin, of the British storekeeping de-

partment, in a letter to Colonel William Claus at Fort George, said it was fortunate that Mackinac was surrendered without the firing of a gun; "for, had a gun been fired, I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved." The capture of Fort Mackinac was of the highest importance to the British interests, as it gave them the key to the fur trade. The command of the upper lakes was thus transferred to the enemy. Lossing says: "The prison bar that kept back the savages of that locality and secured their neutrality was withdrawn, and Detroit was exposed to fearful raids by these fierce barbarians of the wilderness, whose numbers were unknown, and the dread of whom made the whole frontier shudder." Again the criminal delay in notifying an American commander of the declaration of war was responsible for disaster, for had Hancks been informed of the fact earlier, American, instead of British efforts might have been successful.

Hull was appalled at the fall of Mackinac, and was further worried by the web of difficulties which was being spun around him, partly due to his own inactivity. He had sent to the governors of Ohio and Kentucky for reinforcements and supplies, but had received no definite word of their approach. The savage chiefs in alliance with Great Britain had sent couriers to all tribes as far south and east as the Maumee, informing them of the fall of Mackinac and of the investment of Chicago; of their active preparations to proceed to Malden, join the Indians there and attack Detroit. From the east came a rumor that the Canadians and Indians were marching to Malden, and that a detachment of British soldiers with artillery, under the command of Major Chambers, had landed at the west end of Lake Ontario, penetrated in the direction of Detroit to the river Thames; were receiving great accessions of Indians and militia on their march, and that Colonel Proctor of the British army had arrived at Malden with reinforcements from Fort Erie. In addition to these alarming reports, Hull, in his "Campaign of the War of 1812," says he discovered a spirit of mutiny in his own camp. "A spirit which before had manifested itself in whispers, increased and became more open. It was evident it was now fostered and encouraged by the principal officers of the militia, and was fast rising into an avowed conspiracy." At this period Hull was cheered by the information that Captain Henry Brush of Chillicothe, Ohio, with two hundred and thirty volunteers, one hundred beef cattle, other provisions, and a quantity of mail, was at the crossing of the river Raisin, thirty-five miles distant.

The vigilance and courage of General Brock, qualities lacking in Hull, saved Upper Canada from a disastrous invasion. Collecting militia and Indians, he marched toward Malden, with Long Point as a rendezvous.

Hull received word that a body of Indians and some British regulars had crossed the Detroit river and were near Brownstown, at the mouth of the Huron river twenty-five miles from Detroit, where they went for the purpose of intercepting Captain Brush. The latter was unwilling to risk an encounter with his small force and sent to Hull for assistance. The general hesitated, and when the Ohio colonels joined in a request that an escort be sent to the Raisin, Hull flatly refused compliance. Later, however, better council prevailed, and after "much persuasion," he ordered Major Thomas B. Van Horn, of Colonel Findlay's Ohio regiment,

to proceed to the Raisin with a detachment of two hundred and fifty men from that corps, to join Captain Brush. Van Horn was not slow in starting. He crossed the Detroit river on August 4th, and encamped that night on the banks of the Ecorse river, where the soldiers slept on their arms. They resumed their march early the next morning. A slight fog veiled the flat country along the borders of the river. The air was still and sultry. Four spies under Captain McCullough preceded the troops to watch for the enemy. They lost their way, and, while passing around a cornfield, were fired upon by a dozen Indians who lay concealed in ambush there. McCullough fell from his horse severely wounded and, before his men could reach him, the Indians scalped him, thus depriving the country of one of the most gallant officers in the American army. Van Horn, at the house of a Frenchman, was informed that several hundred Indians and British were in ambush near Brownstown, but, having become accustomed to false alarms, he did not credit the story. He marched on in fancied security, his advance guard of twenty-five men in two columns, each column preceded by three dragoons, and the main body in the same order. The mail with the mounted escort was placed in the center. Where the ground would permit the companies marched a hundred yards apart.

As they approached Brownstown, the road led through a narrow prairie, skirted by thick woods, and a creek on the right. The woods on the creek came to a point toward the town through which the road passed. As they reached this point a heavy fire was opened on them from both sides. Believing he was surrounded, Van Horn ordered a retreat which was accomplished with much confusion. The Indians pursued and a running fight was kept for some distance, the Americans turning and pouring into their foes deadly volleys. The retreat continued to Ecorse, but the Indians, under command of wiley Tecumseh, only followed for about one-half the distance. The mail was lost and passed into the hands of the British, and thus much valuable information, as to the weakness of Hull's army and the disaffection therein, was made plainly manifest, for the officers and soldiers had written quite freely to their friends and relatives. The detachment also lost seventeen killed and several wounded who were left behind during the running fight.

CHAPTER XIV

WAR OF 1812 CONTINUED—GENERAL HULL DISHEARTENED AT VAN HORN'S REPULSE—AN AGREEMENT REACHED WITH OFFICERS TO ATTACK MALDEN VIOLATED BY HULL, WHO ORDERS A RETREAT TO DETROIT—BRITISH AND INDIANS BADLY BEATEN BY AMERICANS, UNDER LIEUTENANT COLONEL MILLER—CONSPICUOUS BRAVERY OF CAPTAIN SNELLING—HULL'S INCAPACITY OPENLY DISCUSSED BY HIS OFFICERS—GOVERNOR OF OHIO APPEALED TO FOR HELP—BRITISH ATTACK DETROIT—IGNOMINIOUS SURRENDER OF THAT PLACE BY HULL.

General Hull was greatly disheartened by Van Horn's repulse. His colonels urged immediate steps to retrieve the loss, and begged that five hundred men be at once sent to the Raisin to save Brush and the supplies, the latter being badly needed at Detroit. Hull said he could only spare one hundred men. This was manifestly too small a force to do any good, and for the moment Brush and his command were left to the mercies of Tecumseh and his savages. Indignation and alarm stirred the officers. The mutinous spirit of which Hull afterward wrote became pronounced. There was loud talk at headquarters, which so alarmed the general that he called a council of war of field officers. The result was an agreement to immediately march on Malden. Orders were issued for the medical department to prepare for active duty in the field; for securing boats at Detroit; for leaving the convalescents, under an officer at Sandwich, with means of crossing the river if it should be necessary; for a raft of timber to be floated down the river; for drawing on the morning of August 8th, cooked rations for three days; and for the return of all artificers, and all men on any kind of extra duty, to their regiments at once.

"The order," says Lossing, "diffused joy throughout the army. They believed the hour for energetic action had come. Every man was busy in preparation; and a long summer's day was coming to a close, when another order from the commanding general cast a cloud of disappointment over the camp, more somber than the curtain of night that speedily fell upon it. It was an order for the army to recross the river to Detroit! an order to abandon Canada, and to leave to the vengeance of their own government, the inhabitants, who, confiding in Hull's promises of protection, had refused to take up arms in defense of their invaded territory! This order was in consequence of intelligence just received that General Brock, with a considerable force of British regulars, militia, and Indians, were coming to attack the Americans in the rear." Sullenly the humiliated army obeyed the commands of their over-cautious general, crossed back

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to the American side of the river and encamped upon the rolling plain behind Fort Detroit."

Hull, the next morning, dispatched six hundred men under Lieutenant Colonel James Miller to open the line of communication between the Raisin and Detroit, and to conduct Captain Brush and his supplies in safety to the post. The detachment consisted of the Fourth regiment of regulars; two small corps of the First regiment under Lieutenant Dixon Stansbury, and Ensign Robert A. McCabe; detachments from the Ohio and Michigan volunteers—the latter sixty from the Michigan Legion, mostly French under Captain Antoine Dequindre; a corps of Captain Dyson's artillerymen then stationed at the Fort under Lieutenant John Eastman; a howitzer under Lieutenant James Daliba; and a part of Captains Smith's and Sloan's cavalry, under the latter. Major Van Horn was associated with Lieutenant Colonel Miller as field officers. Commodore Brevoort, who was a captain of infantry, but named commodore because he had been appointed commander of any government vessels that might be placed upon the lakes, and Captain A. F. Hull, the general's son, who was afterwards killed at the battle of Niagara Falls, volunteered as aids to Colonel Miller.

The troops were paraded on the north side of Jefferson avenue opposite what is now the shoe factory of the Pingree Company, formerly the old Michigan Exchange Hotel. When placed in marching order, Lieutenant Colonel Miller rode up and addressed his men as follows: "Soldiers, we are now going to meet the enemy, and to *BEAT* them. The reverse of the Fifth (Van Horn's) must be repaired. The blood of our brethren shed by the savages must be avenged. I shall lead you. You shall not disgrace yourselves nor me. Every man who shall leave the ranks or fall back will be instantly put to death. I charge the officers to execute this order." Then turning to the veteran Fourth Regiment of regulars he said: "My brave soldiers, you will add another victory to that of Tippecanoe; another laurel to that gained on the Wabash last fall. If there is now any man in the ranks who fears to meet the enemy, let him fall out and stay behind." A loud huzza went up and "I'll not stay" welled from every throat.

Colonel Miller led his detachment to the River Rouge that night, crossed it in scows and bivouacked on the southern shore. The march was resumed early in the morning. Major Thompson Maxwell, with the scouts, led the way, with the gallant Captain Snelling in command of a vanguard for forty men. The infantry marched in two columns about two hundred yards apart on both sides of the road, while the cavalry kept the center. The artillery followed, and flank guards of riflemen brought up the rear. Owing to the difficulty of moving the cannon over marshy ground, the march was necessarily slow.

At about nine o'clock in the morning—a sultry Sabbath day—the sky o'ercast with clouds and not a leaf stirring, fleet-footed Indians were seen in the distance, but nothing of interest occurred until they approached the Indian village of Maguaga, fourteen miles from Detroit, where a man named White and his son, who accompanied the troops as amateur soldiers, had outstripped the scouts. White was shot from his horse and scalped. As Snelling and his men entered the Oak Woods near Maguaga

and came upon a clearing about four o'clock near the Detroit river, surrounded by a dense thicket, they were subjected to a terrible volley from the British and Indians, the former under Major Muir of the Forty-first Regiment, and the latter under Tecumseh. This was the detachment sent from Malden by Colonel Proctor to cut off Captain Brush. Among the leaders of the Indians were Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-Water, Lame Hand and Split Log, all chiefs of note.

This volley was the first intimation Snelling had of the presence of the enemy. He gallantly stood his ground until the arrival of the main body of the American detachment. Colonel Miller's quick ears had caught the sounds of conflict and he led his troops at double quick, shouting an order to charge as the clearing was reached. This order was gallantly and effectually obeyed, and at the same time his six-pounder opened fire with grape shot which caused havoc among the enemy. A body of Indians which had become detached from the foe on the left received the brunt of an impetuous charge of Major Dequindre and the Michigan and Ohio volunteers, and were put to rout. It was quick, sharp fighting. The white auxiliaries of the savages, mistaking the fleeing Indians for allies of the Americans, opened fire upon them, thus adding to their terror. The battle had now become general. The center of the English lines, as well as the wings, became somewhat demoralized and wavered. Closely pressed in front and expecting an attack in the rear, the British, regulars and Canadians alike, broke and fled in confusion, leaving Tecumseh to bear the brunt of the fighting which he did with stubbornness and courage. Muir rallied his men a quarter of a mile in the rear of the battleground, but becoming alarmed at the firing in the woods to the left of them, they retreated; stood not upon the order of their going, but ran away. They gained their boats and, as fast as strong arms could row them, recrossed the river to Malden.

Seeing themselves deserted, the Indians took to flight. Miller ordered Captain Sloan to pursue them with his cavalry. That officer seemed paralyzed for a moment. Seeing him hesitate, Captain Snelling ran up to him and peremptorily ordered him to dismount; leaped upon the horse himself, bare-headed (his hat was shot away in the battle), and, his red hair streaming in the wind, he dashed after the fugitives followed by the cheering cavalymen, pursuing them more than two miles. Dangers of an ambuscade and approaching night, caused Lieutenant Colonel Miller to order a suspension of the chase. The victory and route of the enemy were complete. According to the British account, the loss of their regulars was twenty-four, only one of whom was killed. The loss of the militia and Indians was not reported, but the Americans found forty Indians dead upon the field.

Miller was anxious to follow up his victory and to push on to the Raisin. He sent to Hull for provisions. The general ordered Colonel McArthur to take one hundred men and six hundred rations and push on to the relief of Miller by boats. This was done, and, under cover of darkness and in a drenching rain, the "Queen Charlotte" and the gunboat were passed in safety. McArthur had foreseen the possibility of being intercepted upon his return by the British, and had wagons sent down. When the expected happened, he transferred the wounded to

shore and took them back to Detroit. Lieutenant Miller was injured by a fall from his horse and could not go on to the Raisin immediately. He sent to Hull for more provisions. His messenger met Colonel Cass below the Ecorse river.

Cass knew time was precious, for Proctor, relieved of all fear of an attack on Malden, would undoubtedly send a larger force over the river to cut off the line of communication between the Raisin and Detroit, and he sent the following laconic message:

"Sir—Colonel Miller is sick? May I relieve him?—L. CASS."

Receiving no reply, he returned toward Detroit, and met a messenger to Colonel Miller bearing positive orders for the entire detachment to return to Detroit. Thus was another opportunity of accomplishing great good for the American cause thrown away.*

Hull's incompetency, to use the mildest term, was so evident that officers of every grade believed the only salvation was to strip him of his epaulets. The command was tendered to Colonel Miller. He declined it, but offered to unite with them if it was given to Colonel McArthur, the senior officer of the volunteers, a man of ability and courage. When they were ready to act, they naturally hesitated at so serious a step as depriving a general of his command and his sword while at the head of his army. Relief was hoped for from Governor Meigs, of Ohio, whom it was suggested should come with it personally and receive the honor of the command. Colonel Cass was prompt to act upon this suggestion and wrote an energetic letter to the governor urging him to press forward with reinforcements, as the army had been reduced to a critical situation "from causes not fit to put upon paper." He told him that the golden opportunity for success had been allowed to slip by, and mildly remarked that, unfortunately, the general and principal officers could not view the conditions of affairs and prospects for the future in the same light.

"That Malden might have been taken I have no doubt," wrote Colonel Cass, "but instead of looking backward, we must look ahead. Our supplies must come from your state." He called for two thousand men at least, and added: "It is the unanimous wish of the army that you accompany them." Before Colonel Cass's letter was shown to the other officers for their approval, there was a change in the situation. The British were gathering in force at Sandwich. In view of this menace the following postscript was added: "Since the other side of this letter was written, new circumstances have arisen. The British force is opposite, and our situation has nearly reached a crisis. Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, no matter how much it may astonish you, as much as if told by one of us. Even a c—— is talked of by the ——." (The bearer will supply the vacancy.)" Later, in writing to the secretary of war, Colonel Cass said: "In view of the doubtful fate of the letter, it was necessary to use circumspection in its details, and therefore the blanks were left. The word capitulation will fill one space, and commanding general the other." The letter to Governor Meigs was signed by Cass, Findlay, McArthur, Taylor, and Colonel Elijah Brush, of the Michigan militia.

That Hull had decided to surrender Detroit several days before he did

* Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812."

so, is evident from all of his movements according to McAfee, and Hatch's narrative. Hatch was Hull's quartermaster general. That there were extenuating circumstances which caused this decision, also seems certain. Hull seemed convinced that the fort would be untenable against the force the British could bring against it, unless the line of communication with Ohio could be kept open. Dearborn had failed to make any diversion in favor of Hull at Niagara or Kingston, as he had been instructed to do. His provisions, he thought, were running too low to allow him to stand a protracted siege, and an intercepted letter from Colonel Proctor to Major Roberts, telling him to send down only five thousand Indians from Mackinac, caused him to fear an attack from the north. He did not know that Proctor's letter had been written expressly to fall into his hands. He did not know that the regulars, spoken of as "Brock's army" at Long Point, were but poorly armed and poorly drilled militia. It is acknowledged that he was too honest—whatever his other shortcomings may have been—to suspect deception, and he sincerely believed his little army would be annihilated.*

When Brock demanded the surrender of Detroit, Hull replied: "I have no other reply to make than to inform you that I am ready to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from its execution in any way you may think proper to use it." This response to Brock, when made known to the American army, was received with cheers. Major Jessup rode down to Springwells to reconnoiter the enemy at Sandwich, and became convinced, from the position occupied by the armed vessel "Queen Charlotte," that a landing at Springwells was contemplated by the British. Having selected a commanding spot from which a battery could possibly drive that vessel away, he rode back and requested General Hull to send down a twenty-pounder for that purpose, but the general refused. Jessup returned to Springwells where he met Captain Snelling, with a few men and a six-pounder, occupying the spot he had selected. They perceived the greater portion of the force of the enemy was at Sandwich and hastened back to headquarters. Jessup asked for one hundred and fifty men to go over and spike the enemy's guns. Again Hull refused. "Give me a hundred then," said Jessup. "Only a hundred," implored Snelling. "I will think of it," replied the general and entered the fort, for at four o'clock in the afternoon the British battery of five guns on the opposite shore under Captain Dixon of the Royal Artillery opened fire upon Detroit. All the troops except Colonel Findlay's regiment were ordered within the fort, crowding it beyond its capacity. The British kept up their cannonade until nearly midnight, being answered with spirit by the American gunners who succeeded in silencing two of the English cannon.†

* Judge Witherell in a paper read before the Michigan Historical Society said of General Hull: "In my boyhood I knew him well. His appearance was venerable and dignified; he was unquestionably an honest man. The general had a most estimable family. Mrs. Hull, a portly, fine looking woman, made it the principal business of her life to visit the sick and provide for the destitute poor."

† "During the evening," says Judge Witherell, "a large shell was thrown from a battery opposite where Woodward avenue now is. It passed over the present

Before dark it was suggested to General Hull, that, as the fort did not command the river, a strong battery might be placed near the margin of the stream to destroy the enemy as fast as they should attempt to land. An eligible spot in the direction of Springwells was selected, but the general, whose mind seemed benumbed from the moment the enemy's battery was opened, would listen to no suggestions of the kind; and when the enemy, in full force, crossed the river during the early morning of the 16th—"a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning—completing the passage in the main twilight, they were allowed to land without the least molestation from ball or bullet." Colonels McKee and Elliott, with Tecumseh (sometimes spelled Tecumtha), had crossed during the night two miles below with six hundred Indians, and had taken a position in the woods to attack the flank and rear of the Americans should they attempt to dispute the landing of the British forces, who numbered seven hundred and seventy-seven men, with five pieces of artillery. When they had breakfasted, the invaders moved toward the fort; the white troops in a single column, their left flank covered by the Indians, who kept the woods a mile and a half distant. Their right rested on the Detroit river, covered by the guns of the "Queen Charlotte."

Lieutenant Colonel Miller, with the Fourth Regiment, was now in the fort, and the Ohio volunteers and part of the Michigan militia were posted behind the town palisades, so as to annoy the entire left flank of the enemy. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the upper part of the town, to resist the incursions of the Indians, whose chief motive in joining the British was plunder, and the free and safe indulgence of their ferocity. Two twenty-four pounders were placed upon an eminence from which they could sweep the advancing column. This was on Jefferson avenue, in front of the Cass farm before the hill was cut down. The American force was considerably less than that of the British, white and savage combined, but its position was much superior. The Americans had four hundred rounds of twenty-four pound shot fixed; about one hundred thousand cartridges prepared, ample provisions for fifteen days, and more approaching, and no lack of arms and loose ammunition.*

The invaders advanced cautiously and had reached a point five hundred yards from the American line, near the site of the former residence of Governor Woodbridge, when General Hull sent a peremptory order for the soldiers to retreat to the fort. The troops were astounded and bewildered. Confident of their ability to defeat, and possibly capture the invaders, they were eager to be in the contest. "Not a sound of discontent broke upon the ear; not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious that his individual exertion should contribute to the general result."*

Jefferson avenue, then the principal street of the town, and fell upon the roof of the house of Augustus Langdon, which stood on what is now the southerly corner of Woodward avenue and Congress street. Coming down through the house, which was two stories in height, it fell upon a table at which the family were seated, and went through to the cellar. The family had just time to flee from the house when the shell exploded, almost wrecking the building."

* Colonel Cass to the secretary of war.

Like true soldiers, they obeyed the order to retreat, but not without loud and fearless expression of their indignation and contempt for the commanding general. Lossing says many of them, high spirited young men from the best families in Ohio, showed symptoms of positive mutiny at first; and the twenty-four pounders would have poured in a destructive storm of grape shot upon the advancing column, notwithstanding the humiliating order, had not Lieutenant Anderson who commanded the guns, acting under the general's order to hold the fire until a close range forcibly restrained them. The eager artillerists were about to apply the match too soon, when Anderson sprang forward and threatened to cut down any man who disobeyed his orders. The infuriated soldiers entered the already crowded fort and the invaders, seeking the weakness of the works on the land side, prepared to storm them, when the occasion for so doing ceased. The batteries on the Canadian side opened fire, and catching the range of the fort, sent a ball bounding over the walls, dealing death in its passage. A group standing at the door of one of the officers' quarters was almost annihilated.

Captain Hancks of Mackinaw, Lieutenant Sibley, and Dr. Reynolds, who accompanied Hull's invalids from Maumee to Detroit, were killed, and Dr. Blood was severely wounded. Two soldiers were also killed, almost immediately by another ball from the same battery. Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain, among whom were General Hull's daughter and her children. Many women were carried out bespattered with blood and insensible. They were taken to the bomb-proof vault for safety. General Hull, who saw the effects of the shot, did not know whether his own child was slain or not. These casualties almost unmanned him, and he paced the parade in a most anxious frame of mind. An officer of the Michigan militia, noticing the unchecked advance of the enemy, which had reached the tan-yard just outside the town line, stepped up to the general and inquired whether it was his intention to allow the militia alone to defend the place. The general made no response, but stepping into a room in the barracks he prepared a note, handed it to his son, Captain Hull, and directed him to display a white flag from the walls of the fort, where it might be seen by Captain Dixon from the river. The firing from the Canadian side ceased, and in a few minutes Captain Hull was unexpectedly seen emerging from the fort with a flag of truce. At the same time a boat was sent across the river under a similar white emblem.

"Captain Hull," says Lossing, "bore proposals for immediate capitulation. His act was quick, and as unexpected as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. For a moment nothing but a reverence for gray hairs and veneration for a soldier of the Revolution, saved the commander from personal violence at the hands of his incensed people." Thus did

Detroit again pass into the possession of the British, and once more the crimson banner floated from the staff from which had streamed the flag of the United States.

CHAPTER XV

MICHIGAN MILITIA AND OHIO VOLUNTEERS PAROLED—UNITED STATES REGULARS AND GENERAL HULL SENT TO MONTREAL AS PRISONERS OF WAR—AMERICAN COMMANDER AT DETROIT AFTER BEING EXCHANGED TRIED BY COURT MARTIAL AND SENTENCED TO BE SHOT—SENTENCE REMITTED AND HE WAS DISMISSED FROM THE ARMY—DETROIT AGAIN UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL—LEWIS CASS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

"It was on the old staff in the fort, which stood on the south side of Fort street a short distance west of Shelby street, that the flag of surrender was run up a little before noon on the sixteenth of August, 1812," says C. M. Burton. "It is said that no American flag was ever after floated from this pole. It fell a few years later, and the stump of it is now preserved in the Museum of Art."

The militia of Detroit under the command of Major James Witherell and Major Elijah Brush, were paroled, as were also the Ohio Militia, but the regulars, with General Hull, were sent as prisoners to Montreal, and were subsequently exchanged. Hull, himself, in deep disgrace, was permitted to return to his old home in Massachusetts, where he was confronted with charges of cowardice and treason. He was tried by court martial in Albany, in 1814, and was found guilty of cowardice and sentenced to be shot. The president remitted the death penalty, but dismissed him from the army in disgrace. Almost a hundred years have passed and during that time constant efforts have been made by Hull and his descendants to prove to the world that he was innocent of the grave charges laid at his door. It will be remembered that Hull's grandson, General Joseph Wheeler, was in Detroit some years since inspecting the grounds occupied by the two armies, for the purpose of proving that Hull was justified in surrendering as he did.

Lewis Cass, soon after the war closed, received the appointment of governor of Michigan, although, as he said, Detroit was a frontier post that was scarcely worth retention by our government.

During the war, every person who could well leave Detroit, did so, and its population was diminished by half before the year of the British occupation was ended. Proctor remained as military and civil governor under the British. Judge Woodward also remained for a time, but he refused to act in any other capacity than a civilian to look after the welfare of the Americans, and he left to prefer charges of cruelty and incivility against Proctor. The battle of Lake Erie was won by

Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry on September 10, 1813, and on hearing of the result Proctor evacuated Detroit, and hastened to the interior of Canada. He was rapidly followed by General William Henry Harrison, overtaken on the River Thames, brought to battle, severely beaten and a large portion of his army captured.

Cass came to Detroit as governor shortly after this, and at the same time the old citizens began to return to their homes. Brush had died, but Witherell, Woodward, Griffin, Solomon Sibley, and many others returned and many new names appear in the list of citizens. Reuben Attwater had been the secretary before the war, but had left when the war broke out. Cass persuaded the president to appoint William Woodbridge to this office, and when Attwater found this out, he called on the president and asked why he had been removed. He told the president he was always ready and willing to return to Detroit, but that he had never been asked to do so. The president told him that it should not have been necessary to ask him to return to Detroit as he had never been directed to leave the place.

The salary attached to the office of secretary was not sufficient to suit Woodbridge, and he retained the appointment as secretary—neither accepting nor rejecting it, for some time. He wrote to Cass and to many of his political friends that he could not accept the office with the inadequate salary. He wanted the allowance increased in some way, and finally he succeeded in getting the double appointment of secretary and collector of customs and subsequently, for several years, drew salaries for both offices, and at one time, for one year, held a third important office of delegate to congress. After he had received the appointment of secretary and collector, he wrote that he would visit Detroit and look over the ground and if the situation was satisfactory, he would accept the offices. Starting from his Marietta home in December, 1814, and proceeding by slow conveyance over the frozen marshes and through the almost trackless forests, he did not reach Detroit until the middle of January, 1815, and by this time, peace had been declared between the two countries, though the news of this event had not then reached the settlement. Woodbridge was pleased with his new home, and wrote entertainingly of the prospects ahead of him here. He at once entered into the gaieties of the military post—his offices giving him an entrance into the most refined and polite society of the place. As entertaining a description of the life of the post as can anywhere be found, is contained in one of the long home letters that Governor Woodbridge wrote at this time. The first part of the letter is dated February 17, 1815, though it appears that Mr. Woodbridge was several days in writing it. It reads as follows:

“I received, a few days ago, a letter from Mr. H. Brush, enclosing one for his late cousin’s widow, Mrs. Adelaide Brush, of this place. I had heard much of this lady’s steadiness of deportment and general good sense. She is, by birth, an English subject, and an inhabitant of Canada. Her father now has of children and grandchildren in the British service, seventeen. Her connections and other circumstances have given rise to imputations against the good faith of her late husband: Whether they be well founded, I do not know. I called upon

her soon after coming here. She lives in an old one-story house just without the town, pleasantly enough situated, near the banks of the Detroit river. The farm is one of the best in the country, and has on it some of the best fruit.. All the farms in this country are strangely laid out, having in general the width of from two to six square acres in front, and running two or three miles back. Mrs. Brush lives snugly and her house looks neat. She has some of the handsomest little children I have ever seen. She is simple and unostentatious in her manners, and very cordially pressed me to return. I have since called upon her, took a ride of some eight or ten miles in her cariole with her, on the ice, and returned to tea. She gave me a good cup of tea, and I was pleased with her conversation. She seemed to possess a substantially good mind. She is perhaps twenty-eight or thirty years old. On the day of my ride with her, there was a 'beefsteak' party to the river Rouge, about six or seven miles from here. It was composed of from fifteen to twenty gentlemen, officers and citizens. I did not of course, partake of it. Some of the Kentucky officers getting tipsy, an affray took place toward the conclusion of the party, and some black eyes were the consequence.

"Yesterday another 'beefsteak' party to the river Rouge was made up, composed of ladies and gentlemen, from fifteen to thirty, perhaps. We set out about twelve o'clock, each gentleman taking his lass, his bottle, his gook, his pye, his uncooked meat, his plates, etc., for himself and partner in his cariole. When I arrived (being with Judge May) they were dancing. We had two good fiddlers and enough American ladies to make up a dance. Being Lent, the few French ladies present only looked on. The gentlemen fell to assisting the servants, set the table and prepared a very good dinner. About three, the party sat down to dinner, and before dark we had returned home. In this party there was no gambling, which is seldom the case here. The inhabitants most generally play cards in all their parties, and the officers gamble a great deal. Formerly, I am told, the citizens of the place most usually had their River Rogue or other parties of this sort once a week during the winter, or at least as long as the sleighing lasts. At this party I again saw Mrs. Hunt. She is perhaps twenty-eight years old; she is still quite handsome, has rosy cheeks, and dances with great animation. Mr. Hunt, her husband, is but little older than she—they are, perhaps as well the happiest, as they certainly are the handsomest couple in Detroit. They have been married several years, but have no children. She, too, was originally a British subject. Mr. Hunt is a wealthy merchant of Detroit. He keeps a cariole worth a hundred dollars, perhaps, a plated harness and valuable horses. Mrs. Hunt, I think, improves on acquaintance.

"I feel anxious to hear how you have borne up against the terribly cold weather, which, I am told, extended through Ohio, as well as this country, three or four weeks ago. Colder it has been here, I am told, than has been known for sixteen or twenty years. Our prospects of quietness continue here. There is scarcely a possibility of an hostile attack here this winter, and but very little chance of any hostile disturbance in the spring or summer. Much, however, will depend on

the military operations of next spring at the upper end of Lake Ontario.

"With respect to our ultimate establishment here. I have thought much, but can come to no decided opinion. For pleasantness you will rarely have seen a country equal to this, but I am afraid this cold climate will not agree with you. Consumptions are not very prevalent, and very rarely occur, I am told. Another objection, and an important one, is the very high price of property here. I cannot buy any comfortable house here for less than about \$5,000. What can we do? Our ultimate determination must be suspended, I think, until my return here next fall. I think Mr. Palmer may get a very good farm, down on the river Rogue, within five to eight miles from here, and that distance in this level country is nothing.

"Having written to you so recently and so frequently, by private opportunities, as well as by the mail, I think I shall retain this letter until next week. After that I may tell you more about our ball of the 22d. ins't. It is with much pain that I mingle with these people so much, but I feel myself obliged to do it. Did I not do it, it would be ungrateful in me, and by them would be considered unaccountable austerity, but I shall have this to console me, that after I become acquainted, and my debut made, we together, can hereafter choose our own course, and then it will not be deemed ostentatious singularity. In the meantime, I do not consider myself at home. It is all fatigue duty with me. Mr. May's house here is most pleasantly situated. It commands an unobstructed and most beautiful view of the river. It has annexed to it perhaps two-thirds of an acre of ground and a barn. It is a one story gable roof house, having four rooms on the first floor, beside a hall or front entry running through the house and opening on a piazza. It has, I am told, some good chambers up stairs, and on each end a brick building perhaps twenty feet or more square, one used as a kitchen, the other as an office, and this building can, I suppose, be procured for less than \$5,000, which here is considered cheap. The house is of stone and is finished with plain neatness.

February 25th.

"The face of things is quite changed—instead of glowing anticipations of ruined cornfields, burning houses, of scalped women and children, and all the horrors of war and desolation, we have the cheering news of peace, plenty and prosperity. This cheering intelligence reached here from Washington city in the most wonderful period of five days. A letter from the Postmaster General dated on the fourteenth (the day of the arrival of the treaty) reached me about nine A. M. of the 20th. Except with the military gentleman, the news was received with joyous acclamations—and most unfortunately too, it was followed by an immediate rise in real property. However, I will hope for the best. I received immediately after, the congratulations of Col. McDougal on the consequent certainty of making a large sum of money in the ensuing year in my collector's office. If there should be much bustle in the collector's office, it may detain me here a week or two later than I intended.

"I was at the ball of the 22d. There were forty-nine ladies al-

though it was Lent. Some went from the British side—although there were forty-nine ladies, yet there were so many gentlemen, that it was a perfect scramble for partners. The ladies in general, looked better than at the former ball. Mr. May and myself stayed until half past four o'clock, and heard the morning gun before we left."

"In this interesting letter, so descriptive of early times," says C. M. Burton, "Governor Woodbridge refers to Mr. and Mrs. Hunt. Mrs. Hunt was Ann MacIntosh, daughter of Angus MacIntosh, a Scotchman, prominently connected with the Northwest Fur Company. He inherited the estate of Moy in Scotland and returned there to live. He is sometimes referred to as the Earl of Moy. Her husband, Henry Jackson Hunt, well and favorably known, was the second elected mayor of Detroit and died during his term of office in 1826. The James May house that the writer refers to was the Mansion House on Jefferson avenue below Wayne street. It was partly of stone, taken from the stone chimneys left after the fire of 1805."

The place rapidly recovered from the effects of the war. The new people who came to make their homes here were largely from New England and New York. They seemed to be filled with an energy to make compensation for the losses entailed by the war. The farms had been stripped of everything, and the farmers and citizens were exceedingly poor, but a greater wealth was coming every day. Within two years after the close of the war, a newspaper was established and then came the first steamboat—the "Walk-in-the-Water." A change in the form of government allowed the territory to be represented by a delegate to congress, and William Woodbridge was the first person elected to fill that office. The University of Michigan was established, a Sunday school was opened for the instruction of poor children free of charge, and it was even proposed to open free public schools.

In the battle of Lake Erie Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, on board the "Lawrence," had as second in command, Lieutenant John Brooks. Brooks was described as a gay, dashing officer of extraordinary personal beauty. As the battle opened the entire effort of the British was to destroy the "Lawrence," the flag ship, and it was but a short time before the deck was strewn with dead and dying sailors. As Brooks was speaking to the commodore a cannon ball struck him and he was hurled to the opposite side of the boat, mangled in a most frightful manner. He implored Perry to kill him to relieve him from his misery, but death came to him only a short time later, and his body, with that of others, remained upon the deck. Every gun on the "Lawrence," except one, was dismounted when Perry was forced to leave the vessel as it was unmanageable. Out of one hundred men who were on the boat when the battle began, only eighteen were left unwounded. Perry at once left for the "Niagara," in which he continued the battle and won out completely before the day was over. The "Lawrence" drifted until the battle was over and then Perry again visited her, and many of the dead sailors were committed to the deep, but the remains of Lieutenant Brooks were taken to Put-in-Bay and there buried on one of the islands.

It is said that John Brooks was born in Massachusetts and studied

medicine with his father. He was a lieutenant in the marines and was stationed in Washington when the war broke out. He recruited marines for Perry's navy during the time the boats were building. A movement was started in 1817 to bring Brooks' body to Detroit and give it a public burial. This was done on October 30 and 31, 1817. The funeral procession formed in the cantonment and marched through the principal streets of the city and the burial took place on the glacis of Fort Shelby within the Military Reserve, now, for the first time, appropriated for that purpose. The exact place of burial cannot now be determined, but it was near the intersection of Fort and Griswold streets. Reverend Sylvester Larned, the "Silver Tongued Orator," a brother of General Charles Larned, performed the burial service. Captain Henry Whiting, then of the Fifth Infantry, wrote the following poem for the occasion:

Too long on lonely isle neglected,
Marked by no stone, thy dust has slept,
By humble turf alone protected,
O'er which rude Time each year has swept.

Ere many summers there has revelled,
Decking thy grave with wild flowers fair,
The tumid earth, depressed and levelled,
Had left no index vantage there.

Still had the wave, around that dashes—
Scene of thy fate—the story told,
And 'gainst the isle that held thy ashes,
In seeming fondness ceaseless roll'd.

But now with kindred heroes lying,
Thou shalt repose on martial ground,
Thy country's banners o'er thee flying
Her castles and her camps around.

And friendship there shall leave its token,
And beauty there in tears may melt,
For still the charm may rest unbroken,
So many tender hearts have felt.

Then rest, lamented youth, in honor,
Erie shall still preserve thy name;
For those who fell 'neath Perry's banner,
Must still survive in Perry's fame.*

In 1819 a bank was organized and the next year a Protestant church was dedicated, though the Catholics had had church edifices in the village for the previous one hundred and eighteen years. The exportations

* C. M. Burton's "Early Detroit."

from Detroit had previously consisted of furs and maple sugar, but to these was now added the exportation of whitefish, and a great industry soon sprang up in this line. The city was incorporated in 1815, and owned all of the lands within its limits, and ten thousand acres of adjacent territory. These lands were sold and a court house or capitol was erected from the proceeds. This building was subsequently occupied by the Capitol Union school and burned a few years since.

It would be impossible to tell who were the foremost merchants in the place, but the names of a few might be given. There were Mack & Conant, composed of Stephen Mack and Shubael Conant; John L. Whiting, DeGarmo Jones, Abraham Edwards; T. and F. Palmer, composed of Thomas Palmer, the father of Senator T. W. Palmer, and his brother, Friend Palmer; Henry Jackson Hunt and John R. Williams, Detroit's first elected mayor; Thomas Emerson, an eccentric Vermonter, who came here at a very early day and formed a partnership with Stephen Mack. The partnership existed until August, 1817, when Emerson returned to Vermont, and a new partnership was formed by Mack and Conant, which lasted many years. Emerson had faith in Detroit, and loaned money to Detroit merchants, and subsequently his son, Curtis, came to the state to reside.

President James Monroe visited Detroit in 1817, and his stay here was a round of merriment for the entire community. Everyone was welcomed by the president, and all tried to do him honors for the five days of his visit. A ride on the river and lake—a ball every evening in his honor—and the illumination of the city at night by bonfires and candles in all the windows of the stores and dwellings; these were only a part of the honors shown to him. He was received with a public address of welcome and made a public response. The military department took advantage of his presence to have him present to General Alexander Macomb a sword that had been voted to him by the state of New York, and a military review of the soldiers of the garrison was held on the esplanade.

In 1823, by another change in the laws of the territory, the judiciary and legislative bodies were separated, and Judges Woodward and Griffin, who had held their positions since 1805, were legislated out of office.

For some years prior to 1823, the newspaper of Detroit had been published by Sheldon and Reed. The paper had begun to publish articles reflecting on these two judges, and as the judges paid no attention to the remarks, and as the people seemed to like them, the paper continued to publish them, increasing the bitterness as each new article appeared. It is probable that no other paper ever continued to print such scandalous articles reflecting on the judiciary as appeared in the *Detroit Gazette*. Not only did the editors devote themselves to the writing of these articles, but they published the letters of correspondents, as bitter as their editorials. The judges were called thieves, gamblers, blacklegs, bribe-takers, and all other names that could be invented. Their private characters were assailed and they were driven almost to distraction. They were ridiculed and abused. They were not allowed to use the columns of the paper to insert a reply, and their letters in defense were either returned to them unpublished, or thrown in the fire. Most of the

articles referred only to Judge Woodward, as he was the leading spirit in the court, and Griffin was looked upon as his tool.

One of the letters to Judge Woodward ends like this: "The portals of your narrow, selfish soul are as firmly barred against every generous or noble sentiment as the dark cave of Cerberus. You are literally without a friend. So disgusting is your character in every point of view, that it is really a matter of curious speculation how, or by what strange fatality, such a man should have been palmed off upon this territory."

On another and later occasion, a correspondent puts this question to the editor: "A very singular question has arisen, under the law of this territory exempting property taken on execution. This law exempts the tools necessary for the trade or profession of the party. Suppose now, that an execution was issued against the goods and chattels of his honor, Judge Woodward, would, or would not his other honor, Judge Griffin, be exempt from seizure under this execution?" After due deliberation and seeking legal advice on the subject, the editor replied: "A learned counsellor has given it as his professional opinion on this subject, that Judge Griffin must be taken, because the law will not exempt tools used for the purposes of fraud."

We must remember that these caustic articles were not written concerning men in the ordinary walks of life, but that the victims of this tirade were the judges of the supreme court of the territory, the highest court of Michigan.

Among the lawyers of this period were Solomon Sibley, Alexander D. Frazer, Charles Larned, James Duane Doty, William Woodbridge and George McDougall. In 1882 Samuel B. Beach and James L. Cole and his brother, Harry S. Cole, were admitted to practice law. The Cole brothers came from Canandaigua, New York. Detroit was considered as a great health resort at this time, and James, who was ill with an incurable disease, came hoping to recover his health, but he could not, and returned to his New York home to die, February 8, 1828. He was only twenty-four years of age at the time of his death, but the brilliant mind which he possessed left its deep impression on the community, and particularly on the bar of Detroit. He was something of a poet, and numerous verses written by him appeared in the Detroit paper at the time. One of his poems, which originally appeared in the *New York Statesman* and was written by this young man when he knew that his life could be prolonged but a few days, is particularly pathetic:

"While skylark carols on the wing,
Her path is high in air;
Yet she can safely mount and sing,
With none to harm her there.

"While one who hath immortal powers,
Who breathes a nobler lay,
Must perish, ere his morning hours,
Have brightened into day."

The brother, Harry Cole, as he was commonly called, was the wit of

the Detroit bar. Brilliant, engaging, fascinating in conversation, beloved of all his friends and acquaintances, he soon stood with the best in his profession. He also was called away too soon, but he left a deep impression and a name that three-quarters of a century has not effaced.

The *Detroit Herald* was published from 1824 to 1829. Its editor and proprietor was Harry Chipman, father of the late J. Logan Chipman. Of course, the wordy war between the two newspapers was always sharp and bitter, for the editors of both were able men and their pens were usually dipped in wormwood and gall.

The *Gazette* was burned in 1830, and from its ashes sprang the *Free Press* in 1831. This paper was owned by Joseph Campau, and his nephew, Gen. John R. Williams, and was first printed from type brought to Detroit from Pontiac, and which had been used at that place to print the *Oakland Chronicle*. The first editor of the *Free Press* was Sheldon McKnight. There were two other papers in the city at that time, called the *Detroit Journal* and the *Courier*.

In 1831 Cass was appointed secretary of war and the management of territorial affair fell upon the shoulders of Stevens Thompson Mason, who was then only twenty years of age, as acting governor. There was a great stir in the little city when it was understood that Mason would retain his position as acting governor, notwithstanding his youth, and public meetings were held, the constituted authorities were denounced for the outrage, and petitions for Mason's removal were circulated and signed and forwarded to Washington. The work availed nothing—for not only did Mason retain his office of acting governor and secretary of the territory during the remainder of the time that Michigan was a territory, but he conducted the duties of his office so well that he was first elected governor when Michigan became a state.

In 1832 Detroit was visited by the terrible scourge of Asiatic cholera. In May of that year, information was received at Detroit that there was great danger of an uprising of Indians in the west, under the leadership of Black Hawk, and the Michigan militia were called out, organized, drilled and dispatched overland to Chicago. Some of the soldiers turned back after marching a few days into the interior, but the most of them continued their journey until they arrived at the village of Chicago, and then ascertained that the Indians were still so far to the west of them that the greatest danger to the inhabitants of that place, came from the terror inspired by stories of travelers who had seen the Indians, but had not encountered them.

While the excitement was at its height, Gen. Winfield Scott was sent with two vessels loaded with regulars from Buffalo around the lake. When these vessels reached Detroit, one of the soldiers on board the "Henry Clay" died of cholera at Detroit. The news of the death spread through the city like wildfire. The boats were not permitted to land but were forced to continue their journey. Some of the soldiers got ashore in St. Clare river and deserted, many of the others died on the trip to Chicago. The people of Detroit were so excited that business was suspended, and houses were deserted. The neighboring villages, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens and Ypsilanti, stationed watchmen in the public roads to prevent people from Detroit passing their way. Many people died in

the city, among them Father Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's church. It was not until fall that the excitement died out and the people returned to their usual vocations.

Two years later, the terrible scourge again visited the place. A census of the city was taken in July showing that there were 4,937 people in the place. The people were terribly frightened and left the city in all directions. The papers published very little regarding the disease, but some evidence of their troubles appeared from time to time. There were 279 deaths from cholera in August, nearly ten a day. Governor Porter, the recently appointed territorial governor, died on the ninth of July, and he was buried the same day. The papers spoke very highly of the man, and never referred to the fact that he died of cholera, but the haste with which they interred the remains indicated their knowledge that the grim reaper had again called with his Asiatic scythe.

It was in the midst of all these troubles that the brilliant wit of Detroit bar—Harry S. Cole—upon calling at the postoffice received a letter, which, after reading to himself, he read aloud to the gathered crowd. In spite of the sombre cloud of fear occasioned by the presence of death, that hung over the mall, they joined in peals of laughter as Cole proceeded with the reading. The letter was from the eccentric Vermont capitalist, Thomas Emerson, and was devoted to Thomas Palmer, who was then a wealthy, but land-poor trader of Detroit. It read as follows:

“WINDSOR, Vermont, August 1, 1834.

“Henry S. Cole, Esq., Attorney at Law.

“MY DEAR HAL:—I am rejoiced to say to you that the Lord hath been among us here in Windsor; that the day of Pentecost is here, and that there has been an outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and that I have been snatched as a brand from the burning. I am now “laying up all my treasures in Heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal.” Oh, Hal! how I wish you and our old friend, Tom Palmer, might see the error of your ways. By the by, Mr. Palmer has not paid his interest on that bond for nearly two years; now I learn that “the pestilence is stalking at noon-day” among you, and we know not how soon you may go. You and he, too, ought to prepare for death, and he ought certainly to settle that bond at once. Oh Hal! if God would only open your eyes; and Mr. Palmer, surely he will pay the interest on that bond now. I pray nightly and daily for you and Mr. Palmer; and trust he will pay the interest on this bond.

That the Lord will guard and keep you, dear Hal, and my friend Palmer, is our constant prayer; but do make him pay the interest on the bond. I will take furs, shingles, lumber, apples, fish or anything he has. God bless and preserve you both, but please do not let Mr. Palmer forget to pay the interest on the bond.

“Your devoted friend,

“THOMAS EMERSON.”*

* C. M. Burton's “Early Detroit.”

CHAPTER XVI

LEWIS CASS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY—BRITISH VIOLATION OF PERSONAL RIGHTS QUICKLY CHECKED—REPEAL OF THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES LAWS—FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN—UNFORTUNATE FINANCING OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—WILD-CAT BANKS—FAILURE OF CANAL SCHEME.

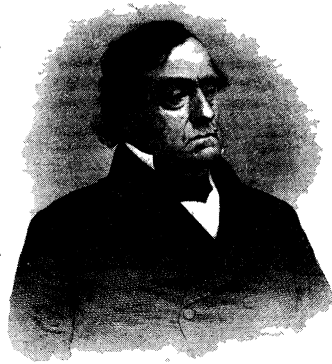
With the complete subjection of the Indians at the conclusion of the war of 1812, a new era of peace and prosperity appeared to dawn for the city. Fortunately for Detroit and for the territory of Michigan, Lewis Cass, the gallant colonel whose services in the war had been so great, was appointed governor of the territory. Friends of General Hull and his supporters (for he had them, notwithstanding his record, as given in this history) had severely criticized Lewis Cass for his active denunciation of Hull. Cass's record as governor and later as secretary of war were the best answers that could possibly be given to those who thought to tear down his reputation. Coming of good New England stock, Cass developed in the northwestern wilderness where the elder Cass went at the close of the Revolutionary war, having served with honor in that struggle as a major in the army. Lewis Cass received an excellent education and taught school for several seasons, but to a man of his temperament that life was too slow, and he entered the army, with results already chronicled. The settlers in the west were not obliged to teach him anything. Having been one of them and lived among them, he thought for them; he knew their needs better than many who were given the reins of power in other portions of the country. Besides being a military man, he was well grounded in the law, having studied in the office of Governor R. J. Meigs of Ohio. Having been in Detroit during the most strenuous period of its existence, and as an officer having traversed most of the then wilderness, he was familiar with the necessities of the territory he was to govern.

Under the peculiar circumstances of location and savage environment, Detroit had never been seriously considered, except from a military standpoint and as a fur trading post. Its strategic value had made the place a bone of contention, first between the French and English, and later between Great Britain and the United States. Under the administration of Cass, therefore, a brighter era and a broader scope of development for what is now one of the greatest cities in the United States.

At the time Cass assumed the office of Governor, the territory of Michigan was still struggling under the burden of these obnoxious laws,

enacted by the governor and judges subsequent to 1805. One of the first achievements of Governor Cass was to repeal the Woodward Code, and to establish a real democratic form of government for Detroit. The work entitled "Detroit and Wayne County" says that on October 24, 1815, Judges Witherell and Griffin, in conjunction with Governor Cass, adopted an enactment recreating the offices and duties of town trustees. Instead of placing in the hands of the mayor the first municipal authority, this was vested in the chairman of the board of trustees, thus doing away with the despotic power before wielded by the chief executive officer of the town. The chairman of the board, instead of being, as heretofore, an appointee of the mayor, was to be elected by the board and subject to removal by that body at any time its members deemed that action advisable.

At the election of November 30, 1815, the town board was chosen, Solomon Sibley being chairman, and Thomas Rowland secretary. This



LEWIS CASS

board held office until the election of its successors, which occurred on the first Monday of May, 1816. After that date these town elections were held annually. The new town board was promptly organized at a meeting held December 4, 1815, at which time sixteen general ordinances were adopted for the government of the community. The last vestige of British power was obliterated by the setting aside of the old English laws, some of which were still in force. In their stead there was adopted what has been known as the Cass code. This was ratified and superseded all the laws of the Northwest territory, applicable to Michigan.

Although General Cass deemed Detroit of little value at the time he became governor, he speedily realized the splendid possibilities of the territory over which he presided, and especially of the coming metropolis of the state. In addition to the settling of the Indian troubles, Governor Cass, with the courage which characterized his every action, became involved in a very sharp controversy with the British military

authorities, who sought in more than one instance an opportunity to exasperate the American people. As late as 1817, the English not only violated American personal rights by stopping travelers, but by holding up and searching Detroit-bound vessels on the great lakes. In addition to this, the British forces on the other side of the river were arrogant, aggressive and belligerent. This attitude on the part of the people on the other side of the river gave rise to a vigorous correspondence between Governor Cass and Colonel James, then in command of the British forces. Nine months after the close of the war of 1812, a British lieutenant, with a boat's crew, entered the territory of the United States within the province of Michigan in search of a deserter from one of their men-of-war. Several American houses were entered and searched, much to the discomfort of their owners, and the party policed a section of the highway of Michigan and fired on American citizens who declined to stop. The invaders finally found and arrested the deserter, but the behavior of the party had so exasperated the citizens that they flew to arms, turned the tables on the intruders, arrested the lieutenant and conducted him a prisoner to the fort at Detroit, while the boat's crew made good their escape with the deserter to the man-of-war. Colonel Miller, whose gallantry as lieutenant during the war of 1812 at Detroit was conspicuous, was in command of the American garrison, but gave up jurisdiction in this matter to Governor Cass, as the head of the civil authority. This action of Colonel Miller's was one of the steps which formed a foundation for the aftergrowth and greatness of this country. Governor Cass acted with his usual decision. Commander Owen, of the British navy, demanded the return of the lieutenant. Cass, with the people of the territory at his back, acted according to the settled principles of international law. Instead of complying with the demand, the lieutenant was tried, convicted and fined. The government at Washington was inclined to oblige the British, but the action of Governor Cass was finally upheld.

One of the most important events immediately following General Cass's administration was the establishment, in 1817, of the University of Michigan, and the establishment of Detroit's first permanent newspaper, *The Gazette*, which appeared on July 25th of that year.

Sitting as a legislative body, the governor and judges, in August 26, 1817, passed an act which provided for the appropriation of \$380 for the establishment of the university. So great was the pride of the pioneers in this new institution that they were willing to make many sacrifices for its maintenance. The act provided for an additional tax of fifteen per cent and just twenty-nine days after the passage of the measure the corner-stone of the new university was laid upon the northwest side of what is now Bates street, half way between Larned and Congress. In addition to these appropriations for the support of this new institution of learning, individual subscriptions were frequently made by many of the prominent citizens of Detroit and a portion of the funds sent to Detroit for the relief of the fire sufferers of 1805, which had never been distributed, was also added to the university funds. Under the provisions of the act, which was drawn by Judge Woodward, with the large ideas always entertained by that jurist, the university

was to include thirteen professorships and was to be known as the "Catholepistemo University of Michigan." The Youth of the territory were to receive instruction in universal science and literature, embracing all the sciences pertaining to language, natural history, mathematics, chemistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, ethics, economics, medicine, military science, and what was termed, "intellectual science," which was to embrace the "science relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind, spiritual existence, to the deity and to religion." Before even the corner-stone had been shaped from the rough, the thirteen professorships were divided between two men, the president and vice-president of the university—Rev. John Monteith, pastor of the Protestant church, and Rev. Gabriel Richard, Roman Catholic priest of the diocese of St. Anne's, respectively. In 1818 what is known as the classical academy was established, under the charge of H. M. Dickie, and in the summer of the same year James Connor, Oliver Williams, and Benjamin Stead were appointed directors of a "Lancasterian school," which opened under the supervision of Lemuel Shattuck, a recent arrival from Massachusetts. The original act creating the university was superseded April 30, 1821, by an act which placed the affairs of the university in the hands of the governor of the territory and twenty trustees. Many names prominent in the history of Michigan were associated with the institution which continued at Detroit until its removal to Ann Arbor by an act of the legislature approved March 20, 1837.*

One of Governor Cass's greatest ambitions was the settlement of the territory, and, as a condition precedent, better means for transportation were necessary. To this end the governor bent his energies with the result that good highways between Detroit and the settlements of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, took the place of the rough military roads hewed out of the wilderness. One event which spurred Michigan to action was the forming of the territory of Indiana into the Union, taking a portion of southwestern Michigan with it. It became evident that the building of roads was a necessity and the Federal administration appointed Duncan McArthur to co-operate with Cass in this undertaking. In 1818 large portions of Ohio and Indiana were ceded to the whites by the Indians. In the same year Governor Cass impressed upon congress the necessity of a road "around the end of Lake Erie as a highway of commerce and an actual necessity for military movements in case of war." Following this, the territory made an appropriation for the construction of a highway between Detroit and Chicago and a passable wagon road was built.

One event of importance which presaged an influx of new blood into Detroit was the appearance of the first steamer on the Great Lakes, the "Walk-in-The-Water," which slowly plowed its way through the waters of Lake Erie and the Detroit river, to the wonderment of the people who saw its paddle wheels churning the water, while a long trail of black smoke streamed from its funnels. The arrival of the steamer at Detroit, August 27, 1818, was hailed with delight by the inhabitants who saw in its advent another means for the further development of the

* See chapter on Education.

country. The steamer made regular trips between Detroit and Buffalo and carried both passengers and freight. This development really did mark an era in the history of the city, greatly stimulating immigration from the east and a corresponding increase in the business of the city.

When, during the same year, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota were added to the territory, Governor Cass sought the formation of a legislative assembly. With regard to his efforts in this direction, Andrew C. McLaughlin in his "Life of Lewis Cass" says: "He adhered with tenacity to the doctrine that the people should have a direct voice in appointments and in other civil affairs of the territory. In the spring of 1819 the people were invited to decide by a general vote whether or not to proceed with the semi-representative form of government guaranteed them under the ordinance by which the territories were governed. The opportunity was not taken advantage of owing to the indifference of the French residents who had not, as yet, become accustomed to all the benefits of a government of and for the people.

The changes wrought in the form of government and restoration of the rights of the people, however, caused an influx of new settlers and with the consequent increase of business there came a demand for banking facilities. In answer to this demand the Bank of Michigan, the second financial institution to be brought to life in Detroit was formed. The new bank occupied a building at the corner of Jefferson avenue and Randolph street and numbered among its stockholders Catherine Navarre and Mary Devereaux, and the following prominent citizens of the city: General Alexander McComb, Otis Fisher, James Jones, Henry Jackson Hunt, Joseph Campau, Henry B. Brevoort, John R. Williams, August B. Woodward, Andrew G. Whitney, William Woodbridge, James May, Peter Desnoyers, Ebenezer Sibley, John Anderson, John H. Platt, Barnabas Campau, John J. Deming, William Brown, Philip Lecuyer and Abraham Edwards. John R. Williams was made the first president of the bank and James McCloskey, cashier. McCloskey served as cashier until succeeded by C. C. Trowbridge, who assumed the office only after McCloskey had been dismissed under accusation of having used the bank's funds for his own purposes.

Following the views of Governor Cass, plans were made for immediate disposition of public lands. This, however, was hindered by a change in allotment, by the Federal government, of lands set apart for soldiers. Under a misapprehension, reports sent to Washington that Michigan was little else than a barren waste, found believers in the government, and soldier settlers were diverted to Missouri and other western territory outside of Michigan. To counteract this state of affairs a land corporation, known as the Pontiac Land Company, was formed, having as stockholders most of those mentioned as interested in the Bank of Michigan. This company acquired a large tract of land in Pontiac county adjacent to, and including the present city of Pontiac. According to a business directory of Detroit, compiled in 1819, there were in the city watchmakers, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet makers, coopers, wagon makers, wheelwrights, harness and shoe makers, masons, tailors, hatters, painters and bakers, sixteen grocers, twenty-two merchants and eight inn keepers.

CHAPTER XVII

GOVERNMENT SURVEYORS CONVEY FALSE IMPRESSION AS TO SOIL AND RESOURCES OF MICHIGAN CAUSING THE GOVERNMENT TO DIVERT ALLOTMENT OF LANDS TO SOLDIERS TO MISSOURI AND OTHER TERRITORIES—PONTIAC LAND COMPANY FORMED BY DETROITERS TO AID GOVERNOR CASS IN STIMULATING IMMIGRATION—CORNER-STONE OF NEW ST. ANNE'S CHURCH LAID—CASS'S COURAGE AGAIN COWES UNFRIENDLY INDIANS IN THE NORTH—FATHER GABRIEL RICHARD BECOMES A DELEGATE TO CONGRESS AND IS INSTRUMENTAL IN SECURING AN APPROPRIATION FOR A NEW WAGON ROAD FROM DETROIT TO CHICAGO—COMPLETION OF ERIE CANAL FAVORABLY AFFECTS DETROIT—IMPORTANT TREATIES COMPLETED WITH THE INDIANS—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT—NEW CAPITOL OCCUPIED.

Owing to the fact that reports of government surveyors gave the impression that Michigan was nothing but a desolate waste, the federal government altered the plan of its allotment formerly made to cover grants to soldiers, by reducing Michigan's quota. This materially interfered with Governor Cass's plans to settle the territory rapidly. His friends and supporters at Detroit, however, fully in sympathy with his energetic efforts to benefit the territory by an increase of population, formed what was known as the Pontiac Land Company. Two prominent merchants, Conant and Mack, were the active promoters, and nearly all those interested in the Bank of Michigan became stockholders. The company acquired a large tract of land in what is now Oakland county, near and including the present city of Pontiac. This was disposed of to advantage, and many of the business men of Detroit interested their eastern friends and acquaintances, with the result that people began to arrive from New York and New England.

One of the most important events, from its subsequent effect upon the social and political life of the growing community, was the laying of the corner-stone of St. Anne's church on June 9, 1819. Owing to the extension of Jefferson avenue, it became necessary to remove the dead from the old burying ground. This gave rise, upon the part of Father Gabriel Richard, to an attempt to build a new church. The bitter feeling, which was engendered through this rose to the dignity of a real quarrel in the parish. Bishop Flaget of Baltimore, who had written Father Gabriel a sharp reprimand, was present at the laying of the corner-stone, and a complete reconciliation was effected between the rival factions. The bishop agreed to contribute toward the new church, and,

to make the event impressive as possible, he was conducted to the church with a grand procession.

Booming of cannon from the fort and playing of the regimental band, mingled with the music of the choristers. A collection of \$500 was taken on the spot, and the breach which had existed was effectually healed. From that time on, the edifice progressed rapidly. Father Gabriel issued "shin-plaster" promises to pay, in buying labor and material. These passed current, and were counterfeited so freely as to threaten the ruin of the worthy priest. The guilty party, becoming alarmed, left the territory before the officers could capture him.

Having well started the movement for settlement of the territory, Governor Cass turned his attention to making further treaties with the Indians, whereby those who settled upon the land could feel their titles were secure. In 1818 Governor Cass met a large number of Indians at St. Marys, Ohio, and secured for the government title to a large area. In 1819 and in 1821, he pursued the same course at Saginaw and at Chicago. These later treaties ceded to the whites nearly all the territory in Michigan south of the Grand river. Rumors of mineral wealth being persistent, the governor determined to satisfy himself as to the extent of the resources of the territory, and asked permission to map the country and to investigate its flora and fauna. Upon receiving the desired authority and the services of an engineer officer, Cass started for the upper lakes country, Henry R. Schoolcraft accompanying him to conduct the scientific investigations, as well as an escort of ten soldiers from the regular army, guides, voyageurs and interpreters. Near Sault Ste. Marie was a piece of land which had been ceded to the United States, but which had never been occupied, although the right of the government to the property had been recognized by the northern tribes. The Chippewas were still receiving presents from the English, and this caused Governor Cass to determine to take possession of the land, and to effectually settle the matter with another treaty. When he arrived at the Soo, Cass saw at once that the Indians were antagonistic and still under the influence of the British.

Schoolcraft, in McLaughlin's narrative, is credited with this description of Cass's energetic course: "The braves, evidently restless and out of humor, assembled to meet the Americans. Arrayed in their best attire and many of them adorned with British medals, they seated themselves with even more than their wonted solemnity and dignity, and prepared to hear what Governor Cass had to say. At first they pretended ignorance as to any French grant. They finally consented to allow the United States to occupy the place, if they did not use it for a military station. The governor, perceiving that their independence and boldness verged on impudence and menace, answered decisively that as surely as the sun would set, there would be an American garrison sent to that point, whether they received the grant or not. The excitement which had been ready to break forth now displayed itself. The chiefs disputed among themselves, some, evidently counseling moderation, others favoring hostilities.

"A tall and stately looking chieftain, dressed in British uniform with epaulets, lost patience with moderation and delay. Striking his

spear into the ground, he drew it forth again, and, kicking away the presents that lay scattered about, strode in high dudgeon out of the assembly. The dissatisfied chiefs went directly to their lodges, and in a moment the British flag was flying in the faces of the little company of white men. The soldiers were at once ordered under arms. Every one expected an immediate attack for, the Indians greatly outnumbering the Americans, had not disguised their impudence and contempt. In an instant Governor Cass took his resolution. Rejecting offers of those who volunteered to accompany him, with no weapon in his hands and only his interpreter with him, he walked straight to the middle of the Indian camp, tore down the British flag and trampled it under his feet. Then, addressing the astonished and terror-stricken braves, he warned them that two flags could not fly over the same territory, and should they raise any but the American flag, the United States would put its strong foot upon them and crush them. He then turned upon his heel and walked back to his own tent, carrying the British ensign with him. An hour of indecision among the Indians ensued. Their camp was quickly cleared of women and children, an indication that a battle was in immediate prospect. The Americans looked to their guns, and listened for the war-whoop. But the intrepidity of Governor Cass had struck the Indians with amazement. It showed a rare knowledge of Indian character, of which his own companions had not dreamed. Subdued by the boldness and decision of this action, the hostile chiefs forgot their swaggering confidence, and in a few hours signed the treaty which had been presented to them."

Following the treaty with the Chippewas, the expedition under the governor proceeded to further explore and map out the Lake Superior region unmolested. Schoolcraft made careful note of mineral discoveries and indications. From there the party explored the headwaters of the Mississippi, and returned home, via Green Bay and Chicago. Thus, Governor Cass earned the reputation of being the first white man to cover the old Indian trail between Detroit and the present great metropolis of the west. The maps and charts made as a result of the expedition proved of the greatest value in inducing immigration of settlers into the western portion of the territory. In 1820 a regular survey system was adopted which enabled the division of the land into townships and sections, the latter numbering from a north and south meridian, and from an east and west base line.

The people of the territory failed to follow out the governor's request to form a territorial legislature, necessary under the ordinance of 1787 to entitle the territory to a representation in congress, and though the population of the territory was sufficient to warrant a representation, it was not until congress removed this disability, in 1819, that an election was held. At the polls William Woodbridge, collector of customs and secretary of the territory, defeated Henry Hunt Jackson, Judge Woodward, John R. Williams, and James McCloskey. In the following year, however, Woodbridge was forced to resign owing to the popular prejudice against a man holding more than one federal office at a time. Solomon Sibley was elected to fill the unexpired term of Woodbridge.

In 1823, Sheriff Austin E. Wing and John Biddle were candidates

for delegate to congress, when the French residents boomed Father Gabriel Richard for the place. This gave rise to political complications and caused much bitterness of feeling. The worthy priest gained ground in a manner which alarmed the other candidates. On June 9, 1823, he applied for citizenship papers, but Mr. Fletcher, recently appointed chief justice of the Wayne county court by Governor Cass, held that the county court was not the proper tribunal to grant citizenship papers. His colleagues, Judges Witherell and Lecuyer, however, issued the papers on June 29th. John R. Williams, a merchant of Detroit, and a son of Thomas Williams, a British subject, and Celia Campau, a sister of the wealthy Joseph Campau, had been reared in the Roman Catholic church, and was a warden of St. Anne's. He essayed to stop Father Richard and issued a circular in French portraying the danger of a congregation without a pastor, and calling upon Father Richard to return to his flock and give up his political aspirations. The priest said he had a perfect right to become a candidate. As he remained firm, Williams and Joseph Campau, his uncle, withdrew from the church. They became Free Masons and died late in life, honored and wealthy, but were apostates and were buried in unconsecrated ground. Francis Labadie, three years previous to this, had been accused of abandoning his wife, Apoline Girardin, in St. Berthier parish, Canada. Later in Detroit he married Marie Anne Griffard, widow of Louis Dehetre. Father Richard endeavored to compel Labadie to leave his new wife and return to his lawful spouse, but this Labadie refused to do, and after repeated warnings, was publicly excommunicated on July 16, 1817. Labadie then brought suit against the priest for defamation of character, employing Lawyer George O'Keefe to prosecute the case. William Woodbridge defended the priest. Judgment was rendered for the plaintiff for \$1,116, but Father Richard refused to pay. He was lodged in jail. His parishioners, considering him a persecuted man, rallied to his support and he was elected delegate to congress. As a member of congress cannot be held in jail on a civil process, Sheriff Wing unlocked the doors of the Detroit lockup and the priest was released.

Father Richard's personality excited much interest at Washington, as no Catholic priest had ever before been a member of congress, and "Landmarks of Detroit" says: "His gaunt, sepulchral figure and face, his attire, which was of black throughout, with small clothes, silk stockings and silver shoebuckles, his broken English, his copious use of snuff, attracted much attention. A number of his fellow congressmen talked with him, and, in answer to their questions, he said simply: 'I came here to do my people some good, but I do not see how I can do it. I know nothing of legislation. I want to give them good roads if I can.' His hearers said then and there they would aid him, and the result was the law of 1825 which made an appropriation for a road from Detroit to Chicago." Father Richard died at Detroit in 1832, following a collapse brought about by ministering to victims of the Asiatic cholera epidemic.

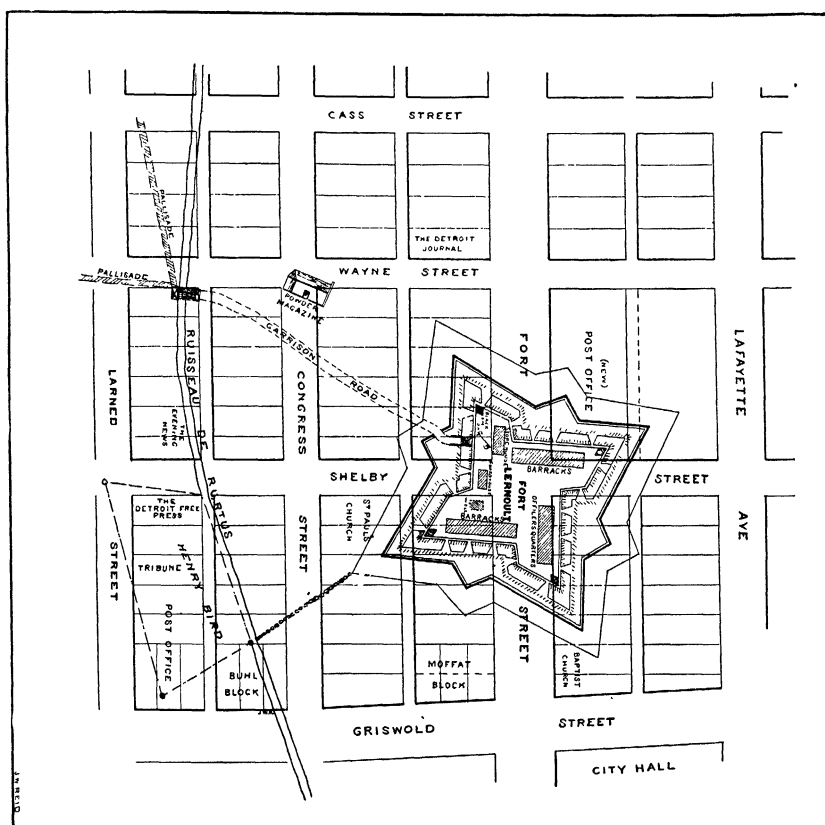
With the building of the highway between Detroit and Chicago, and the increase in water transportation between 1820 and 1825, Detroit grew rapidly. The completion of the Erie canal was a great stimulus to

immigration, and the sons of New England flocked to the edge of, and into the wilderness. The plans of Governor Cass were bearing fruit, and the governor received the hearty support of the people. With him, they objected to any form of government which was not really democratic. The legislative rule of the governor and judges therefore became impossible. The result of political agitation, approved by the governor was the passage by congress, in 1823, of an act providing for the election of a governor's council, which, with the executive, would form the territorial government. The people, under this law, elected eighteen candidates from whom the president was to choose nine. In 1825 the number of councillors was increased to thirteen, twenty-six candidates being allowed, apportioned as follows: Wayne County, eight; Monroe, six; Oakland, four; Macomb, four; St. Clair, two; and Brown, Crawford and Mackinac counties two.

An illustration of the high views, and broad patriotism of Governor Cass is given in an address as reported in the "Journal of the Legislative Council." In it he said, in part: "Of all purposes to which a revenue derived from the people can be applied under a government emanating from the people, there is none more interesting in itself, or more important in its effects, than the maintenance of a public and general course of moral and mental discipline. Many republics have preceded us in the progress of human society; but they have disappeared, leaving behind them little besides the history of their follies and dissensions to serve as warnings to their successors in the career of self-government. Unless the foundation of such government is laid in the virtue and intelligence of the community, they must be swept away by the first commotion to which political circumstances may give birth. Whenever education is diffused among the people generally, they will appreciate the value of free institutions; and, as they have the power, so must they have the will to maintain them. It appears to me that a plan may be devised which will not press too heavily upon the means of the country, and which will insure a competent portion of education to all youth in the territory."

Intelligent effort on the part of Governor Cass and his associates told on the fortunes of Detroit. The exodus from the older cities and settlements in the east, which for a time threatened their prosperity, added materially to that of Detroit. The Hudson river, Erie canal, and the lakes afforded easy transportation, and, as usual in all new countries, the early development went along the lines of the least resistance, the waterways.

The land lying near the center of the city, with its growth became more valuable, and the federal government, in 1826, surrendered the last military reservation that surrounded Fort Shelby, built where the new postoffice now stands at the corner of Fort and Shelby streets. According to C. M. Burton, the area extending from the line of the Cass farm on the west, easterly to Griswold street, and from a point midway between Jefferson avenue and Larned street, northward to Michigan avenue, had included the old post burying ground. In this had been interred the remains of the soldiers who died at the fort during the epidemic following the return of the army from the battle of the Thames in



THE FORT SHOWING ITS LOCATION ON THE PRESENT PLAN OF THE CITY

1813. The opening of the streets through this cemetery, and disturbance of the earth through other city improvements caused a mild revival of the epidemic which included, among its victims, William Jackson Hunt, mayor of the city. This was the beginning of the end of a regularly garrisoned fort at Detroit. In May, 1826, two companies of regulars stationed at Fort Shelby, were removed to Green Bay, and two months later the historical fort was demolished.

In 1828 and 1829 a movement was started in congress to cut off a portion of the upper lake country from the territory of Michigan, and a part of Wisconsin, to be called the territory of Huron. As this vitally affected Detroit, the capital of the territory, whose past and future were so wrapt up in the development of Michigan, feeling ran high. Every public spirited man was emphatic in his protests, public meetings were held and a strong expression of public dissent was forwarded to Washington, indorsed by a large portion of the influential men of the territory. The result was the abandonment of the scheme.

In the meantime Detroit was growing in importance and influence. In 1824 the place was organized as a city. John R. Williams, being the first mayor. New act of incorporation was passed, in 1827, which provided for mayor, recorder, aldermen and freemen of the city of Detroit. The officials, besides the mayor and recorder, were five aldermen, clerk, marshal, treasurer, supervisor, collector, assessor and three constables. In the same year three more aldermen were added to the list.

The territorial capitol which, after suffering many vicissitudes, and, as is the case with many public buildings, involving some scandal and waste of valuable time, was formally occupied on May 5, 1828. This building then occupied the present site of Capitol square at the junction of State, Griswold and Shelby streets. The site originally advocated was at Grand Circus Park, when the "governor and judges plan" was adopted, of which more will be said in another chapter. In order to pay the estimated sum of \$21,000 for its construction, a system of script was issued by the governor and judges, who then had the legislative power. In 1828, the territorial council confirmed the script idea and authorized its issuance by the territory, whose faith was thus pledge for its redemption.

CHAPTER XVIII

EVOLUTION OF THE TERRITORY—PORTER SUCCEEDS CASS AS GOVERNOR—THE BLACK HAWK WAR—BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN MICHIGAN AND OHIO—STEVENS T. MASON BECOMES SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY, ACTING GOVERNOR, AND THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN—MICHIGAN ADMITTED TO THE UNION—CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND COURTS IN FULL SWING.

So primitive were conditions in 1830 that wolves howled around the town, disturbing the residents; their prowling was even considered dangerous, and women and children were warned not to venture beyond the confines of the settlement. During this time, the place had so far progressed in civilization that the public wells, with pumps attached, were becoming obsolete. Water carriers with carts, and men with pails upon their shoulders, supplied the demands of the inhabitants, until Peter Berthelet, his heirs and assigns, were given official permission to erect a dock to the channel bank provided a public pump would be installed on the wharf, wherefrom all the inhabitants of Detroit could at all times procure their water from the river, free of cost. This pump was in public service until 1835, when it was removed by order of the city council. In 1827 Rufus Wells was granted the exclusive right to furnish water to Detroit for domestic and public uses. Tamarack logs, bored from end to end, were laid in the streets, and thus the foundation of the present extensive water works of Detroit was laid. A pump house was erected and the water forced to a reservoir on Randolph street, whence it was distributed. The portions of the city served through this primitive method were the residences along Jefferson avenue, Congress and Larned streets. In 1829 this was superseded by "The Hydraulic Company," which received from the city a grant of land near the corner of Wayne and Fort streets upon which the company was to erect a reservoir and bore for water, the theory being that a purer supply could be obtained through the establishment of an artesian well. This property, according to the old *Gazette* was within the precincts of the old fort and within the city limits. After going to a depth of 260 feet, the casing of the well filling with quicksand, the project was given up. In 1830, under additional grants to the same company, new water works were erected, this time with a view of securing the supply from the river. The means of sending the supply to the city were much the same as in the original venture, through wooden pipes of three inches bore. The pumping, however, this time, instead of being by horse power

was by a steam engine belonging to the Detroit Iron Works. Governor Cass was much pleased and when the water was turned on, August 21, 1830, mounted a barrel and complimented the city upon its great progress.

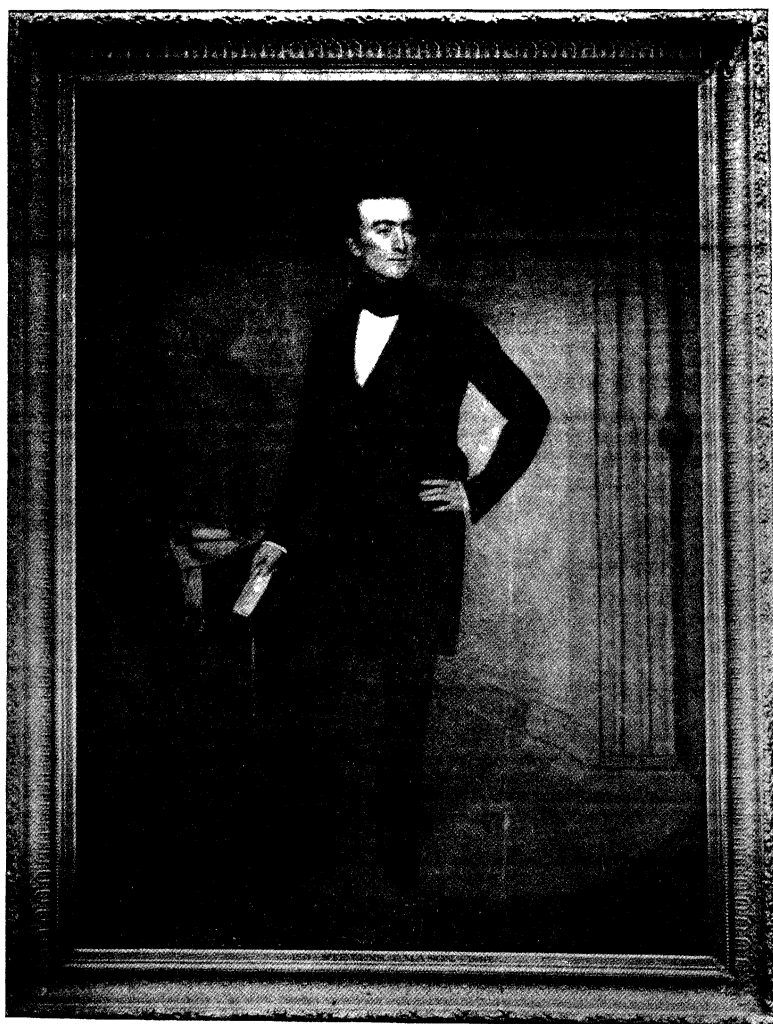
This development was attended with such vicissitudes as the old engine boiler giving out, and for more than a week the city was without water, saving through the antiquated method of the cart and the carrier. These defects were, however, remedied and in the succeeding year another reservoir, immediately adjacent to the old one, was constructed. The first one held 21,811 gallons and the second, 119,680 gallons. In 1837 a reservoir was started at the foot of Orleans street, and, for the first time in the history of the city, iron pipes were introduced. They were laid on Jefferson avenue from Randolph street to Woodward avenue. With more or less satisfactory service, the task of supplying water was in private hands until 1852 when, by an ordinance, a board of water commissioners was established.

Progress in other lines kept pace with the water development, and while Detroit was blossoming into a city of renown, the affairs of the territory were being narrowed down to a system. Many of the ideas of Cass were carried out as to settlement of what is now a great state.

Upon the appointment of Cass as secretary of war, in 1881, George B. Porter of Pennsylvania was appointed governor of the territory of Michigan. His administration was comparatively short and unimportant save for the breaking out of the Black Hawk war and the introduction into public life of Stevens T. Mason, who though a mere boy, later became acting governor of the territory and the first governor of the state of Michigan, upon its admission to the Union.

John T. Mason, secretary of the territory, a member of a prominent Virginia family, resigned upon the departure for Washington of Secretary of War Lewis Cass, but, before doing so, had brought sufficient pressure to bear upon the president of the United States to have his son, Stevens T. Mason, appointed as his successor. It was ascertained that young Mason was not of age, and a storm of disapproval arose, especially among those whose political aspirations had thus received a severe blow. The "History of Detroit and Wayne County" says that tradition has it, that at a banquet given Lewis Cass, upon the eve of his departure to take up his duties as secretary of war, the elder Mason, who was greatly respected, made an impassioned plea to give his son a fair chance. His faith in young Stevens won him many friends, and the appointment stood.

The Black Hawk war affected Detroit only through a disastrous epidemic of cholera, and the dispatch of troops from Michigan. The war was occasioned by the refusal of the chief of that name to allow his tribe to go to the reservation west of the Mississippi. In 1831 General Gaines, with seven hundred volunteers, drove the chief and his followers from Illinois. About this time a band of Sacs and Foxes massacred a number of Menominee Indians near Prairie Du Chien and joined the braves under Black Hawk. That chief refused to surrender them to the United States, and, crossing the Mississippi, prepared to attack Rock River. Michigan was called on for troops. As a result of the call for



Gov. STEVENS T. MASON

volunteers to defend the west, the Detroit City Guards, under Captain Edward Brooks, and the Light Dragoons, under Captain Jackson, placed themselves under General J. R. Williams—with Edward Brooks as colonel; Jonathan Davis, lieutenant-colonel; B. Holbrook, major; Louis Davenport, quartermaster, and J. L. Whiting surgeon. When they reached Saline, the infantry was ordered to return to Detroit while the dragoons continued on to Chicago.

In July the steamer "Henry Clay," having on board United States troops bound for the front, arrived at Detroit, and on the following day one of the soldiers who had been taken with cholera was put ashore. As soon as his death from the dreaded disease became generally known in the city, the "Henry Clay" was forced to leave. The vessel proceeded up the river as far as Belle Isle, and later to Fort Gratiot. The spread of the disease aboard forced the "Clay" to tie up. Those who had not been stricken made their way back to Detroit. The epidemic rapidly increased and the daily death rate became appalling. The inhabitants became panic-stricken and all who were able fled from the city. So great was the mortality that surrounding communities quarantined Detroit. Armed guards patrolled the roads, turning back all who came from the city. In many cases fences were built across the roads; bridges were torn up, and all means possible taken to prevent anyone from Detroit from entering the interior. The scourge lasted until August, with a total of ninety-six deaths in the city. It was while attending the unfortunate sufferers in the temporary hospitals in the capitol and other public buildings that Father Gabriel Richard, pastor of St. Anne's, and former delegate to congress, contracted the disease and died from its effects.

Black Hawk's rebellion was short-lived. He was captured and taken to Washington. While on his way west to the reservation afterward, under an armed escort, the chief stopped at Detroit, being quartered at the "Mansion House," the principal hotel of the place.

In 1834 there was a recurrence of the epidemic. One historian says: "This time with greater severity. Beginning with August and continuing through that month and the next, the streets were daily filled with funeral processions; many of the city's most prominent citizens, including Governor Porter, were taken off. Throughout these trying days the young secretary of the territory, the mayor of the city, C. C. Trowbridge, Father Martin Kundig, a Catholic priest, and many volunteers worked untiringly to save, or ease the sufferings of the victims."

Upon the death of Governor Porter, young Mason who had won many friends and admirers through his sterling qualities, became acting governor and many who had before opposed him, now sought to have the president appoint him to the position. President Andrew Jackson, however, paid no attention to the wishes of the people of the territory, in this respect, and sought to place Henry D. Gilpin in the position. The Mason family, however, supported by the best people of Detroit and the territory, were powerful enough to induce many United States senators to express their disapproval of the plans of the president.

According to a census of 1834 Michigan had a population of 87,273, of which 4,968 were residents of Detroit. Having twenty-five thousand

more inhabitants than was necessary under the law to entitle her to enter the Union, Michigan now began to look forward to becoming a state. In accordance with this sentiment, a constitutional convention was called at Detroit in May, 1885. This body framed a constitution which gave the right of franchise to every citizen of legal age, and provided for an election to be held in October, 1835. At this election, the people were to select a governor, a lieutenant governor, a state legislature and a representative to congress.

About this time, however, was precipitated what was known as "The Toledo war," which threatened to embroil the territory in an actual conflict with Ohio. The trouble arose over a boundary dispute. As has before been noticed, congress, in 1805, defined the boundaries of the territory of Michigan by an imaginary line on the south, running from west to east from the foot of Lake Michigan. As the states now exist, this would have given Michigan a strip across the northern portion of Ohio which would include the present city of Toledo. William Harris, under authority of congress, ran a line in 1817 which, if held to, would place the disputed territory within the boundary of Ohio. Acting within the rights given it in 1805, Michigan continued to control the territory in question. The matter was brought to a focus by Governor Lucas of Ohio who, in 1835, issued a proclamation assuming control of the territory, and creating a commission to reestablish the Harris line. Supporting this action, the Ohio legislature passed a law creating the county of Lucas, including therein the city of Toledo. The act also provided for holding a session of the Ohio court of common pleas at Toledo on September 7, 1835. This spurred Michigan to action, and the legislative council of the territory passed a law which made it a criminal offense, punishable by five years imprisonment and a fine of one thousand dollars, for any other than Michigan or United States officials to exercise or attempt to exercise any authority within the boundaries of the disputed territory. As a step to enforce this law, Governor Mason, acting with his usual decision, wrote Brigadier General J. W. Brown, in command of the third brigade, to enforce the act of the Michigan legislative council, and to prevent any of the Ohio officials from exercising authority in the disputed territory. Governor Mason instructed General Brown to use civil officers, if possible, but if necessary to use the militia. The general was instructed to also ascertain and report the names of any of the officers of militia who were in favor of Ohio, and to suggest who should be appointed in their places.

Ohio at once took similar steps and armed conflict was imminent. It needed only a single act to have precipitated actual warfare. At a general meeting at Detroit a memorial was drawn up and sent to Washington. Seeing internal conflict, and realizing that Ohio was principally interested in saving to herself a port on Maumee bay, the Federal administration sent west two peace officers to effect, if possible a compromise.

Governor Mason determined to save the territory to Michigan, marched into Toledo at the head of a force of about one thousand men, and formally took possession of the town. Governor Lucas had assembled a small force near Maumee, but was powerless to face such a for-

midable army. Giving up the idea of forcibly wresting the territory from Michigan at that time, Governor Lucas stole into Toledo with a judge and court officers and opened court, which was immediately adjourned. The Michigan force in control was unaware of the stratagem until the following day. Michigan remained in control of the territory until the next session of congress, at which the dispute was settled. Ohio was awarded Toledo and Lucas county, and Michigan the upper peninsula (since a source of untold wealth) and her statehood.

President Jackson again endeavored to oust Mason and appointed John S. Horner, of Philadelphia, acting governor to succeed Mason. The new appointee served less than thirty days. His selection was unwelcome to the people of Detroit and the territory, who were warmly attached to Mason and had faith in his ability and courage. In an address to the people of Detroit, Horner outlined his views as to the needs of the territory. They met with instant and vigorous disapproval. So strong was this feeling that the following resolutions were drawn up and unanimously approved: "Resolved, That if our present secretary of the territory should find it beyond his control, either from the nature of his instructions, his feelings of tenderness towards those who have for a long time set at defiance the laws of the territory as well as those of the United States, or any feeling of delicacy toward the executive of a neighboring state, who has in vain endeavored to take forcible possession of a part of our territory, to enable him to properly carry into effect the exacting laws of this territory, it is to be hoped he will relinquish the duties of his office and return to the land of his nativity."

In accordance with the provisions of the constitutional convention, a state election was held at Detroit on the first Monday of October, 1835, at which Stevens T. Mason was elected governor; Edward Munday, lieutenant governor; and Isaac E. Crary, congressman. The first legislature met in November and took action preparatory to the admission of Michigan to the Union as a state. In all things progressive, Michigan's franchise rights in the first draft of the constitution were very broad, and slavery was prohibited. This raised a strong opposition in congress, especially among the southern members who objected to the slavery ideas of the new state. It is deemed probable that admission would have been denied on his account had it not been for the Toledo war which had assumed a serious national phase owing to the constitutional and legal questions involved. Finally, as stated, congress consented to accept the constitution of the territory and admit it into the Union, on condition that Michigan surrender its claims to Toledo, and accept in lieu thereof the entire northern peninsula. Thus, by giving up a strip eight miles wide on the southern boundary, enough territory to form a small state would be secured. It is true it was wild and apparently barren, save for timber, and then of small value, but it later made Michigan both rich and famous. In addition, were the limitless mineral resources which have made the upper peninsula fabulously wealthy. It was decided at Washington, however, that the territory could not be admitted until a convention of delegates had ratified the stipulations made by congress.

Upon this information reaching Detroit, the legislature issued a call

for the election of delegates to a convention to be held on the last Monday of 1836 at Ann Arbor. The convention thus assembled refused to accept the terms proposed, and adjourned. So bitter had been the feeling regarding the Toledo dispute, that at first the people of the territory approved of the action of the convention, but upon more mature deliberation, attention being called to the mineral discoveries made by the Schoolcraft-Houghton expedition, and a wide dissemination of this information meetings were held and another convention called at Ann Arbor December 14, 1836. Governor Mason had been consistently in favor of accepting the terms offered by congress. The opposition was indifferent, having little faith in a change of sentiment. The consequence was that the delegates elected to the second convention were mostly in favor of the admission of the territory upon the conditions outlined. Just forty-two days after this Michigan became the twenty-sixth state in the Union. In order to avoid political and judicial confusion, congress further enacted that the state should be recognized as having been admitted from and after the election of 1835.

As the state supreme court really dated from the assumption of the office of chief justice by William Fletcher, a year prior to the admission of the state, the legislative and judicial branches of government were finally in full legal possession of their powers. A commonwealth blossomed forth to grow to a greatness undreamed of by the most visionary of its supporters.

From the time of the first British evacuation until Michigan became a state Detroit and the territory were under the authority of the following governors and military commanders:

1787-1800—General Arthur St. Clair, governor Northwest territory.

1800-1805—General William Henry Harrison, governor Indiana territory.

1805-1812—General William Hull, governor Michigan territory.

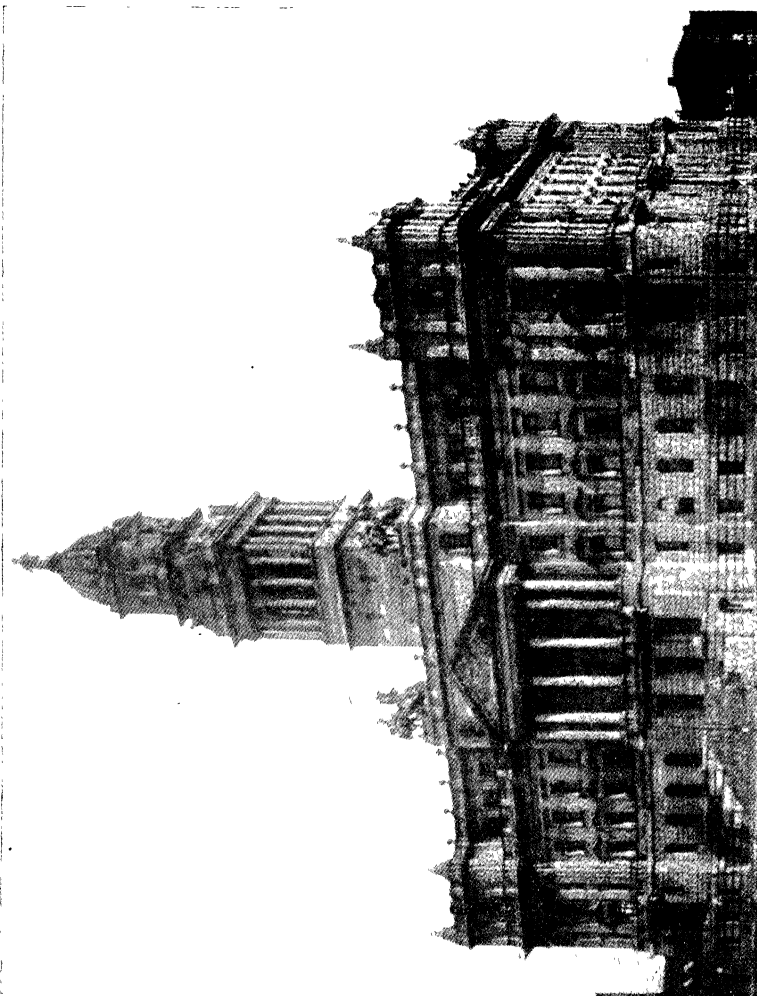
1812-1813—General Proctor, British commandant.

1813-1831—Lewis Cass, governor and military commander.

1831-1835—Stevens T. Mason, secretary and acting governor.

1835-1835—John S. Horner, secretary and acting governor.

1835 until after admission—Stevens T. Mason, governor.



WAYNE COUNTY BUILDING

CHAPTER XIX

THE CIVIL COURTS—INFLUX OF SETTLERS CAUSES WILD LAND SPECULATION—WILD-CAT BANKING HAS BAD EFFECT ON DETROIT—GOVERNOR MASON SUPPORTED IN HIS INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SCHEMES, CONSISTING MAINLY OF CANAL PROJECTS—PIONEERS ANXIOUS FOR TRANSPORTATION LAVISH WITH RIGHTS-OF-WAY—MASON'S FAILURE TO NEGOTIATE SALE OF BONDS WITH NEW YORK BANKERS, AND HIS FAITH IN MEN LEAD TO UNPROFITABLE TRANSACTIONS—STATE DECIDES TO OWN ITS OWN RAILROADS AND PURCHASES DETROIT & ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD—MANY SCHEMES FLATTEN OUT IN THE FINANCIAL PANIC.

Up to a certain period in its development, the history of Detroit is necessarily that of Michigan, so interwoven were the interests of the two. While this history is confined, as far as possible, to the beautiful city itself, cognizance must be taken of events which shaped its course. With the establishment of a state government, legislative and judicial authority of course, went hand in hand.

Of the organization of the supreme court of the state, George Irving Reed has written: "The constitution, which became operative upon the admission of the state to the union, provided for the division of the state into three circuits and the appointment of three judges of the supreme court, in the several counties of his circuit, and all of whom should sit together as a court en banc, to consider and determine appeals. The powers of these judges in circuit were restricted and their labors correspondingly reduced by a provision in the constitution for a separate court of chancery. To this court were granted exclusive primary jurisdiction in all chancery cases, with the right of appeal from the chancery to the supreme court. The judges were appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate for a term of seven years. The first supreme court was composed of: William A. Fletcher, chief justice; George Morell and Epaphroditus Ransom, associate justices. The circuit assigned to the chief justice comprised the counties of Monroe, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Jackson, Washtenaw, Oakland and Saginaw; that assigned to Judge Morell comprised Wayne, St. Clair, Michilimackinac and Chippewa. As under the constitution two assistants were chosen for each county, who were not necessarily lawyers, and whose presence on the bench was not essential to the validity of a proceeding; they were elected for a term of four years. The supreme court was a peripatetic body under the constitution holding one term each year in Wayne, Washtenaw and Kalamazoo counties.

Chief Justice Fletcher came to Michigan several years before the organization of the state government as one of the commissioners for that purpose. He rendered important services in preparing the compilation of territorial laws as the code of 1827, and the first revision of the statutes of the state, known as the revised statutes, 1838, was prepared by him, and under his supervision. He was a good lawyer and able judge.

Former Governor Alpheus Felch in a paper read before the Michigan Historical Society thus outlined the early history of the chancery court: The Michigan court of chancery was established, and the office of chancellor created, by an act of the legislature approved March 26, 1836.

This act was amended in July of the same year, and the year following both statutes were repealed and a new law continuing the independent court of chancery with more specific provisions as to its powers and jurisdiction, was enacted. By this statute the powers and jurisdiction were made coexistent with the powers and jurisdiction of the court of chancery of England, with the exceptions, additions and limitations created and imposed by the constitution and laws of the state. The state was divided into three circuits, afterward increased to five, in each of which two terms were to be held annually, and an appeal was given from the decrees of the chancellor to the supreme court of the state. In July, 1836, Judge Elon Farnsworth received the appointment of chancellor and soon afterward the court of chancery was organized, and the exercise of its functions commenced.

With the creation of the new state a stream of settlers poured into the state. In those days of primitive means of transportation, the use of the Erie canal formed a means of safe and easy travel which attracted the young, hardy, ambitious men of the east who with their wives sought in the wilderness homes of their own, and who were willing to face all sorts of dangers to carve out for themselves and their descendants estates and careers in the new country. Those deeply interested in the welfare of the new state were naturally enthusiastic, and bright visions of the future floated before them. Under these circumstances, it was natural that Michigan should boom. A land speculation fever took possession of the people, and great pressure was brought to bear to provide for internal improvements, such as better means of transportation as a condition precedent to the profitable disposition of the lands. The pioneers were zealous and were obsessed with but one idea: to create a great commonwealth, the glory and wealth of which would descend to their children.

Every one had seen the benefits of the Erie Canal and readily responded to the spirit of Governor Mason who in his first message to the legislature suggested that a "board of internal improvement be created" whose duty it should be to ascertain the proper objects of improvement regarding navigable rivers, roads and canals. On March 21, 1837, such an act was passed by the young legislature, and on the same day, Governor Mason named the following as commissioners: James B. Hunt, Hart L. Stewart, John M. Barbour, David C. McKinstry, Gardiner D. Williams, Levi S. Humphrey and Justin M. Burdick.

With the boom came a spirit of impatience. The populace was not

willing to await a healthy growth and the slower forms of development prevalent in the east, and many important and far reaching measures for immediate realization of their dreams of aggrandizement proposed and carried through with a speed that today would be deemed reckless. Surveying crews were thrown into the wilderness. Lines were run and estimates made. The dominant idea seems the duplication of the Erie Canal wherever possible, because if the Erie waterway had proved so beneficial in scattering settlers to the west, similar canals through the lower peninsula of Michigan would be of equal benefit.

Under the spell of the prevailing enthusiasm, the commissioners appointed in March met at Detroit on May 1, and formally organized for their work.

One of the first official acts of the commission was the purchase of the chartered rights, privileges and franchises of the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad. This was in pursuance of the intention of the state to own and control its own public utilities.

Early in the following year, 1838, the board reported that the engineers in charge of the survey of a "canal part of the way and railroad the balance of the route, commencing at, or near Mt. Clemens, on the Clinton river to terminate at or near the mouth of the Kalamazoo river"—the route of the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal—had found the project feasible, the character of the soil and abundance of water leaving no doubt of the practicability of the enterprise.

As outlined by this improvement board the work on the canal mentioned, additional canals, river improvements, and wagon and railroads throughout the state called for an expenditure of what was then a mammoth fortune. The legislature memorialized congress for the setting aside of five hundred thousand acres of public lands for the benefit of the improvement fund, and a loan which has since become famous in history for five million dollars was approved. Three hundred and five thousand dollars was appropriated for the work on the Clinton river canal. In July, 1838, with blare of trumpets, and salute of guns, ground was broken by the governor in the presence of a vast concourse of citizens for the work at Mt. Clemens. Detroit was there en-masse. At day-break the firing of a gun announced the dawn of a day: those who then lived would mark a great era in the life of the commonwealth.

Pointing out the great results which must follow the completion of the canal. Governor Mason, the idol of the state, turned the first shovelful of earth. The history of Wayne county says that an omen occurred during the ceremony which cast the spell of gloom over the superstitious. In loading the first wheelbarrow with earth, little attention was paid to its capacity, and when it was dumped the frail vehicle went to pieces. By some the incident was deemed prophetic of the future of the enterprise.

As a means of providing funds for the canal and other internal improvements which were then deemed colossal, Governor Mason approved an act on March 21. 1837, authorizing a loan of "a sum not to exceed five million dollars." As soon as the bonds of the state for this amount had been prepared in New York, the governor left for that metropolis with a view of negotiating the loan with some of the larger New York banks.

Wild cat banking in the state by which flotation of scrip was as common as water, and tales of "town site" speculation had prejudiced the hard headed financiers of the east against the new state. They viewed with suspicion some of its legislation, and were not reassured with the spirit of feverish activity and speculation which seemed too prevalent. Added to these factors was the fact that but little was known as to the resources of the state. Upon his arrival at New York, the young governor of the new state at once realized that securing the money on the bonds was no where as easy as securing the authority for their issue from the legislature.

Meeting with a cool reception at the hands of the men upon whom he had depended to purchase the bonds, the governor came in contact with the Morris Canal and Banking Company, a New Jersey concern with headquarters at New York. With this company the governor closed a contract appointing them agents for the state in the sale of the bonds to the amount of five million dollars, for which the company was to receive a commission of two and a half per cent, with the understanding that if the bonds were sold above par, the Morris Canal and Banking Company was to receive one-half of such premium up to one hundred and five. If the bonds sold above one hundred and five the state agreed to give the additional premium to the company. Bonds to the amount of one million, three hundred thousand dollars were at once turned over to the agents upon their agreement to place one-fourth of their par value to the credit of the state in cash, and to hold the balance as available subject to the governor's order. The remaining three million, seven hundred thousand dollars was to be paid the state in regular quarterly payments, at the rate of one million dollars a year after July 1, 1839. This arrangement would have given the state the needed construction funds, but the fact was lost sight of that Michigan would be paying out interest at the rate of six per cent per annum long before any return from the sale of the bonds was received.

Documents of the state senate and house for 1839 show that changes were made in the arrangements which afterward turned out to be very embarrassing. The company's notes were taken in lieu of cash for the first year installment. An additional change was made and the state was satisfied with ninety day drafts of the company instead of its notes. Later in the same year the remaining portion of the five million dollars in bonds was turned over to the company without other security than the company's obligation for one fourth of the amount, and the understanding that the United States Bank of Philadelphia would undertake to float the rest.

That Governor Mason was thoroughly honest and sincere in his attempts to realize on the bonds there is no doubt, and in view of the peculiar condition of the times, and his faith in the honesty of other men, his justification for his course lies.

There is no question that to his scheme of financing the loan was due the failure of the Clinton river canal and other projects for internal improvements in which he was interested. That the governor's faith was abused is evident from the manner in which the banking company

took advantage of every opportunity to get the best of the young commonwealth.

Following the appropriation of two hundred and five thousand dollars for the work on the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal in 1838 the following year an act was passed authorizing the payment of sixty thousand dollars for the same purpose "out of any moneys that shall hereafter come into the treasury of the state to the credit of the fund for internal improvement."

Agents of the state had no difficulty in securing deeds to rights of way, the pioneers being in thorough sympathy with any movement that would tend to settle and develop the commonwealth.

In payment for labor and materials the state issued its scrip which it expected to redeem when the payments were made by the Morris Canal and Banking Company.

It soon became apparent that the absence of specie in the canal work was having an adverse effect, and that expansion on borrowed capital was no better in the administration of state affairs than in that of a corporation. The day of reckoning had to come, and the enthusiasm of the pioneers began to wane when they found the government facing financial difficulties. At this time unfortunately, the hard times of 1838-39 came on. Specie payment was suspended in the east and ruin stared the business interests of Michigan, as well as the state in the face. Wild-catting which had been so popular during the inflation period now caused untold misery and credits went down like a house of cards. It is not at all astonishing that under these circumstances that Governor Mason faced almost certain defeat at the polls, for, no matter how sincere his motives, he was largely responsible for the situation. The internal improvements lost their attractions in the eyes of the people. The governor was returned to office by a bare majority, a portion of which consisted of canal diggers whose interests were vitally affected by the outcome of the election. To add to the gloom cast over the state it was announced that the Morris Canal and Banking Company had defaulted in its payments to the commissioners, and that the United States Bank had become so involved as to be forced to also discontinue payment on the bonds. The scrip issued by the state became subject to a heavy discount and became available for little else than the payment of taxes and settlement of minor obligations to the state.

The financial stringency and the individual struggle of the people to provide for their personal needs caused a revulsion of public sentiment, and strong retrenchment in state affairs was demanded. Governor William Woodbridge was elected upon this sentiment, and upon his inauguration it was strongly intimated that the "committee on internal improvements be instructed to inquire into the expediency of bringing a bill to repeal the act to provide for further construction of certain works." In 1840 this act was approved, except so far as it related to the completion of the Central and Southern railroads then partially completed.

The superiority of steam roads over canals was soon demonstrated and the dreams of the pioneers of waterways development were dissi-

pated. Progress with its ruthless hand swept aside the old plans and diverted the efforts for development into other channels.

Detroit, the head center of state activity, gasped at the set back, then gained its breath and went forward with resolution, adjusting itself to new conditions with a facility that did much toward its financial recovery.

CHAPTER XX

THE PATRIOT WAR—DETROIT'S PARTICIPATION THEREIN—DETROIT THREATENED WITH ATTACK BY CANADIANS—HUNTERS LODGES ESTABLISHED BY PATRIOT SYMPATHIZERS—AMERICAN ARMS STOLEN—FIGHTING ISLAND THE SCENE OF CONFLICT—WINDSOR BARRACKS ATTACKED AND BURNED—UNITED STATES ENFORCES THE NEUTRALITY LAWS.

Sympathy with sentiment of revolt was a natural consequence of the wars of the revolution and 1812 and when there came a political upheaval in Canada many citizens of Detroit and Michigan became interested in the "patriots" who were worked up to fever heat when comparing the prosperity of the United States with that of the Dominion. The causes of discontent were similar to those that started the war of the American revolution. The rivalry between the parties finally developed into open warfare. The Patriots, so called, who clamored for independence, took possession of Navy island in the Niagara river and fortified it. Then began the collection of troops and munitions of war. There were many active and open sympathizers with the movement on this side of the line who supplied both men and supplies. The steamer "Caroline" was fitted out at Buffalo and ran between that city, Black Rock and Navy island, a large part of her trade being the transportation of supplies to the Patriots. Exasperated at this, the Canadian officials on December 29, 1837, caused the "Caroline" to be boarded. Twelve persons were killed and the vessel set on fire. This roused the ire of the American sympathizers who more openly encouraged the Patriots. Of course, this was a direct violation of international law and it was the duty of the United States, under the treaties made with Great Britain, to see that absolute neutrality was maintained. This was difficult. The west was still wild and the fever of conflict had not abated in the blood of the pioneer on the border. General Winfield Scott was sent to the frontier to preserve the peace, and to see that no further open violations of the neutrality laws occurred. The Patriots were defeated at several places by the Canadian government, and more than three hundred refugees gathered at Detroit where they received a hospitable welcome. Threats were made by Canadians to pursue them to this city and to burn the town unless they were delivered up. This threat was sufficient to rouse the fighting blood of Detroiters many of whom concealed and aided the refugees. "Hunters Lodges" were formed by friends of the refugees and underground communication kept up with the Patriot army. Citizens of Detroit friendly

to the Patriot cause held a meeting on January 1, 1838, at which one hundred and thirty-five dollars and ten rifles were subscribed to aid the Patriot cause. Feeling ran high, both for and against the "Rebels," and the *Morning Post* favored the Patriot cause. The War of 1812 was still fresh in the memory of the public.

Threatened as it was by the Canadian government, Detroit began to prepare for eventualities and more than four hundred stands of arms were stacked at the county jail. Before dawn on January 5th a small band of resolute men, numbering between twenty and twenty-five, quietly proceeded to the jail where they aroused Jailor Thompson. Upon his opening the door, he was seized, and the arms and ammunition were taken possession of. So quietly was this done, that the Patriots and their friends got away with the munitions of war. The next day they seized the schooner "Ann," and with the arms they had secured and one hundred and thirty men, together with supplies and provisions for the Patriot army, they set sail for Fighting island. The schooner was chased by an English steamer, and was hailed at Ecorse by a United States marshal and a posse of citizens he had gathered. Paying no attention to the hail, with a stiff breeze filling her canvas, the "Ann" passed on down the river and was joined by a number of smaller boats. The Patriots and refugees numbering some three hundred were landed at Gibraltar. Late on the evening of the landing the party was enlarged by sixty men who had come from Cleveland on the steamer "Erie," under the leadership of J. T. Sutherland. It was then planned to capture Malden.

The episode of the schooner caused alarm on the part of the cooler-headed citizens of Detroit, who realized it was the duty of the United States to preserve neutrality, and a meeting was called at the city hall to devise ways and means for accomplishing this. Governor Mason, with two hundred and twenty volunteer militia, started out on the steamers "Erie" and "Brady" to seize the schooner "Ann" for violation of the neutrality laws. The schooner, however, escaped to an island outside of the jurisdiction of the United States, and the governor and his troops returned to Detroit without having accomplished anything beyond the exhibition of a determination to maintain the integrity of the country according to the terms of treaties made.

Sutherland's forces attempted to take possession of Bois Blanc, but were repulsed by a few English regulars and Canadian militia. Sutherland retreated to Fighting island, and the Canadians, fearing an attack on Amherstburg, hastened thither to defend the place. Sutherland had ordered Dr. Theller, who was in command of the "Ann," to join him. Upon attempting to do so, the schooner was fired on from the Canadian shore. Her rigging and sails were so badly torn by the shot that she drifted helplessly and went ashore, where she was captured by the Canadians. Dr. Theller was sent as a prisoner to Quebec. Upon learning of the capture of the "Ann" and Dr. Theller, who was in command, Sutherland dropped back to Sugar island and thence to Gibraltar.

The Patriots of Detroit and their friends planned a bold step and on January 9, 1838, seized the steamer "Erie." Better counsel, however, prevailed, and the next day the steamer was returned. In pursuance of

a proclamation issued by Governor Mason, and one by Mayor Howard, a meeting of citizens was held at the city hall at which addresses were delivered by G. C. Batesy, T. Romeyn, Mr. Morey, Attorney General Pritchette, D. Goodwin and Major Kearsley. Resolutions were unanimously adopted sustaining the Federal government in its efforts to maintain strict neutrality.

The hand of the United States was here placed upon the situation at Detroit by the arrival from Buffalo of the steamer "Robert Fulton" with three companies of United States regulars under Colonel Worth. Governor Mason on the twelfth of February called out six companies of militia and sent them to Gibraltar. The expedition was an unpleasant one, the weather being intensely cold, and two men attempting to desert broke through the ice while crossing the river and were drowned. Upon the arrival of the Michigan troops at Gibraltar, Governor Mason induced the Patriots to disperse.

The disbanding of those at Gibraltar was only a lull in the storm, however. Secretly the Patriots were extremely active, and on the very day Governor Mason went from Detroit twelve boxes of rifles were brought to that city from the arsenal at Dearborn, from which they had been stolen. These were found in a garret over a bowling-alley and were returned to the arsenal. Following this bold theft of arms, the Patriots seized one hundred barrels of flour found on the steamer "General Brady." On February 14th a company of regulars, under command of Captain Johnson arrived from Buffalo, and the Brady Guards left Detroit for Gibraltar to escort provisions for troops at Monroe.

The frequent arrival of United States troops and the strict measures taken by the officers to prevent a violation of the neutrality laws caused an exodus of Patriots from Detroit. Many of them went up the river and word was received at Detroit that an attack on Fort Sarnia was contemplated from the American side near St. Clair. The Brady Guards were dispatched to that place to prevent the movement. Though apparently quelled, the Patriot movement on this side of the river was really as active as ever. On the night of February 23, 1838, under cover of a heavy snowstorm, two hundred men gathered at an inn kept by a man named Thomas, five miles below Gibraltar, and proceeded up the river in three divisions. Arriving at Ecorse, they were met with sleighs and began the transportation of arms, ammunition and supplies to Fighting island across the ice.

The Canadians, who had been watching these movements, gathered their troops on the Dominion shore opposite the island. In the meantime, a company of United States troops and the Brady Guards had left Detroit for Ecorse to arrest the Patriots should they return. Early on the morning of February 25th, a bright, frosty Sabbath, the Canadians commenced to shell the Patriot stronghold. During the cannonade, thirteen Patriots were killed and forty wounded. Finding their position untenable, the Patriots once more retreated to Gibraltar and at points below on the American shore. Here they were met by the American troops, who captured their arms and took two of the leaders into custody on the charge of violating the neutrality laws.

The seriousness of the situation caused General Scott to again visit

Detroit. The spirit of Canada toward Detroit was extremely belligerent and preparations were being made to attack the city. In view of this situation, a public meeting was held at the city hall on March 7th. At this meeting complaints as to the treatment of Americans taken prisoners by Canada were registered. D. E. Harbaugh, A. D. Fraser, P. Desnoyers, C. C. Trowbridge, and E. Brooks were appointed a committee to investigate the matter.

Feeling ran high on both sides of the river and on March 10th there was firing on either side of the stream, but it was by unorganized parties. Again the citizens were called together at the city hall on March 12th and the largest meeting in the history of the city, up to that time, was held. The committee appointed March 7th reported in favor of maintaining strict neutrality, and a vigorous protest was made against addresses delivered in the Canadian parliament charging that the citizens of Detroit sympathized with, and aided the Patriots. It was clearly demonstrated that Colonel Prince who accidentally met T. J. Sutherland, the Patriot leader on the ice, had effected his capture in Canadian territory.

The friction between the people on both sides of the line had not been removed, and the United States, both for the purpose of enforcing neutrality and as a measure of protection, sent ten thousand muskets to the arsenal at Dearborn during the early summer. About that time there were in camp at Bloody Run more than two hundred Patriots, who were only waiting an opportune moment and reinforcements to make another attack. In November a schooner with several hundred stand of arms for the Patriots was captured by the United States authorities near Gibraltar. Rumors came thick and fast of gatherings of Patriots at Sandusky and Cleveland. To head off further action from the American side, General Brady chartered the Steamer "Illinois" and stationed his troops at different points on the Detroit river. The Patriots, in a daring raid on November 23rd, seized the arms of the Brady Guards, but these were recaptured a few days afterward. About this time, Patriots and refugees to the number of five hundred gathered at Brest and marched as far as the Forsyth farm, now well within the city limits. These were dispersed by the American troops on Sunday December 3, 1838, and twelve boxes of rifles were captured.

The strictness of the military was discouraging to the Patriots who were not united upon their plan of campaign, and it looked as if the attempts to organize a concerted attack on Canada had been abandoned. This, however, proved, proved untrue. Shortly after midnight on December 4th, under Colonels Harvey and Cunningham, about two hundred and fifty Patriots marched silently into Detroit and to the wharf where they took possession of the steamer "Champlain." Boarding her, they crossed the river about three miles above Windsor. Forming in line they marched to the Canadian barracks which they attacked and burned, also setting fire to the steamer "Thames." The British regulars, having been reinforced from Malden, rallied and drove the attacking party back to their boats and they were forced to retreat in canoes to Belle Isle, then known as Hog Island. Sixty-five of the invaders were captured, four of whom were shot by order of Colonel Prince. The loss of

the Patriots in killed was twenty-one. A number of them were frozen to death. They were between two fires, being also fired upon by Colonel Pyne of the United States army as they were making their escape to Hog island.

Detroit, during the fighting, was wild with excitement and a night watch of fifty men was appointed to patrol the city. The next day nearly one hundred prominent citizens were sworn in as peace officers.

Nearly one year after his capture, Dr. Theller who had escaped from Quebec, arrived at Detroit. He was arrested on a charge of having violated the neutrality laws, gave bail and was released. His trial occurred the following June when he was acquitted. This practically ended the Patriot war, and peace and tranquility once more reigned at Detroit.

CHAPTER XXI

MEXICAN WAR—TROOPS RAISED AT DETROIT AND SENT TO THE FRONT—
—THE CIVIL WAR—DETROIT'S OLD-TIME ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT
PREDOMINATES—UNDERGROUND ROUTE USED BY ESCAPING SLAVES—
JOHN BROWN'S RAID PLANNED AT DETROIT—FEELING RUNS HIGH AND
TROOPS ARE CENTERED AT DETROIT BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE FRONT
—SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS IN CANADA PLAN TO SEIZE VESSELS ON
THE LAKES—VOLUNTEERS FLOCK TO THE RECRUITING OFFICES—CITI-
ZENS FORM BODIES FOR DRILL IN EACH WARD IN ANTICIPATION OF AN-
OTHER CALL TO ARMS.

Nearly ten years after the close of the Patriot war, the clouds of conflict again cast their shadows over the fair city of Detroit when congress declared war with Mexico May 13, 1846. Unsettled claims for outrages committed upon American citizens and dispute as to the boundary line between the two countries are given as the reasons for this war, but some historians do not hesitate to say that one of the factors which led to the invasion of our southern neighbor was the ambition of southern congressmen to add more slave-holding territory to this country.

Be that as it may, troops were called for and as usual Michigan was not behind in furnishing its share. As Detroit was still the capital of the state at that time, the center of military activity was at that place. Of the ten new regiments asked for, this state furnished one full regiment and one company for the Third United States Dragoons. The latter was raised by A. T. McReynolds, captain. John Brown was made first lieutenant, and J. C. D. Williams, second lieutenant. It was a picked body of men, none under six feet in height being accepted. The company, which was the only mounted body raised in Michigan and Wisconsin, was quickly filled, and promptly left for the front. The regiment attracted great attention and General Winfield Scott is credited with saying that it was the finest body of troops he had ever seen. He attached it to himself as part of his personal escort. This company left Detroit by way of the lakes on April 24, 1847, and reached Vera Cruz May 20th.

Naturally, news from the seat of war was anxiously awaited. There were no telegraph lines in operation at that time and the slower method of the post was the only means of communication. Captain Joseph Taylor, a brother of General Zachary Taylor, an officer in the United States army, was then stationed at Detroit, and spent most of his time upon the wharf awaiting steamers with tidings from the front. Judge Wilkins kept him company on the day news of the battle of Palo Alto was ex-

pected. The captain refused to leave the river front when darkness fell, and kept faithful watch until far into the night when the vessel with the news finally arrived. He was overjoyed, and in the small hours of the morning awoke Judge Wilkins to impart the information that his brother, General Taylor, had whipped the Mexicans. Farmer, in his history of Detroit, says that after this, American victories in Mexico were used for the names of hotels and saloons. One bowling alley was called the "Palo Alto," or "8th of May Saloon," and the hotel of Colonel Prouty, at the corner of Sixth street and Grand River avenue, was called the "Buena Vista," and retained the name for many years.

Shortly after the departure of the dragoons, a company known as Company G, of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, was raised in Detroit. Captain F. D. Winans was in command, William D. Wilkins was first lieutenant, and M. P. Doyle second lieutenant. In April, 1847, they were sent to Mackinaw to relieve some regulars ordered to the front, and were in turn ordered to Mexico in June of the same year. Their place was kept by a company from Detroit, of which M. L. Gage was captain, A. K. Howard first lieutenant, and W. F. Chittenden and C. F. Davis second lieutenants. This company was enlisted in the United States service June 18, 1847, for the purpose of garrisoning the posts at Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie. This company was disbanded during the early spring of 1848. Company G, which left for the front, touched at Detroit on its way down the lakes, and was given a great ovation.

Again, during 1847, Michigan was called upon for more troops, and a regiment was raised under the following officers: T. B. W. Stockton, colonel; A. S. Williams, lieutenant colonel; J. V. Ruehle, major; J. E. Pittman, adjutant; F. W. Curtenius, captain Company A; Grove A. Buel, captain Company B; A. H. Hanscome, captain Company C; N. Greusel, Jr., captain Company D; Isaac S. Rowland, captain of Company E; John Wittenmeyer, captain Company F; Daniel Hicks, captain of Company G; Walter W. Dean, captain Company H; John Van Arman, captain Company I; James M. Williams, captain Company K. Six companies of this regiment left Detroit for Mexico in December, 1847, three companies under Captains Buel, Hanscome, and Greusel, leaving on December 24th, and three more, under Captains Curtenius, Rowland and Wittenmeyer, on December 25th. The six companies were under command of Lieutenant Colonel Williams. The second detachment, under command of Colonel Stockton, and Captains Dean, Van Arman, and Williams, took their departure on the steamer "Albany," February 9, 1848.

Up to this time, under the provisions of the constitution, annual sessions of the legislature were held at Detroit and the capital was to remain at that city until 1847, when a permanent location was to be decided upon by the legislature. This was done, and under an act approved by Governor Adolphus Felch March 16, 1847, Lansing, so called after the town of Lansing, New York, whence came most of the inhabitants of the new state capital, was selected, and on Christmas day, 1847 the capital was there established. It has remained there ever since.

The Mexican war practically ceased during the early part of 1848, and the Michigan troops were ordered home. Part of the First Regiment

arrived on the steamer "John Owen," July 8th, more came on the 10th, and the remainder reached Detroit on July 16th, coming by way of Chicago and around the lakes. They were met by the Scott Guard and a large number of citizens on Lake St. Clair with the ferry steamer "Alliance." The amount expended by the state in raising the First Regiment was \$10,165. Five thousand dollars was appropriated for raising the second regiment which, though mustered into service, was never sent to the front. The Mexican war all told, cost the state \$17,193.70.

In 1850 there was a constitutional convention held for the purposes of amendments, and thereafter the sessions of the legislature were held every two years, a custom which prevailed up to and including the present time. Here we part company with state affairs, save such as immediately affected the city of Detroit, which had grown from a frontier post to a commercial center of importance, commanding as it did, the entire trade of the upper peninsula, the despised territory destined to make the state one of the wealthiest, as well as one of the most renowned in the union.

In this history, it is the aim to bring the city up to the present time in an orderly, chronological manner, and it is therefore necessary to summarize events to a certain extent, leaving to the various subdivisions the details appertaining to numerous branches of civic development. The minor details of the city's growth from the close of the Mexican war until the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion will be found in the chapters devoted to political, municipal, judicial, educational, artistic, dramatic, fraternal, industrial, financial and commercial progress.

Detroit's existence, from the close of the Mexican war up to the agitation which finally led to the secession of the southern states, was one of peaceful progress interrupted only by political excitement as the lines of demarcation between the two principal political parties became more sharply drawn.

To go into details as to the origin and causes of the War of the Rebellion would be to repeat general history. Suffice it, for the purpose of this work, to state it was the culmination of the inevitable struggle between freedom and slavery. The anti-slavery sentiment, so pronounced at the time of the admission of the state to the Union, while apparently extinct, was only slumbering. It needed only the advent of a few runaway slaves from the south, and a repetition of their stories of hardship and abuse, to fan into a flame the smoldering antipathy to individual repression which had from the beginning marked the spirit of Michigan as state and territory.

Provision was made for the reception and protection of the blacks who, by their escape, had struck from themselves the fetters of compulsory servitude. Escaping slaves were made welcome at Detroit, and secreted and spirited across the border. Of course, at that time this was without the sanction of the law, which then recognized the proprietary interest of slave owners in their human chattels. What was termed the "underground route" was established, whereby the runaway slaves were received, fed, protected and concealed. This naturally exasperated the slave owners, and, in the south, Detroit was looked upon with contempt

and loathing. This attitude toward the present metropolis of Michigan in no way diminished the anti-slavery sentiment.

The outbreak of the Rebellion, in 1861, found all branches of the national government unprepared for the conflict. The disruption of the Union had been so often threatened that, when the break really came, it was with awe that the people looked the situation in the face and accepted the responsibility of the conflict. Perhaps Detroit was an exception to the rule, on account of the undercurrent of agitation kept alive by the advent of runaway slaves. There had been, however, no preliminary arming, nor preparation for the contest which was to come. When the call to arms arrived, however, the answer was an enrollment from this state which compared favorably with that of any commonwealth in the Union, and which, when the fighting came, gave Michigan an imperishable place in the history of the country.

The census of 1860 credits the state with a population of 751,110, of which Detroit numbered 45,619. Public feeling on the slavery question just before the Confederate attack upon Fort Sumter, was at fever heat. The law of 1855 prohibiting the use of county jails for the lodgement and detention of runaway slaves, and the direction to the prosecuting attorneys to defend such persons, had foiled the slave owners in their efforts to apprehend their fugitive serfs.

The arrival of John Brown on March 12, 1859, with fourteen slaves from Missouri, accentuated the anti-slavery agitation. A lecture by Frederick Douglass the colored orator, on the same evening, capped the climax and led directly to the organization of the raid on Harper's Ferry. After the lecture by Douglass, he and Brown, together with William Lambert, John Richards, George De Baptiste, William Webb and Dr. J. Ferguson met at the house of Webb at No. 185 East Congress street and there planned the raid which has made the name of John Brown famous the world over. The plan there outlined was to make Harper's Ferry a central point on the "Underground railroad" for the handling of fugitive slaves. It determined to assemble a sufficient number there to, when armed, protect them. It was due to either the folly or treachery of a member of the organization that the plan was revealed and a premature movement rendered necessary. The result is well known to all. This meeting was the principal factor in bringing forth the proclamation of emancipation, the first celebration in honor of which was held January 6, 1863, at the colored Baptist church at Detroit.

The sympathy with the blacks which made Detroit so prominent in the eyes of the country was universal among the better classes. There existed among the idle and vicious, as well as some with southern sympathies, a bitter prejudice against the colored people. This smoldering antipathy was fanned into an open flame when a colored man named William Faulkner was arrested on a charge of having committed an assault upon a little white girl. The arrest occurred in March, 1863. He was tried, convicted and sentenced for life. The war with the south was then in full swing and apprehensions of a draft were great. The colored people here, in the minds of the ignorant, were held responsible for the struggle, and the bitterness against them was intensified. While Faulkner's trial was in progress and he was being taken from the court

house to the jail, he was hit on the head with a paving stone. The mob then attempted to seize him, but was fought off by the officers who succeeded in getting the wounded man within the precincts of the jail. Another attempt to take the prisoner away from the provost guard, which was aiding the sheriff, was made the next day after Faulkner had received his sentence. The guard fired into the crowd, killing one man. This infuriated the mob and a general attack was made upon the colored residents of Detroit. The scene was terrifying. Many of the blacks were severely beaten, their houses were set on fire and many who tried to escape were driven back into the flames under a shower of paving stones, bricks and other missiles. The military finally restored order, drew a cordon around the colored quarter and quelled the riot.

History has it that there were grave doubts as to the guilt of Faulkner. Seven years after his sentence began this doubt became a certainty and he was pardoned. Sympathizers raised a purse and bought him a stall at the market, which he retained up to the time of his death in 1876. This was the last manifestation of ill feeling against the colored race who were given full powers of self-defense and citizenship, a development for which their sympathizers had been fighting since 1844. A petition to the legislature for the right of suffrage was denied, but the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States finally accorded this privilege. Following this, the restrictive word "white" was stricken from the constitution of Michigan November 8, 1870.

New when the Civil war is but a memory, and one flag flies from one end of this great country to another, it is difficult to fully comprehend the sombre shadows cast by the ordinances of secession adopted by the southern states. Governor Moses Wisner, upon retiring from the gubernatorial chair in 1860, voiced the sentiment of the state, a sentiment its soldiers upheld upon the field of battle with magnificent bravery. He said: "This is no time for timid and vacillating councils when the cry of treason and rebellion is ringing in our ears. The constitution, as our fathers made it, is good enough for us, and must be enforced upon every foot of American soil. Michigan cannot recognize the right of a state to secede from this Union. We believe the founders of our government intended it to be perpetual, and we cannot consent to have one star obliterated from our flag. For upward of thirty years this question of the right of a state has been agitated. It is time it was settled. We ought not leave it for our children to look after. I would calmly but firmly declare it to be the firm determination of Michigan that the Federal constitution, the rights of the states, must and shall be preserved."*

Following the valedictory of Governor Wisner to the legislature of 1861, came the inaugural address of his successor, Austin Blair, whose name has gone down the vale of years as the war governor of the Wolverine state. He not only ratified the sentiments of Wisner, but added: "Secession is revolution, and revolution in the overt act is treason, and must be treated as such. The Federal government has the power to defend itself, and I do not doubt that power will be exercised to the uttermost. It is a question of war the seceding states have to face. They who

* Lanman's "Red Book of Michigan."

think that this powerful government can be disrupted peacefully, have read history to no purpose. The sons of men who carried arms in the Seven Years' war with the most powerful nation in the world, to establish this government, will not hesitate to make equal sacrifices to maintain it."

Notwithstanding that the military department of the state was in a weak condition, it rose to the occasion. On Tuesday, April 16, 1861, Governor Blair arrived at Detroit and in the afternoon met a number of influential citizens and capitalists at the Michigan Exchange hotel, which stood where the Pingree Company now manufactures shoes on Jefferson avenue. The state had been called upon to furnish immediately to the national government one infantry regiment, fully armed, clothed and equipped. It was estimated that it would take \$100,000 to comply with this demand, and at the meeting a resolution was adopted that Detroit business interests would loan the state \$50,000, and calling upon the people throughout the state for a like contribution. A subscription paper was also passed around, and \$23,000 was pledged by those who attended the meeting.

At a special session of the legislature held May 7, 1861, the acts of the governor were legalized and laws were passed authorizing him to raise ten regiments and a war loan of one million dollars. The First regiment was organized and quartered at Fort Wayne, now within the city limits, and on May 2nd it was mustered into the service of the United States. It went to the front on May 13th.

Under the new legislation, the raising of regiments and the clothing and equipment thereof went forward rapidly, and the state was able to promptly meet the demands made upon it for men. The troops were clothed, equipped, and subsisted under the direction of Quartermaster General J. H. Fountain of Manchester, under contracts made by the Military Contract Board, consisting of Colonels E. O. Grosvenor of Jonesville, Jerome Croul of Detroit and William Hammond of Marshall. All historians unite in saying their duties were accomplished with much individual ability and great energy, coupled with exemplary economy, thus relieving the quartermaster general from much responsibility and labor.

The state military board was at that time composed of General A. S. Williams and Colonel H. M. Whittelsey of Detroit, Colonel A. W. Williams of Lansing, and Colonel C. W. Leffingwell of Grand Rapids, together with the adjutant general and quartermaster general of the state, ex-officio members. During the following June, Colonel Williams having gone to the front, he was succeeded by Colonel William M. Fenton, and when the latter entered the service for active duty in the field, Colonel E. H. Thompson succeeded him, and was, on August 13th elected president of the board.

J. H. Fountain of Manchester, who was quartermaster general, was ably aided in his arduous duties by Friend Palmer of Detroit, a brother of United States Senator Palmer. Colonel James E. Pittman of Detroit was appointed paymaster in behalf of the state troops. His duties were most conscientiously performed, and Colonel Pittman also rendered

valuable services as a member of the military board, from September 19, 1861, to November 1, 1862.

Following the First Regiment, under the command of Colonel O. B. Wilcox, the Second Regiment, in command of Colonel Isaac B. Richardson, went to the seat of war in Virginia, and steps were taken to raise the Third and Fourth regiments. This was done upon the responsibility of the governor.

In spite of a letter from the secretary of war limiting the volunteer regiments to four (one, the First Regiment, for three months, and the others for three-year service) the governor took the responsibility of establishing a camp of instruction at Fort Wayne for the officers of the Fifth regiment of infantry, Colonel H. D. Terry; Sixth Infantry, Colonel F. W. Curtinius; Seventh Infantry, Colonel Ira R. Grosvenor. On May 21, 1861, companies were assigned to these regiments, and their officers were ordered to assemble at Fort Wayne, on June 16th. The camp was organized and commanded by General A. S. Williams assisted by Colonel James E. Pittman, Major W. D. Wilkins and Captain Henry M. Whittelsey. A course of instruction was followed with great success until August 1st when the camp was broken up and the force sent to different localities to recruit their men and organize their regiments. This was promptly accomplished. The Sixth regiment was mustered August 20th; the Seventh, August 22nd, and the Fifth, on August 28th. All of them left for the front before September 12th. The camp of instruction attracted much attention in other states and universally received the commendation of the public press. Shortly after the breaking up of the camp of instruction General Williams was appointed brigadier general of volunteers and left for the scene of conflict in Virginia, with Major Wilkins and Captain Whittelsey on his brigade staff.

The act of congress of August 3, 1861, authorized President Lincoln to receive into service 500,000 volunteers. The proportion of Michigan was placed at 19,500, but, in the adjustment of credits, 21,337 were charged against the state.

In addition to this force were Captain Duesler's company, First United States Sharpshooters (Berdan's), raised at large and armed and equipped by the state, and mustered at Detroit August 21st, with an aggregate strength of one hundred of the best picked rifle-shots in Michigan; and Captain Stewart's company (B) Second United States Sharpshooters, raised at Lansing, numbering seventy-eight men, and mustered at Detroit on October 4th.

The "Jackson Guard," a Detroit company composed of Irishmen, raised by Captain John McDermott, failing to get a position in the early Michigan regiments, offered their services to Colonel Mulligan of Illinois. They were accepted and the company joined Colonel Mulligan's command in June, 1861, and were with him at his gallant defense of Springfield, Missouri. Under this call, Colonel Brodhead of Detroit was authorized to raise the First Regiment of Cavalry, which was quickly done, and they left for the front soon afterward. Up to December, 1861, Detroit contributed the following to Michigan troops:

First Regiment Infantry; three months; May 15th; 780 strong; Colonel O. B. Wilcox.

Second Regiment Infantry; June 5th; 1,020 strong; Colonel J. B. Richardson.

Fifth Infantry; September 11th; 900 strong; Colonel H. D. Terry.

Eighth Infantry; September 27th; 900 strong; Colonel W. M. Fenton.

Ninth Infantry; October 25th; 943 strong; Colonel W. W. Duffield.

Sixteenth Infantry; September 16th; 960 strong; Colonel T. B. W. Stockton.

First Regiment Cavalry; September 29th; 1,150 strong; Colonel T. F. Brodhead.

First Battery; June 1st; 123 strong; Captain C. O. Loomis.

CHAPTER XXII

CIVIL WAR CONTINUED—DRAFTS OF 1864 AND 1865—COMPANIES ENLISTED FROM DETROIT—CO-OPERATION OF CITIZENS WITH THE LEGISLATURE—GREAT ACTIVITY AMONG THE LADIES OF THE CITY IN PREPARING AND FORWARDING TO THE FRONT, HOSPITAL SUPPLIES—CITY MAKES AN APPROPRIATION FOR RELIEF OF MICHIGAN SOLDIERS WOUNDED AT GETTYSBURG—CONFEDERATES IN CANADA PLAN THE SEIZURE OF LAKE VESSELS—REBEL PLOT TO BURN THE CITY REVEALED.

With the raising of regiments and their concentration at Detroit before leaving for the front, it became necessary to make provision for their subsistence while in the city. For this purpose the government leased ten acres of the Campau farm on Clinton street, between Joseph Campau and Elmwood avenues, upon which were erected barracks for ten thousand men. The rendezvous was called Camp Backus, and in 1862 the troops were quartered there.

The citizens showed a spirit of patriotic co-operation with the legislature and state officials and individual effort in furthering the raising of regiments was most noticeable in Detroit. Business men gave of their time and their money, and their wives and daughters interested themselves in the collection and preparation of hospital supplies, and co-operated with the national, religious and sanitary associations in forwarding these articles to the front. Little luxuries of life such as "housewives" containing sewing materials, books, papers, and magazines, were made and collected in large numbers, and many a man sitting by the camp-fire awaiting the dawn and battle, had reason to bless the patriotic and good women of Detroit and Michigan.

The gloom cast over the city and the state by the reverses of the Union arms during McClellan's Peninsular campaign and other unfortunate movements of the war, was brightened on the evening of February 7, 1862, when the news of the victory of Fort Donelson was received. Materials for bonfires were hastily collected and in a short time the city was a blaze of light, and the center of noisy demonstrations of joy. Fire bells pealed out their notes upon the winter night, the engines assembled at the postoffice, the military were roused from recreation and repose, and, forming, fell into line in a procession. There was no need of torches, though many were carried, as the firemen, soldiers and citizens marched through the streets behind the stars and stripes which never seemed brighter than in the fitful light shed by the patriotic fires burning on all sides.

In his message to the legislature January 2, 1862, Governor Blair, dwelling at length upon the war said: "The time for gentle dalliance has long since passed away. We meet an enemy, vindictive, bloodthirsty, profoundly in earnest, inspired with an energy and self-sacrifice which would honor a good cause, respecting neither laws, constitutions, nor historic memories, fanatically devoted to his one wicked purpose to destroy the government and establish his slave-owning oligarchy in its stead. To treat this enemy gently is to excite his derision. To protect his slave property is to help him butcher our people and burn our houses. No. He must be met with an activity and a purpose equal to his own. Hurl the Union forces, which outnumber him two to one, upon his whole line like a thunderbolt; pay them out of his property, feed them from his granaries, mount them upon his horses, transport them in his wagons, if he has any, and let him feel the power of the war he has raised. I would apologize neither to Kentucky, nor anybody else for these measures, but quickly range all neutrals on one side or the other. Just a little of the courage and ability that carried Napoleon over the Alps, dragging his cannon through the snow, would quickly settle this contest and settle it right. If our soldiers must die, do not let it be of inactivity and disease of camps, but let them at least have the satisfaction of falling like soldiers, amid the roar of battle, and hearing the shouts of victory; then they will welcome it as the tired laborer welcomes sleep. Let us hope we have not much longer to wait."

Following this bold and patriotic stand assumed by the governor in his message, the legislature, equally appreciating the great emergencies of the country, with firmness and pluck worthy of the people they represented passed vigorous well-timed joint resolutions embodying the sentiments expressed by the governor, and transmitted copies of the same to congress. They came at an opportune moment and instilled courage in congress at a time when both fortitude and courage were sadly needed. Governor Blair's address seemed prophetic, and when the news of the victory of Fort Donelson was received, the governor and the legislature came in for their share of public applause. The state which had so nobly responded to every call for men was prepared to meet even further demands if necessary, and in no portion of the commonwealth, did the fires of patriotic zeal burn more brightly than in Detroit.

While there were southern sympathizers in Canada, many of the inhabitants of which still remembered the War of 1812, traditions of which, from the English standpoint, had been handed down to the generation reaching maturity at, or about the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion, there were Englishmen who admired the United States, and whose sympathies were with the Union in the objects of the war. Major Rankin of Windsor raised a company of lancers, a fine, picked body of men, and tendered their services to the United States government. For some reason, never fully explained, the offer was refused and the men were never mustered into service. The citizens of Detroit and Michigan who were profoundly grateful for this exhibition of real friendship on the part of their neighbors across the river, were disap-

pointed and chagrined at the refusal of the government to accept the services thus tendered.

The recruiting of men for regiments in the field and of new regiments went on with unabated vigor. Captain Kin S. Dygert raised a company of sharpshooters at Detroit for the Sixteenth Michigan regiment which left for the front February 3, 1862. In the following April, G. S. Wormer of Detroit was authorized to raise and equip a company of infantry to serve at Mackinaw as guards over Generals Burrows and Harding and Judge Hill, distinguished citizens of Nashville, Tennessee, who had been arrested by the national government for treason. This company was known as the Stanton Guard and was mustered into service May 10th, leaving immediately for Mackinaw where it remained until the twenty-fifth of the following September. At that time the prisoners were released and the necessity for the existence of the company ceasing, it was disbanded. Reports of the adjutant general in July, 1862, showed that up to the first of that month, Michigan had sent to the front 25,734 officers and men.

Through their approval of the Union cause, their self-sacrificing efforts for the physical and mental welfare of the brave men who went to the front, their never tiring encouragement to the men in the field, and the support of the patriotic raising of regiments, and enlistment of recruits, the churches of the state rendered invaluable aid to the government, and today rank with the men who fought, in the estimation of those who turn the pages of that dark period of the past. Mothers, wives and sweethearts were comforted, and inspired to strengthen the resolutions of their loved ones to fight for the Union cause. With Christian fortitude and heroism unexcelled in history, the grand women of the state, smiling through their tears, bid their loved ones God-speed and sent them to the battlefields with memories which reinforced their courage, and made them feel that they were indeed fighting for the integrity of their homes, as well as the honor of the nation.

Not to be outdone in patriotic zeal, the people of Detroit and Wayne county sought permission to put a regiment of their own citizens into the field in addition to those already raised. Authority was promptly given by the governor and the Twenty-fourth Michigan Infantry was ordered organized under command of Colonel H. A. Morrow, and placed in rendezvous at Detroit, making the eighth regiment of infantry in the course of completion. Among the regiments sent to the field were the following comprised of citizens of Detroit and Wayne county:

Seventeenth Infantry; August 29th; 982 strong; Colonel W. H. Withington.

Twenty-fourth Infantry; September 1st, 1,027 strong; Colonel H. A. Morrow.

Fourth Cavalry; September 26th; 1,223 strong; Colonel R. H. G. Minty.

Ninth Battery; December 4th; 168 strong; Captain J. J. Daniels.

Fifth Cavalry; December 4th; 1,305 strong; Colonel J. T. Copeland.

In response to an order of President Lincoln for an additional draft for 300,000 men, of which Michigan was expected to furnish its share,

Governor Blair issued a proclamation calling for county, township, city and village censuses of citizens of proper age for enlistment. While the order was accepted in the usual patriotic spirit, the people of the state preferred increasing its force through volunteers. This, however, did not deter the governor from carrying out his preparations for a draft, and commissioners were appointed in each county. Those appointed for Wayne county were Christian H. Buhl, commissioner; E. M. Clark, J. M. Swift, Louis Davenport, Dr. Keiffer, surgeons. Mr. Buhl resigned after having served for some time. In October of that year Colonel Edward Doyle of Detroit received permission to raise the Twenty-eighth Regiment of infantry. He also was instrumental in raising a company of sharpshooters for the Ninth infantry under command of Captain C. V. De Land. The total number of troops raised by the state up to December 23, 1862, was 45,569. This did not include volunteers from the state who went to regiments of other states, numbering more than 1,400, and some 400 who enlisted in the regular army.

In 1863 the state legislature appropriated \$25,000 to aid the sick and wounded soldiers in the field and within the state, and in 1865, \$20,000 more was appropriated for the same purpose. Under the act of appropriation, six agents were appointed to disburse the fund. Benjamin Vernor was the agent at Detroit, having charge of Michigan. The agencies were well managed and the funds most judiciously disposed of. During the month of January, 1863, a company known as the "Provost Guard," raised and under the command of Captain E. D. Robinson, was mustered into the service and were stationed at the Detroit barracks.

During the early part of July, 1863, Colonel Henry Barnes, of the regular army and stationed at Detroit, was commissioned to raise a regiment of colored troops. With the approval of the governor he undertook this task, and the organization was completed February 17, 1864. It was composed of 895 men, and was mustered into the service as the One Hundred and Second United States Infantry. It left Detroit March 28th to join the Ninth Army Corps at Annapolis, Maryland.

Under the act of congress passed in March, 1863, elaborate details were devised for enrolling and calling out the national forces, which meant every able bodied man in the country between the ages of twenty and forty-five. Each congressional district was formed into an enrolment district, a provost marshal and board of enrolment being provided for each. These districts were in turn divided into sub-districts, consisting of wards and townships. Lieutenant Colonel Bennett H. Hill was appointed provost marshal for the state of Michigan, and the provost marshal of the First Congressional district was John S. Newberry, of Detroit, who was succeeded by Mark Flanigan of the same city. Under this enrolment the state could furnish 80,038 men, of whom 15,132 were from the First Congressional district, which comprised Detroit and a portion of Wayne county. The number drafted from the first district was 532. The total number of men sent to the front from Michigan up to November 1, 1864, was 83,347.

It was with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow that the news of the battle of Gettysburg, and Lee's retreat from Pennsylvania, was received at Detroit, July 2, 1863—joy at the victory, and sorrow at the

loss of so many gallant men from Michigan, many of the regiments being badly cut to pieces in that battle. It was, however, with great satisfaction that word was received, on July 7th, of the result of the battle of Vicksburg, and the citizens of Detroit indulged in an informal celebration of the event. The next day the common council appropriated \$2,500 to be expended in relieving the soldiers of Michigan who were wounded at Gettysburg. W. C. Duncan, J. C. Gorton, James McGonegal, and Joseph Hock were appointed a committee to visit the scene of battle. On July 28th they reported that piles of boxes of lemons, tons of rice, crushed sugar, etc., tea and coffee, soups and meats sent to the front from Michigan, left little to be added, and it was found necessary to expend only \$795. They found the wounded in hospitals at Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis, surrounded with every comfort that could be desired.

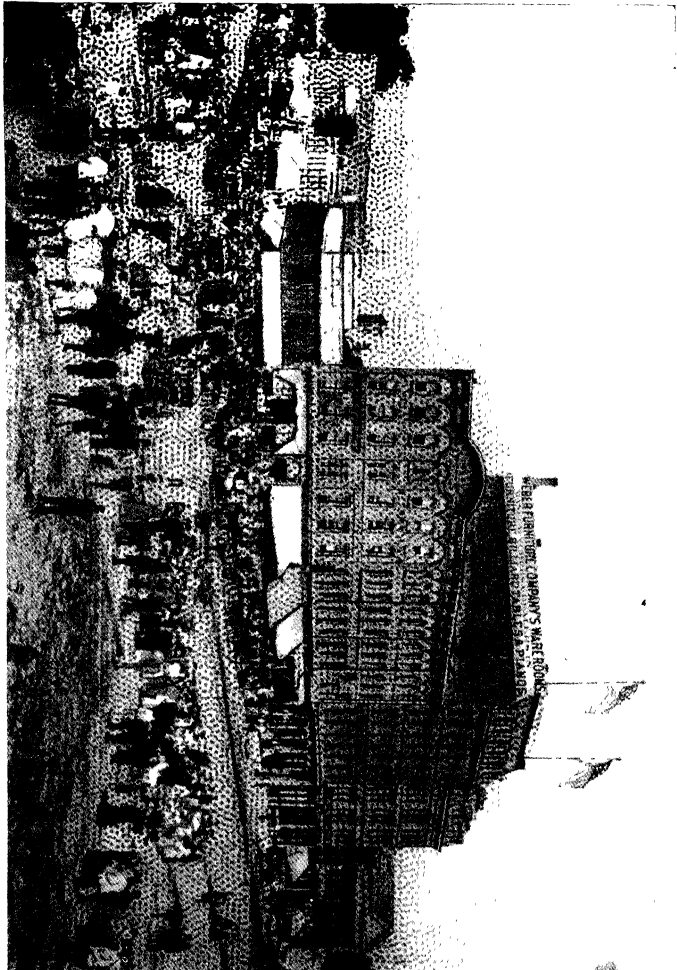
An eventful day in Detroit was April 27, 1864, when two handsome stands of colors were presented by the citizens of Detroit to Colonel H. A. Morrow for the Twenty-fourth Regiment, then ready to go to the front. The presentation was made on the Campus Martius where a large concourse of people listened to a most eloquent and patriotic oration by Judge J. V. Campbell.

Warm was the welcome accorded the Third Infantry, which returned to Detroit on June 20th, and was mustered out of the service. The Fourth Regiment returned on June 26th and was mustered out June 28th. Detroit then got thrilling details of the battles in which the troops had gallantly participated.

More cheering news now began to arrive from the south, and on September 3rd came the announcement of the victory of the Union Army at Atlanta. This caused great rejoicing and a monster celebration, almost spontaneous, was indulged in. The city at night was brilliant with the fire-works set off in honor of the event. A large meeting of citizens was held, at which addresses were delivered by Theodore Romeyn, Jacob M. Howard and D. B. Duffield.

About this time the theater of conflict threatened a closer approach to the City of the Straits. Confederate refugees had found an asylum on the Canadian side of the river, and a raid upon Detroit and other border cities was planned with the consent and knowledge of the Confederate government. The idea was to harrass the north as far as possible.

The plot was well laid and, if it had not been for the timely warning given the United States government by the British Minister, the result might have been different. The raid in September, 1864, in which Detroit was threatened, is best described in the report of the adjutant general of the state. "In November, 1863, the war department was officially notified by the British Minister Lord Lyons, that, from a telegraphical dispatch received by him from the governor general of Canada, there was reason to believe that a plot was on foot by persons hostile to the United States, who had found an asylum in Canada, to invade the United States on that frontier; that they proposed to take possession of some of the steamers on Lake Erie, to surprise St. Joseph's island near Sandusky, set free the rebel prisoners of war



WOODWARD AND MICHIGAN AVENUE IN 1860 (CAMPER MARTIN'S)

confined there, and proceed with them to attack Buffalo. This information was imparted by the war department to the governors of the states bordering on Canada and to the civil and military authorities thereof, urging them to employ all the means in their power to suppress any attempt to carry the plot into effect. That there was such a scheme on foot, and that it was concocted and put into operation in Canada by the rebel government, there can be no doubt, as circumstances have transpired and documentary evidence received during the last year fully confirming it; and that its execution was only prevented at that time by the prompt measures taken by the military authorities in the state referred to, and although their plans were frustrated, their determination was still to carry them into effect, their execution being only deferred until a more favorable opportunity. During the present war the United States military officers and also the civil and military authorities of the state, have been almost daily in the receipt of rumors and reports from various sources, of contemplated raids to be made on American frontier cities, and on the shipping of the lakes, to burn and destroy, many of which could not be traced to any reliable origin, yet they served to keep up a continual state of excitement and alarm in the cities and villages on the border of the state, and to require vigilant attention of the authorities, and all the preparations within their power to successfully meet any attempted invasion of the state were made, which were considered ample at the time to repel any force that might be expected of that description. Yet, notwithstanding, there was a distrust and a nervous foreboding of coming mischief amongst the people of the frontier cities and villages. This distrust also prevailed among the railroad agencies and those engaged in shipping on the lakes, which led to the arming of the community generally as individuals, and of railroad trains and lake steamers, and to the establishing of safeguards about private dwellings, public places of business and railroad depots. This condition of affairs continued; no overt act having been committed, and no visible combination of force having been traced to any locality until September 19, 1864, when they concluded to make the attempt by seizure of the steamer 'Philo Parsons,' belonging to Detroit, and running as a passenger boat from that point to Sandusky, in the state of Ohio. On the morning of the day referred to, four of the raiders, including Bennett G. Burley, one of their apparent leaders, took passage on said boat at Detroit. On her way down the Detroit river, on her passage to Sandusky, she landed at the Canadian ports of Sandwich and Amherstburg, where the balance of the raiders got on board, the whole, as has since been ascertained, numbering about thirty. The following condensed depositions of W. O. Ashley and D. C. Nichols, belonging to the steamer, taken as evidence on the extradition trial of Burley at Toronto, in Canada, gave a full account of the occurrences on board the 'Philo Parsons' during the time the raiders held possession of her.

"These depositions showed that the steamboat 'Philo Parsons' was owned by the informant Ashley, and other citizens of Detroit, that this vessel was a licensed passenger and freight boat, and was plying between the city of Detroit in the state of Michigan and the city of Sandusky in the state of Ohio, and was accustomed to touch, in this route,

at the Canadian port of Amherstburg, and occasionally at Sandwich, and sometimes at Windsor, Canada. Ashley was clerk on board the steamer. On Sunday evening the 18th of September, 1864, she was lying at the city of Detroit. The prisoner came on board and said to Ashley that he intended to go down in the morning and that three of his friends were going with him, and requested that the boat might stop at Sandwich to take them. Ashley told the prisoner that if he took the boat at Detroit, and his party were ready, the boat would call for them at Sandwich. The prisoner came on board the next morning and reminded Ashley of his promise. The boat was stopped at Sandwich and three persons came on board without baggage or freight. They were dressed in the 'Canadian style.' The prisoner said his friends were taking a pleasure trip, and would probably stop at Kelly's Island. At Amherstburg, twenty men or more came on board, roughly dressed, and paid their fare to Sandusky. The only baggage taken on board at Amherstburg was a large, old trunk tied with a cord. In the ordinary course, the steamer should have reached Sandusky about 5 o'clock P. M. Neither the prisoner nor his three friends apparently recognized the men who came on board at Amherstburg. The boat reached Kelly's Island about 4 P. M., and proceeded south from the island toward Sandusky, Kelly's Island being in the state of Ohio, and about five miles from the main shore of the United States. After proceeding about two miles, three men came up to Ashley, drawing revolvers, saying he was a dead man if he offered resistance. Two of them, Ashley thought, came on board at Sandwich. At this time the prisoner came forward with a revolver in his hand, followed by from twenty-eight to thirty-five men, and leveled the revolver at Ashley, ordering him into the ladies' cabin, where Ashley immediately went, and from which he saw these parties arm themselves from the trunk brought on board at Amherstburg, most of them having two revolvers, and some having hatchets. The prisoner ordered a sulky and some pig iron which was on deck, to be thrown overboard, which was partly done. Two men guarded Ashley, and they told him they intended to capture the United States steamer 'Michigan,' a war vessel. The prisoner acted as one having authority. His commands were obeyed. Another steamer called the 'Island Queen,' was seized by the same party, at Middle Bass island, and the passengers were brought as prisoners on board the 'Philo Parsons.' A person named Captain Bell was of the prisoner's party, and gave some orders. He told Ashley he wanted him in the office. Ashley went with him and the prisoner. Ashley requested permission to take off the boat's books. They refused. Ashley then said he had some private promissory notes amounting to about two thousand dollars. The prisoner took them and said he could not collect them and returned them to Ashley. Bell then said to Ashley, 'We want your money.' He and the prisoner then had revolvers in their hands. Ashley swore he was in bodily fear, but did not consider his life was in danger, if he did their bidding. He opened the money drawer. There was very little money there. The prisoner then said, 'You have more money; let's have it.' Ashley took a roll of bills from his vest pocket and laid it on the desk. Bell took part and the prisoner took part, and they took the money in

the drawer (about \$10) between them. In the roll of bills taken by them was a twenty dollar note of the United States, commonly called greenbacks, issued by the secretary of the treasury. It was in use as lawful current money of the United States at the time. It was legal tender and was the property of the owners of the steamboat. Directly after the money was taken, Ashley was put ashore at Middle Bass, by Captain Bell and the prisoner. The 'Philo Parsons' then steered for Sandusky with the 'Island Queen' tied alongside, which last boat was cast adrift in about a half an hour. Some of the party said they intended to release the prisoners on Johnson's island, which is in the state of Ohio about two miles from Sandusky. The 'Michigan' was lying off Johnson's island, supposed to guard it. There were about three thousand prisoners of war there, Confederate officers and soldiers. There were about twenty-five United States soldiers on board the 'Island Queen.' These were captured by Bell and the prisoner, and their followers. Nichols confirmed Ashley's story in its essential parts. He was in the pilot house when Captain Bell entered and told him he was a Confederate officer and had seized the boat, and took him (Nichols) prisoner. Afterward the 'Philo Parsons' was steered back toward Detroit and some of the passengers who had been taken prisoners were landed on the American shore. When they had reached the Detroit river, on the return trip, some of the party asked Nichols where they were and he informed them they were in Canadian waters. Some of them said it was well for some of the vessels near them, or they would board them, and they inquired if a certain banker did not live at Grosse Isle in the Detroit river; and, when told that one lves lived there, they said if it had not been so late they would have robbed him. At Fighting Island Nichols and others of the crew of the 'Philo Parsons' and the 'Island Queen,' were put ashore, and the boat proceeded on to Sandwich. Nichols followed them and found the 'Parsons' there, deserted by the whole party, a piano and a mirror, and some other articles of furniture had been stolen from the boat. The male passengers who had been taken were, before being landed, sworn to keep silent as to the transaction for twenty-four hours. The female prisoners were asked to do likewise. When coming back up the Detroit river some of the party said they had not made much by going down. They had intended to take the war vessel 'Michigan' if they could, and raised the Confederate flag on the 'Philo Parsons' while in Lake Erie.

"That the Confederate government was implicated in the raid and that it was made with the consent of that government is evident from a commission to Burley as acting master in the Confederate navy, signed by Jefferson Davis. The president of the Confederacy afterward verified that by a manifesto issued after the arrest of Burley, in which Jefferson Davis said the expedition to capture the 'Michigan' and release the Confederate prisoners was a legitimate act of belligerency and was undertaken under orders from the Confederate government.

"The plot was known to the military authorities of Michigan and Captain J. C. Carter, of the 'Michigan,' was informed that some of his officers and men had been tampered with. In offering a loyal friend of the United States an unusual inducement to become a member of the

party, the scheme was laid bare. This man, a former Confederate, who lived at Windsor, informed Lieutenant Colonel B. H. Hill of the plot and told the officer that the Confederates had said, with the 'Michigan' in their possession, that they could command the lakes for a few months and place the American cities along its shores under tribute. The man who approached the Windsor friend of the United States, said he had been informed that a man named Cole, who had tampered with the officers and men of the 'Michigan,' found that an officer named Eddy, and a number of men, were too loyal to the United States to do anything with. It was the design to dispose of these men by drugging them."

Colonel Hill, in writing to the adjutant general of Ohio, said the Confederate agent in Canada who was organizing raiding parties and expeditions to seize the American steamers on the lakes was Colonel Jacob Thompson, who was secretary of the interior under President Buchanan. Hill's telegram to Captain Carter led to the arrest of Cole and of others at Sandusky who were implicated in the plot. It was said it was unfortunate that the "Michigan" did not sail to meet the "Parsons," as then the entire party would have been captured. The reason for its failure to do so was because there were so many rumors of rebel plots to release the Confederates on Johnson's island, it was deemed unwise to leave the place unguarded, and at that time it was uncertain just how many of the men on the "Michigan" had been won over to the Burley enterprise.

The end of the operations of the war in 1864 found the Army of the Potomac in the trenches before Petersburg, holding Lee as in a trap, Sherman's army in possession of Savannah, and Thomas successful in Tennessee. This result, which meant so much for the nation, was brought about by the heroic fighting of the men from the north who waded through blood to accomplish it, and in the annals of that great struggle no state stood forth more brilliantly for bravery and the self-sacrifice of her citizens and soldiers, than Michigan. The gloom cast by the terrific losses was brightened by the fact that the desperate advance of Hood on Nashville had been successfully met by General Thomas and Hood's army badly defeated. Sherman had driven the enemy from Chattanooga, battered down his works at Atlanta, and had then, with both flanks of his gallant army, moved on towards the sea. The uneasiness of the nation as to the whereabouts of Sherman and his army was relieved by a dispatch from General Howard saying it had been successful, and finally by a dispatch from Sherman to President Lincoln as a Christmas present, telling him of the capture of Savannah.

At the opening of the legislature of 1865, Governor Blair delivered his valedictory message before surrendering the reins of power to Henry H. Crapo, his successor. Governor Blair's address was in line with his administration, firm, loyal, and hopeful. Governor Crapo in taking the gubernatorial chair echoed the sentiments of Governor Blair, and it was evident Michigan was in the hands of another strong and loyal man. Up to this time Wayne county alone had sent to the front 9,313 men.

With the surrender of the rebel army under Lee on April 9, 1865, and the subsequent surrender of General Johnson's army in the same month, the war with the south ended, and soon after the troops from

the various states began their homeward journeys. It was a pathway of mingled rejoicing and sadness, rejoicing for those who were clasped in the arms of their loved ones, and sadness for those whose dear ones lay beneath the sod, but grief was mitigated by the consoling fact that those who did not return fell with their face to the foe, fighting as men should fight. The general rejoicing was turned into mourning when, on the morning of April 15th, the news was flashed over the wires that President Lincoln had been assassinated. At this time there existed in Detroit an organization known as the Union League, formed for the purpose of bringing loyal men in closer touch with each other. John J. Bagley, afterward governor of the state, and other prominent citizens were present at a meeting when the news of the president's death was received. Profound grief was the prevailing sentiment, combined with rage at the attack upon the head of the nation. The excitement throughout the city was intense. An immense mass meeting was held upon the Campus Martius, at which resolutions of sorrow were adopted. The next day a committee arranged for memorial services in all of the churches of the city at noon, April 19th. The churches were crowded to the doors. All stores and other business places were closed and draped in black. The entire city was in mourning.

CHAPTER XXIII

RETURN OF THE TROOPS FROM THE WAR—SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MONUMENT—GENERAL A. S. WILLIAMS REMEMBERED AFTER FIFTY-SIX YEARS, AND A MONUMENT TO HIM PROJECTED—SPLENDID WORK DONE BY THE UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION IN THE FIELD REVIEWED.

Filled with enthusiasm and with gratitude to the men from Michigan who so nobly upheld the honor of the state in the war with the south, public spirited citizens called a meeting early in June, 1865, before the return of the troops from the war. This meeting was held in Detroit for the purpose of providing for the returning Michigan regiments such refreshments and attentions as they might require upon their arrival in the city. The following committees were appointed:

Committee on reception—Ladies: Mrs. Brent, T. K. Adams, Walter Ingersol, Silas Holmes, John Palmer, J. S. Farr and L. B. Willard, Jabez Holmes, L. S. Trowbridge, Slocum and A. C. McGraw. Gentlemen: Rev. George Taylor, Messrs. J. W. Farrell, Ed Wetmore, W. S. Penfield, F. Wetmore, T. K. Adams, George W. Hudson, Jabez Holmes, E. C. Walker, George Sheley and H. M. Wright. Mr. R. H. Jons was appointed purveyor and superintendent of tables, and proved to be the right man in the right place, "performing much service and to the satisfaction of all concerned."

Lanman in his "Red Book of Michigan" says that by the gratuitous and attentive services of this committee, both early and late, aided by a number of ladies and gentlemen and sustained by liberal contributions of funds from patriotic citizens, the object was most successfully accomplished, and from June 7, 1865, to June 10, 1866, 14,510 Michigan, and 3,506 Wisconsin troops were received and entertained. Mr. R. N. Rice, then superintendent of the Michigan Central Railroad, with most praiseworthy liberality and kindness permitted the returning soldiers to occupy the upper story of the freight house of the railroad which had been properly fitted up as a dining hall, and appropriately decorated for the occasion.

It was a period of happy reunion, feasting and rejoicing, tempered with sadness at the memory of so many splendid men left behind, who had given their lives for the preservation of the Union. During the whole period in which the regiments arrived at Detroit, Rev. George Taylor, formerly chaplain of the Eighth Michigan Infantry, and a member of the Christian Commission of the United States was per-

mitted to devote his entire time to the welfare, spiritual and physical, of the returning troops. He was always ready with a most warm and enthusiastic welcome which many men of Wisconsin and Michigan long remembered. Most of the troops arriving at Detroit came on the steamers of the Detroit and Cleveland line—the “Morning Star” (Captain E. R. Viger), and the “City of Cleveland” (Captain William McKay). Lanman says the constant kindness and attention paid the home-coming veterans by the officials of the line and the officers of the boats has forever identified that line with the history of Michigan.

The dates of the arrival of the troops at Detroit in 1865 and 1866 were as follows: Seventeenth Infantry, June 7, 1865; Nineteenth Infantry, June 13th; Twenty-first Infantry, June 13th; Twenty-fourth Infantry, June 20th; Twenty-second Infantry, June 30th; Fifth Cavalry, July 1st; Twenty-third Infantry, July 7th; Fifth Infantry, July 8th; Fourth Cavalry, July 10th; Sixteenth Infantry, July 12th; Fourteenth Infantry, July 21st; Twenty-seventh Infantry, July 29th; Ninth Cavalry, July 30th; Second Infantry, August 1st; Eighth Infantry, August 3rd; Fifteenth Infantry, September 12th. In 1866 the Twenty-eighth Infantry arrived June 8th, Fourth Infantry, June 10th, and Third Infantry on the same day.

The noble work of Michigan women during the war has already been touched, but without a special reference to the self-sacrificing devotion shown by the ladies of Detroit during that period, no history would be truthful, nor complete. Mrs. Morse Stewart, Mrs. Doctor Duffield and Miss Dix were the first women of Detroit to secure and forward to the front, hospital supplies; and this was almost immediately after the first battle was fought. Their labors from that time on were unceasing and they were aided in every way by many other patriotic men and women.

The Ladies Soldiers Aid Society of Detroit was formed, and the following were its officers from 1861 to 1865, and also of the Michigan Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission: Presidents—Mrs. Isabella G. Duffield, Mrs. Theodore Romeyn, Mrs. John Palmer and Mrs. Bela Hubbard; vice president—Mrs. John Owen, Mrs. N. Adams, Miss Sarah A. Sibley and Mrs. Henry L. Chipman; treasures—Mrs. D. P. Bushnell, Mrs. W. N. Carpenter, Mrs. O. T. Sabin, Mrs. H. L. Chipman and Mrs. George Andrews; auditors—Mrs. D. P. Bushnell and Mrs. William A. Butler; recording secretaries—Mrs. Sarah T. Bingham, Mrs. Kate E. Stevens, Mrs. O. T. Stevens and Miss Lizzie Woodhams; corresponding secretary, Miss Valeria Campbell.

Among the women of Michigan who were prominent in visiting the hospitals, Soldiers' Homes and the families of soldiers, were Mrs. and Miss Brent, Mrs. L. Willard, Mrs. Walter Ingersol, Mrs. Cornelia Luden, Mrs. Edward Kanter, Mrs. Washington Throop and Mrs. A. A. Fish, all of whom performed an immense amount of work.

The Michigan Soldiers Relief Association was formed, in 1862, by Detroit gentlemen, and had for its president John Owen, with B. Vernon as secretary and William A. Butler as treasurer. This association forwarded many thousands of packages to soldiers in the field contain-

ing supplies and delicacies. In addition to this the association largely sustained the Soldiers' Home in Detroit.

On June 15, 1863, a branch of the United States Christian Commission was formed at Detroit and became prominent for the excellent work it did at home and abroad. E. C. Walker was chairman, C. F. Clark secretary, H. P. Baldwin treasurer; associates, D. Preston, C. Ives, F. Rammond and J. S. Vernor. The commission sent a number of delegates to hospitals in the field and expended more than \$30,000 for the benefit of the soldiers.

Through legislative action, appropriations were made for the relief of the families of soldiers, no one payment to exceed \$15 a month. The amounts raised were payable through the county treasurer, and formed a portion of the general taxation. A total sum of \$547,200 was thus raised, nearly two-thirds of which was paid by Wayne county. This, in addition to \$660,554 paid by the county in bounties to stimulate enlistment, made a heavy drain on Detroit.

These philanthropists were most prominent in welcoming home the returning veterans. The general enthusiasm created by the return of the troops revived a project, launched in 1861, for the erection of a monument to the soldiers and sailors who gave their lives for the cause of the Union, and in July, 1865, a meeting was held and a committee appointed to report on a plan of work. This report was delivered in August and the association was organized with one hundred and eleven directors, the movement being a statewide one. The first public meeting was held at Young Men's Hall, August 31, 1865, and donations to the amount of \$9,500 were made. The committee, consisting of Judge B. F. H. Witherell, Colonel E. Backus U. S. A.; Messrs. Charles O. Trowbridge, J. W. Tillman, Colonel H. A. Morrow and T. W. Palmer, called the meeting which named the directors, among whom were the following Detroiters: Hon. B. F. H. Witherell, Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, T. W. Tillman, General H. A. Morrow, Hon. T. W. Palmer, Hon. H. P. Baldwin, Hon. John Owen, Hon. Henry M. Walker, W. A. Butler B. Vernor, C. F. Clark, Hon. W. A. Howard, General John Robertson, Hon. J. F. Joy, Major General E. O. C. Ord, Major General O. B. Wilcox, Major General A. S. Williams, J. F. Conover, A. Marhausen, M. Kramer, D. Bethune Duffield, Theodore Romeyn, C. I. Walker, General W. A. Throop and Hon. G. V. N. Lothrop.

The following officers were elected: B. F. H. Witherell, president; Gen. H. A. Morrow, vice-president; J. W. Tillman, treasurer and J. W. Romeyn, secretary; executive committee Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Hon. John Owen, Hon. H. P. Baldwin, Hon. H. N. Walker, J. F. Conover and C. J. Walker, all of Detroit; ex-Governor Blair, of Jackson, Hon. E. H. Thompson, of Flint, and Hon. S. M. Cutcheon. Judge Witherell, having passed away on June 27, 1867, the board of directors at the same meeting at which they adopted suitable resolutions to the memory of the founder of the movement, Judge Witherell, adopted the design of Randolph Rogers, then an eminent sculptor, a native of Michigan and a citizen of Ann Arbor.

The monument, which now stands upon the Campus Martius opposite the City Hall, is forty-six feet in height and is crowned by a colossal

statue of Michigan ten feet high. She is a semi-civilized queen, with a sword in her right hand and a shield in her left. The figure is in motion, as if rushing forward in defense of her country. Beneath the plinth on which she stands are stars and wreaths. The monument is a fine work of art, with allegorical figures and embellishments, and has been the pride of Detroit and the state for many years.

A fitting close to the bloody contest in which Detroit and Michigan took such a prominent part, was the presentation to the state of the battle-scarred and tattered colors of the regiments on July 4, 1866, when



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one hundred and twenty-three bullet-torn flags which had been through the very hell of war were formally presented to Governor Crapo by General O. B. Wilcox in a patriotic and eloquent address. The meeting was presided over by Mayor Merrill B. Gills. The troops afterward partook of a banquet prepared for them by the citizens of the city.

In 1911, forty-five years after this event, with a record the glory of which has been undimmed by time, the memory of General Alpheus S. Williams is about to be honored by the citizens of Detroit and Michigan, by the erection of a monument to him in some prominent public spot in this fair and prosperous city.

General Alpheus S. Williams' Monument Association has been incorporated under the laws of Michigan for the incorporation of societies

organized for purposes other than pecuniary benefit. The articles of association having been filed with and approved by the secretary of state the body has become a responsible association, legally constituted, offices have been opened at room No. 218 Union Trust building.

The purpose of the association is to erect in this city an equestrian statue of General Williams. It is expected that this statue will adorn the city, as well as render honor to a soldier of greatest distinction selected for this honor by comrades of the Civil war period, who, in this matter, are in accord with the people of the city and the state.

No time will be lost in pushing the work to completion. When it shall have been dedicated to the public Detroit will stand where it properly should—high in the ranks of the great cities, demonstrating to every beholder that in addition to its material advantages it possesses other things worthy of admiration.

The following have been named officers of the association: President, Colonel Samuel E. Pittman; vice-presidents, Colonel Frank J. Hecker, Hon. William Livingstone; treasurer, Charles Moore; secretary, Joseph Greusel.

Honorary vice-presidents: Governor Chase S. Osborn, Mayor William B. Thompson, Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, General Henry M. Duffield, Hon. Thomas J. O'Brien, Colonel George A. Loud, General L. S. Trowbridge, Hon. Fenton R. McCreery, General Byron R. Pierce, Grand Rapids, Rev. Father Ernest Van Dyke, George N. Brady, John N. Bagley, Colonel George G. Briggs, Grand Rapids, Major J. B. Griswold, Grand Rapids, George Hendrie, Clarence A. Black, General J. H. Kidd, Ionia, O. R. Looker, Colonel S. Y. Seyburn, F. D. C. Hinchman, General George Spalding, Monroe, Franklin H. Walker, Dr. J. B. Book, George C. Booth, Major N. S. Boynton, Port Huron, Rev. J. M. Barkley, D. D., W. J. Chittenden, Hon. Otto Kirchner, E. D. Stair, Colonel H. S. Dean, Ann Arbor, Will H. Murphy, Colonel L. M. O'Brien, General H. R. Mizner, Elisha H. Flynn, Hon. E. H. Butler, Hon. Edgar O. Durfee, Dr. R. Adlington Newman, H. N. Hovey, Waldo C. Avery, Major G. W. Chandler, Frank W. Blair, Ralph Stone, E. W. Pendleton, George M. Black, Charles E. Kanter, A. Marxhausen James Schermerhorn, General C. A. Coolidge.

Trustees: Frederick M. Alger, Will T. Barbour, Willis E. Buhl, L. H. Chamberlain, Jeremiah Dwyer, E. S. George, Claudius B. Grant, Joseph Greusel, Frank J. Hecker, J. L. Hudson, J. C. Hutchins, Abner E. Larned, Henry B. Ledyard, William Livingstone, Philip H. McMillan, Milton A. McRae, George T. Moody, Charles Moore, Truman H. Newberry, Samuel E. Pittman, John R. Russel, General Frederick W. Swift, James Vernor, Lucius E. Wilson, John B. Whelan.

Executive committee: Frank J. Hecker, chairman; Milton A. McRae, F. W. Swift, H. B. Ledyard, James Vernor, George T. Moody, Edwin S. George, Will T. Barbour, Lucius E. Wilson.

Judiciary committee: Claudius B. Grant, chairman; Alexis C. Angell, Sidney T. Miller, Samuel E. Pittman, ex-officio.

Finance committee: F. M. Alger, chairman; L. H. Chamberlain, vice-chairman; O. C. Allen, John P. Antisdell, Almon B. Atwater, John

H. Avery, George H. Barbour, George W. Bates, Paul F. Bagley, C. F. Bielman, Ben P. Brodie, M. D., A. S. Brooks, Irvin Butterworth, W. J. Chittenden, Jr., L. A. Clinton, B. S. Colburn, John S. Conant, Thomas G. Craig, Frank H. Croul, Charles A. Dean, E. H. Doyle, Charles A. Ducharme, John M. Dwyer, Frank W. Eddy, Jacob S. Farrand, Jr., D. M. Ferry, Jr., Theo. G. Fletcher, R. H. Fyfe, Andrew H. Green, J. H. Gregg, August Goebel, Jr., L. W. Goodenough, A. H. Griffith, R. W. Hamilton, J. D. Hawks, W. W. Hannan, D. E. Heineman, T. P. Henry, Chas. H. Hodges, Arthur L. Holmes, Fred H. Holt, George C. Hopper, F. D. Hovey, J. C. Hutchins, Joseph S. Keen, Henry B. Joy, Charles P. Larned, C. H. L'Hommedieu, Alexander I. Lewis, S. T. McGraw, J. B. McKay, Albert Maday, W. C. Martindale, E. L. Miller, F. T. Moran, Charles S. Murphy, M. J. Murphy, Thomas Neal, Arthur M. Parker, Antonio C. Pessano, R. L. Polk, Gustavus D. Pope, C. J. Reilly, Jerome H. Remick, W. H. Roberts, John R. Russel, A. A. Schantz, Carl E. Schmidt, David W. Simons, Homer Warren, W. C. Weber, Charles T. Wilkins, William Livingstone ex-officio.

Art committee: Charles L. Freer, chairman; John M. Donaldson, Charles Moore.

CHAPTER XXIV

READJUSTMENT OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE WAR—BUILDING OF FIRST STREET CAR LINE—FAILURE OF THE INITIAL EFFORT—REORGANIZATION AND EXTENSION OF THE SYSTEM—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED—QUESTION GETS INTO POLITICS—MAYOR PINGREE BEGINS WAR ON THE CORPORATION—BUILDING OF THE NEW THREE CENT LINE BY THE DETROIT STREET RAILWAY COMPANY—ORGANIZATION OF THE DETROIT UNITED RAILWAY.

It was but natural that with so heavy a financial drain upon the entire country, and the decimating of the ranks of the breadwinners by death and disease, as a result of the fearful conflict, the entire nation, and Detroit as a part of it, should feel the strain, but with the courage which won the war, the people of the city and state set themselves to work to remedy, as far as possible, the conditions existing. It was here the generosity and high mindedness of the best citizens of the city were brought forth so prominently. They drew upon their private resources for the public welfare in a manner never before excelled, and this fair city began again its upward and onward march.

The turn for the better was, however, marked with the conservatism so characteristic of Detroit, a conservatism which has successfully carried it through every financial panic and left it stronger than before. The resistless march of progress has, of necessity, tempered the conservatism which at times was too marked for the good of the community, but even with the phenomenal development of the last quarter of a century, and the introduction of new blood and modern methods, enough of the conservatism remained to form a stable foundation, upon which to build the present and growing greatness of the city, insuring it a permanent prosperity in the future.

One of the first of the civic developments in line with the progress of the times, about the period of the Civil war, was the introduction of more convenient methods of urban transportation than that afforded by the two wheel hacks which bumped their way over uneven and unpaved streets. There was born the first public utility corporation in Detroit, outside of the water works. In 1862 the city council granted to Eben W. Wilson and his associates, a franchise "to permit certain persons to establish and operate street railways in Detroit." The council, however, suggested that, in evidence of good faith, the persons to whom the franchise was granted should deposit with the city five thousand dollars. This the promoters could not find it convenient to do, and the city con-

troller, D. C. Whitewood, was instructed to seek for other investors who could comply with the terms of the council. In the fall of the same year, Mr. Wilson, the original promoter, succeeded in interesting sufficient capital to again take up the proposition, and effected a compromise with the city, accepting an ordinance which gave the exclusive rights-of-way along specified streets, as well as options to build on any other thoroughfare. This was immediately followed by the incorporation in the early part of 1863 of what was known as the Detroit City Railway Company, capitalized at one hundred thousand dollars; that amount was issued in stock and a like amount in bonds. Most of the original investors were residents of Syracuse, New York. Under the franchise, the company was empowered to lay tracks along, over and across Woodward, Jefferson, Gratiot, Third, Grand River and Michigan avenues, and Fort, Witherell, and Woodbridge streets; but was taxed fifteen dollars a year for each car operated, and was prohibited from exceeding a schedule of more than six miles an hour, in order that the receipt of undue returns from five cent fares should not be received. There was a clause in the ordinance that no two cars should pass a given point within twenty minutes of each other. The first line constructed extended along Jefferson avenue from the Michigan Central, and Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee depots. This line struggled along trying to pay expenses but failed, and it became evident that the company was not meeting the popular demand for transportation. It faced either total failure or extension. In 1864 new capital was secured, and new blood was introduced. A track was laid along Woodward avenue from the river to Grand Circus Park. Even this did not lift the financial burden and the company was forced to face an increased deficit. Up to this time the Syracuse investors were reinforced by John A. Griswold, M. D. Sperry, D. B. Duffield, G. V. N. Lothrop, and E. N. Wilson. George Hendrie, then owner of a line of transfer wagons, was given the management of the Jefferson avenue line in 1864. Three years after this E. W. Meddaugh, F. E. Driggs, James McMillan and others, then prominent in the financial circles of Detroit, linked their fortunes with the street railway enterprise, the capital of which was increased to five hundred thousand dollars. The Woodward and Jefferson avenue lines were extended, but the company was forced to relinquish its franchises on Grand River avenue and Fort streets through its failure to meet the stipulations as to extensions.

Immediately upon the surrender of the rights given the original companies, two new concerns sprang into existence, one, in 1865, to build the Fort street line, known as the Fort Street and Elmwood Company, and the other to operate cars on Grand River avenue. The latter company was known as the Grand River Street Railway Company and was organized in 1868.

In 1882 the Detroit City Railway Company purchased the holdings of the Detroit and Grand Trunk Junction Railway Company, formed in 1873 to construct an east and west line from Mt. Elliott avenue across Woodward avenue, and along Congress and Baker streets to the city limits. In the meantime the Third and Cass avenue lines had been built, and the latter had bought the former at sheriff's sale. The Detroit City

Railway in turn bought out the Cass and Third avenue lines in 1879. This deal gave the Detroit City Railway Company control of all the city lines except those of the Fort Street and Grand River Avenue companies, and, largely as a result of the complications existing, the former company's franchises covering its lines then in operation, were at that time extended until 1909.

Though the company was compelled to pave between the tracks and to pay into the city treasury a tax of one per cent on its gross receipts, it thrived, and the building of new lines and extensions of old ones progressed rapidly. The Trumbull and Warren avenue and Brush street lines, together with the Myrtle street line, were built in 1885. Two years later an ordinance was passed requiring the filing at six months' intervals, of reports of the company's receipts and the payment of one and one-half per cent tax for the next ten years, after which time a two per cent rate was fixed.

Hazen S. Pingree, when elected mayor in 1889, inaugurated a war upon the street car companies which made him famous, not only in Michigan, but all over the country, and which he handed down to his successors, taxing every administration to its uttermost to satisfactorily solve the problems thereby presented. He favored municipal ownership and used it as a shibboleth, not only as mayor, but as governor of the state, an office to which he was elected as a result of his municipal policies. In 1891 the railway company offered a rate of six tickets for twenty-five cents, on condition that the council grant a new thirty-year franchise. A thirty-one year extension had been granted to the Grand River Company, and the council agreed to the Detroit City Railway's proposition for a thirty-year extension. Mayor Pingree, however, vetoed the ordinance. In July, 1891, the council, recognizing that the people were with the mayor in his attitude, did not attempt the passage of the ordinance over his veto. Almost immediately after this, on July 23rd, a new company, known as the Citizens Railway, bought out the Detroit City Railway, and that corporation ceased to exist. At the close of Mayor Pingree's first administration, the street railway situation was: The Citizens Railway Company had acquired the physical properties of the Detroit City Railway, and its thirty-year extension, running from 1879. The original franchise given expired in 1893. Governor Pingree contended that the extension given before the expiration of the first franchise was irregular, and attacked its validity as soon as he was re-elected, carrying the case into the courts. The United States circuit court agreed with the mayor, but the company appealed the case, and the United States court of appeals reversed the decision of the circuit court and handed down an opinion in favor of the company. From then on until the end of Mr. Pingree's second administration, the city and state were kept in a constant state of excitement by the bitter warfare which was waged between the mayor and the officers of the company, the latter being accused by the mayor with attempted bribery. Thus thrown into the arena of politics, the street car question has remained there ever since, and has formed the principal issue of mayoralty campaigns from that day to this. It is still unsettled.

In September, 1894, the Citizens Railway sold out to R. T. Wilson &

Company, New York. Three months after that Mayor Pingree, who had been active in promoting the enterprise on account of alleged three-cent fares, secured the passage of an ordinance granting a franchise to the Detroit Railway Company. While not coming up to his ideas in its entirety, the new franchise was looked upon as a long step forward in his fight. The ordinance provided that the city pay for the paving between the rails, eight tickets for a quarter between 5:45 A. M. and 8:30 P. M. and six tickets for a quarter for the remainder of the twenty-four hours. Upon the decision of the United States supreme court that the findings of the court of appeals was final, in the Citizens Railway case, that company promptly retaliated upon the mayor by withdrawing its six for



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a quarter rate and charging full five cent fares, a condition which still exists, except upon the lines of the Detroit Railway Company, an outline of the history of which, follows:

“In the course of evolution, the horse car gave way to the electric lines, and capitalists from Cleveland, including Tom L. Johnson, invaded Detroit and sought a franchise. Hazen S. Pingree, then mayor and afterward governor, countenanced the granting of a franchise to what was then considered an independent line under the name of the Detroit Railway Company, and a grant of rights through the streets was given until 1924. It was specified that in consideration of the privileges granted by the city that the new railroad line was to give so-called

three-cent fares; in other words, a straight five-cent fare when the cash was paid, but eight tickets for a quarter good from a little after daylight until eight in the evening, when six for a quarter rules.

"It was understood, however, that transfers could only be given to other three-cent lines on a ticket fare, and if a transfer were demanded on the old-line companies, working under a five-cent franchise, a five-cent fare was demanded. In consideration of the low rate of fare, the city in the grant given to the three-cent lines, specified that the city would do all the paving between the tracks. This has cost the municipality more than \$57,000 from 1902 to date.

"Single-truck cars were introduced, and with a rocking-horse motion, a hair-raising turning of curves, and a depleted foundation for the tracks, which the city was supposed to keep up, the patrons of the line of cheap transportation suffered alternately from nausea and bad temper, principally from the latter. In this way the trolley system was introduced into Detroit when the then poorly-developed storage-battery scheme proved a failure.

"Inventive genius and financiers improved the situation, and in December, in fact on the last day of 1900, the Detroit United Railway was organized, with a capital of \$12,500,000. It then acquired title to 187 miles of street railways within the city limits, including the three-cent fare lines. The properties acquired by the present owners of the street railways of Detroit came from three sources—the Detroit Citizens' Street Railway, the Fort Wayne & Belle Isle Railway and the Detroit Electric Railway.

"It might be said, in passing, that the primary development of a street railway system in Detroit was accomplished, as noted above, by the corporations which built the lines of the Detroit Citizens' Street Railway and the Fort Wayne & Belle Isle systems, which have since become an integral, and, one might say, the fundamental part of the Detroit United Railway.

"In laying out the plan of the city, much was due to the splendid judgment of Judge Woodward, after whom our main business thoroughfare, leaving aside the Wall street of Detroit (Griswold street), was named.

"The Judge, in laying out the plan, gave rise to the 'Hub' idea, which has since been utilized by the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association of Detroit as a slogan of progress and prosperity; a cut having been gotten up and copyrighted, demonstrating that Detroit is 'The Commercial Hub of the Middle West.'

"Taking the city hall as a pivotal spot, Judge Woodward laid out the city in an elliptical form, the center being the city hall. The streets reaching into what was then the country, but which is now well within the city limits, radiated from the common center of the city hall and the Campus Martius. This design simplified matters for the street railway builders and promoters. The main arteries of travel from this common center were Jefferson, Grand River, Woodward, Gratiot, Michigan and Fort. In the development of the street car service, naturally these main thoroughfares were utilized. This was done because they were the shortest distances between their terminal points and the center of the city.

“The development of these main arteries of travel by the Detroit United Railway which acquired rights in the Detroit Citizens’ and Detroit Electric Railways, necessitated the building of branch lines, among which were Myrtle Street, a branch of the Grand River line, and the Crawford Street, now the Greenwood loop of the Third Avenue line. The present Trumbull Avenue line was a branch of the Michigan Avenue line. With the growth of the city, these lines were made main lines, as were the Brush and Chene Street lines.

“In considering the present street car situation in Detroit, the fact must be taken into consideration that none of the so-called three-cent lines under the Pingree franchise hit any of these main radial streets, save in their entrance to the center of the city, where they were given running rights over the properties acquired by the Detroit United Railway.

“According to the terms of the agreement of the three-cent lines, the Detroit United Railway has a right over the Detroit Citizens’ lines until the expiration of the franchise of the latter in 1924. This being the case, the present corporation is in a position of independence, even though the franchises on the main five-cent lines have expired. In other words, the Detroit United Railway has so legally fortified itself, that even if all of its franchises were declared null and void, due to the limit of life placed upon them in the original grant, it would still have a right to enter the city over the three-cent lines unmolested until 1924.

“The only reason I have thus gone into detail, is to show the complications of the situation in Detroit; and to show how for years, the street car question has formed the principal topic of political conversation, and the main issue of the campaign, up to and including the present date.

“Several honest attempts have been made to take the street railway question out of politics. One of these attempts was made in the city campaign of 1906.

“Here I will inject sufficient of a personal note to state that at that time I was financial editor of the Detroit *Free Press* and personally handled most of the facts printed during the campaign. The records of all that was written is in my possession. I will now tell tales out of school, for the reason that William E. Quinby, who was then editor-in-chief of the Detroit *Free Press*, has passed into the valley of the dark shadow, but before his departure he gave me permission to print the real facts regarding the ‘Codd-Hutchins Ordinance’ campaign.

“Mayor George P. Codd, desirous, as was our present, or rather late mayor, Philip Breitmeyer, of bringing about a settlement of the street car question, and removing the same from politics, called upon the editors of the daily newspapers. He told Mr. Quinby that after nearly two years’ work he had finally gotten President J. C. Hutchins, of the Detroit United Railway, to consent to submit a settlement of the street car question to the people on a business basis, the fundamental principles of which were ten workingmen’s tickets for a quarter, during five hours of the day, three in the morning and two in the evening, and a uniform fare of six for a quarter during the remainder of the twenty-four hours. Going over the situation thoroughly, and delving into the cost of carry-

ing passengers, Mr. Quinby pledged the support of the *Free Press* to Mr. Codd, solely on the grounds that the mayor was at last attempting to take the street railway problem out of politics and settle it on a business basis. William B. Thompson, a Democrat who had for years served the municipality in various capacities including alderman from the eighth ward, city treasurer, etc., opposed Mayor Codd on the ground that he, Thompson, could secure three-cent fares if selected. Mr. Thompson was victorious, but during his two years of office did nothing to bring the street railway question to a settlement. In the meantime, having supreme faith in the ultimate fairness of the people, the Detroit United Railway, under the policy mapped out by J. C. Hutchins, president of the corporation, passed dividends and turned the earnings into the betterment of the properties, including the laying of 'T' rails, and heavier foundations in the streets, besides adding to the equipment of the road and re-establishing the 'Monroe' shops where nearly a thousand men are employed, and old cars modernized.

"Closely following the Codd campaign, in which Mr. Thompson won out on a promise of securing three-cent fares, came the financial crisis of 1907. Then it was Mr. Hutchins privately acknowledged that he was pleased at the outcome of the election, as, if Codd had won out, the cutting into the revenue which would have followed the financial crisis of 1907, would have so crippled the system as to have made it hard work for the road to make both ends meet."

CHAPTER XXV

STREET RAILWAY SITUATION CONTINUED—ANOTHER HONEST ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BY THE "COMMITTEE OF FIFTY," COMPOSED OF THE MOST PROMINENT MEN OF DETROIT—ITS FAILURE DUE TO POLITICS—THE CLYDE-WEBSTER ORDINANCE.

This brings the street railway situation up-to-date as it were. Mr. Thompson was defeated in the race for mayor two years ago by Mayor Philip Breitmeyer, who was retired November 8th. Mr. Breitmeyer's pledge was to settle the street railway question on a business basis. Following out the line of policy, Mr. Breitmeyer appointed a committee of fifty, taking in the cream of the business interests of Detroit.

The committee was constituted as follows: Russell A. Alger, George H. Barbour, Howard C. Beck, Joseph Boyer, A. Brain, Edward D. Brown, John H. Brown, E. A. Burch, Dr. J. H. Carstens, Gabriel Chiera, John D. Cochell, Frank H. Conant, Fred A. Cowen, E. G. Dailey, Frank Danzer, Charles A. Dean, E. H. Doyle, A. J. Dunneback, Theodore H. Eaton, Frank W. Eddy, Henry Ford, Louis R. Geist, Phillip H. Gray, W. W. Hannan, Fred C. Hees, Melvin Henry, D. M. Ireland, Delbert C. James, Richard P. Joy, Frank Kennedy, George H. Lyons, Rev. L. S. McColleston, William McMahon, W. D. Mahon, William C. Maybury, George T. Moody, M. J. Murphy, Thomas Neal, Thomas E. Newton, William C. Noack, William C. Pasha, Charles V. Pasternacki, Thomas E. Reeder, C. J. Reilly, Paul C. Renaud, Charles P. Russell, A. A. Schantz, J. E. Schiappacasse, D. W. Simons, T. H. Simpson, F. A. Smart, Theodore L. Smith, L. C. Stanley, A. G. Studer, James W. Thompson, Alfred A. Trites, E. C. VanHusan, Clyde I. Webster and John D. Wiley.

This committee in due time gathered together and completed an organization with the following officers: Chairman, Frank W. Eddy; vice chairman, Frank H. Conant; secretary, Paul C. Renaud, and the following executive committee; Frank W. Eddy, Frank H. Conant, Henry Ford, A. A. Schantz, E. C. Van Husan, Clyde I. Webster, Thomas E. Newton, George H. Barbour, M. J. Murphy, Melvin Henry, Dr. J. H. Carstens and D. M. Ireland.

A campaign of active work was mapped out by the organization, and the following sub-committees placed in charge of the gigantic task of investigating every phase of the transportation problem of the City of Detroit.

Appraisals: Joseph Boyer, W. W. Hannan, Louis R. Geist, Fred C. Hees, William McMahon, E. A. Burch, D. W. Simons.

Ways and Means: A. A. Schantz, Richard P. Joy, George T. Moody, T. H. Simpson and George H. Barbour, whose duties it should be to procure necessary funds for all purposes pertaining to the work of the committee and to supervise the expenditure thereof.

Statistics and Regulation: Frank H. Conant, William C. Noack, Frank Danzer, A. J. Dunneback, Russell A. Alger, John H. Brown, Joseph E. Schiappacasse; whose duties it should be to procure and assemble data relative to street railways in other cities and the terms and conditions of the franchises under which they operated; whose duty it should be to ascertain the present value of the properties of the D. U. R. in the City of Detroit, both tangible and intangible.

Cost of Service: Henry Ford, Richard P. Joy, Joseph Boyer, John D. Wiley, John D. Cochell, Phillip H. Gray and A. G. Studer; whose duties it should be to ascertain the cost of operating the lines of the D. U. R. in the city of Detroit, and to determine therefrom the average cost of carrying a passenger; and this committee to submit a special report on the history and condition of stocks, bonds and mortgages from their inception to the present time.

Legal: Clyde I. Webster, William C. Maybury, C. J. Reilly, L. C. Stanley, Delbert C. James and Joseph E. Schiappacasse; whose duty it should be to consider and pass upon such legal matters as may come before the committee or sub-committees during the investigation.

Franchise: Thomas E. Newton, F. A. Smart, Rev. Lee S. McCollester, Frank Kennedy, E. H. Doyle, Fred A. Cowen and A. Brain; whose duty it should be to examine the present franchises under which the D. U. R. is operating, the dates granted, the dates of expiration, what tracks covered, and the essential feature of each franchise as to rate of fare, taxation, paving, etc.

Schedules: George H. Barbour, E. A. Burch, A. A. Schantz, E. G. Dailey, James W. Thompson, W. D. Mahon, Edward D. Brown, Gabriel Chiera and Charles W. Pasternacki; whose duty it should be to examine the schedules of the D. U. R. to determine when and where the service is inadequate and to what extent said service can be improved.

Conference: M. J. Murphy, Melvin Henry, Theodore H. Eaton, Charles A. Dean and Thomas Neal; to confer with the Common Council on matters pertaining to the investigation and to arrange with the D. U. R. for procuring such information and data as may be required from time to time by the various committees.

Extensions and Rearrangements: Dr. J. H. Carstens, W. W. Hannan, T. H. Simpson, Thomas E. Reeder, Thomas Neal, William C. Pasha, Charles P. Russell, Theodore L. Smith and Alfred A. Trites; to ascertain what extensions of lines throughout the city are necessary, and in what manner present trackage can be rearranged to provide adequate service, and effect economy in operation.

Municipal ownership: D. M. Ireland, Charles A. Dean, W. D. Mahon, M. J. Murphy, John D. Cochell, Frank Kennedy and William C. Pasha; whose duty it should be to consider the question of municipal ownership, whether by operation by the city, or ownership of tracks only.

Taxation and Paving: Melvin Henry, Howard C. Beck, Theodore H.

Eaton, Fred C. Hees and George C. Lyons, whose duty it should be to consider the most equitable method of taxation and to ascertain the amount expended by the city of Detroit for the paving and repair of tracks of the old Detroit Railway lines since their construction and what sum shall be required to be expended by the city under the terms of the Detroit Railway franchise to put said tracks in good condition.

A glance at the personnel of the main committee and sub-committees is sufficient to show that the best citizens of Detroit were selected.

All of these gentlemen did yeomen work in endeavoring to solve the problem with a view of securing definite information as to the cost of running systems in other states, and in fact, regarding urban service the world over in all their details, the gentlemen of the committee of fifty gave freely of their time and patience. Men of all callings were represented on the committee of fifty, including the clergy. Its personnel should have been a guarantee of the mayor's earnestness of purpose, because the men comprising the committee were the leading men of the community, successful in their various lines of activity, and of such strict integrity as to be above reproach.

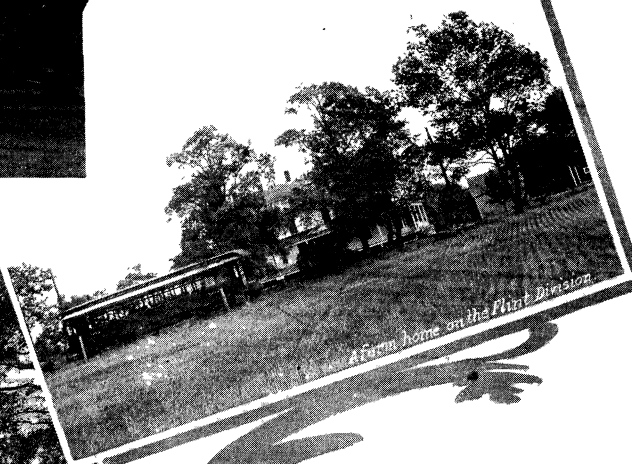
Notwithstanding this fact, politics was again injected through the instigation of the other political party, and an independent committee of fifty, representative of the socialistic and labor elements, was formed for the avowed purpose of securing municipal ownership if possible. The appropriation of money for the purpose of paying the necessary expenses of the regular committee of fifty was bitterly opposed, and from that time on, for months, a continuous stream of political twaddle appeared in the papers, one of which always played to the gallery. The *Detroit News* came out openly for municipal ownership and column after column appeared devoted entirely to that issue. The committee of fifty finally succeeded in securing funds enough with which to pursue its investigations, and the sub-committees were appointed, as stated. Thus the wide field opened up was covered. The sub-committees at once began their labors. Expert engineers were consulted, and the services of one engineer for appraisal purposes were engaged. In the introduction to the published reports of the sub-committees, City Clerk Charles A. Nichols says:

"For practically one year members of the committee of fifty and its sub-committees with their various expert assistants worked hand in hand on this task of vast importance to the half-million residents of Detroit, and the results of their labors are set forth in detail. The various reports of sub-committees approved by the general committee were thus made the general report of the committee of fifty on December 6, 1909. These reports were turned over to the mayor and upon a vote of the common council, became the property of the city."

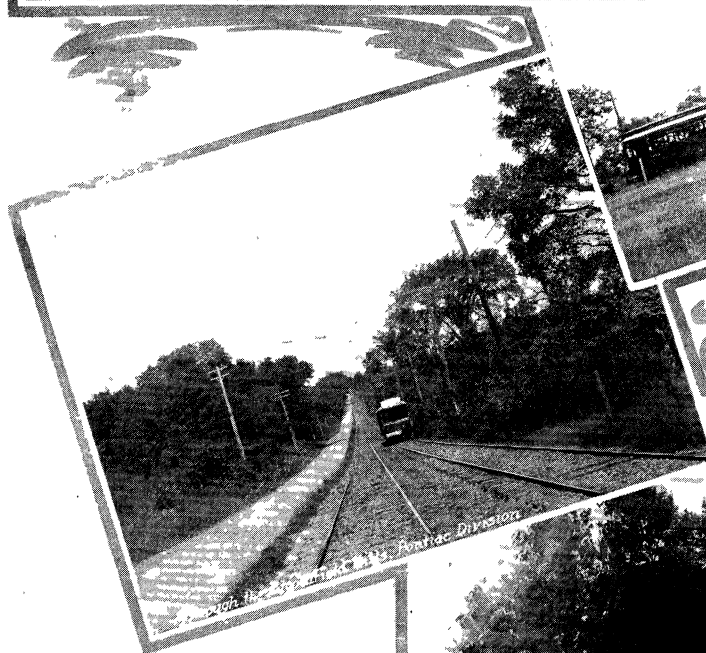
As a result of the pains-taking labor of the various sub-committees, what has been deemed to be the most logical solution of the street railway problem ever presented to a municipality was evolved. Briefly stated, the concrete judgment of the best business men of the city of Detroit was embraced by the Clyde Webster Ordinance, which was submitted to the council, Tuesday, March 15, 1910, and printed in the official proceedings. After specifying the streets upon which the city rail-



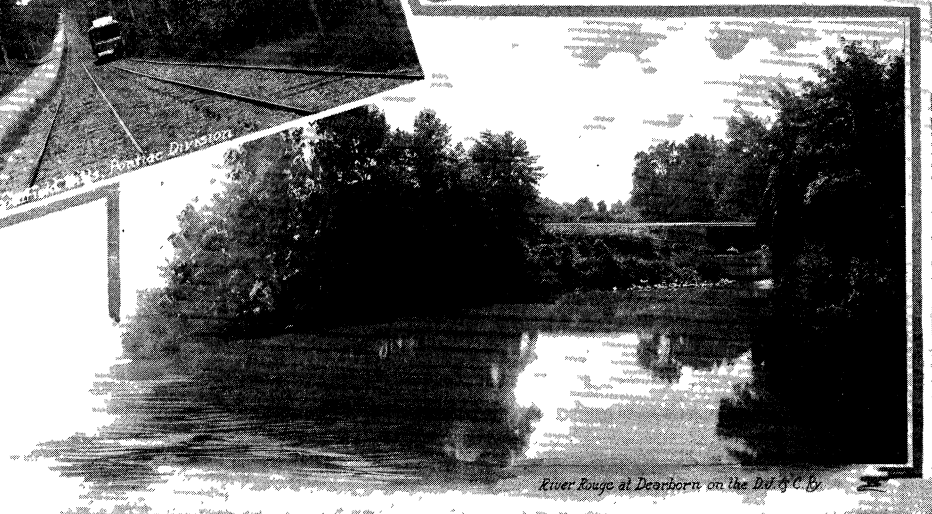
Johnson's Island at Monroe Piers, D.M. & T. Ry.



A farm home on the Flint Division.



From River Rouge to the Pontiac Division.



River Rouge at Dearborn on the D.D. & C. Ry.

SCENES ALONG THE DETROIT UNITED INTERURBAN LINES

way could operate, including the existing lines and additional extensions commensurate with the growth of the city, the ordinance went into details and fully protected the rights of the citizens and taxpayers. In this ordinance, the city reserved the rights through its common council and commission, as thereafter provided, to alter, change and rearrange any of the routes specified. These routes are not given because many readers may not be familiar with the topographical and geographical situation of the city of Detroit. In addition to this reservation, the ordinance reserved the right to the city, through its common council upon recommendation by the street railway commission, to acquire additional lines of railway, to be constructed, maintained and operated in accordance with the further provisions of the ordinance.

This ordinance specified that all tracks should be of modern construction and firm foundations, the plan of construction and the construction itself to be subject to the approval of the street railway commission. The commission under the ordinance was further given power to order spur tracks, to be connected in such manner as might be deemed the best at or near factories and other places, where large numbers of people are employed and at other points of congested travel on which at certain hours cars might be stored ready for use when needed to relieve the traffic congestion. Under this ordinance the cost of such additional construction was to have been added to the capital value. Section four of the ordinance specifies that the company should commence construction of all additional tracks therein provided for immediately upon the acceptance of the ordinance, and said additional tracks should be completely constructed, fully equipped and in operation within eighteen months from the date of the acceptance of the ordinance by the Detroit United Railway. This period of eighteen months, however, was subject to an extension by the common council upon the recommendation of the commission, provided the latter showed that the company acted in good faith and could not, for physical reasons, keep within the letter of the contract. All the work to be done in these extensions under this ordinance was to be with the approval and under the supervision and inspection of the street railway commission. The cost of supervision and inspecting the work of said tracks was to be paid for by the company, and charged to operating expenses. The cost to the company of these additional tracks and equipment was to be added to the capital value.

Section six of the ordinance specified that the acceptance of the same by the company should constitute a complete surrender and release of all and every one of the rights and claims of the company of every kind and manner in the streets in the city of Detroit on and after December 4, 1924.

Section seven specified that for the purpose of fixing the basis from which the returns of the company for the service rendered by it to the public should be further determined, and for the further purpose of fixing the price at which the property of the company might be purchased as thereafter provided for, the capital value of all the property of the company within the city of Detroit was to consist "wholly of the value of its physical properties which was agreed to be on the first day of Octo-

ber, 1909, of the value of dollars, together with the franchise value and which was agreed to be on the same date to the value of dollars." These values are significant, and herein lies the great stumbling block against which the business men forming the committee of fifty stumbled, in striving to arrive at a solution of this serious problem. In order to facilitate matters, the street car company put to work a large force of expert clerks on an appraisal or inventory of the property of the Detroit United Railway, furnishing to the committee of fifty copies of the reports made by the Detroit United Railway experts.

The company said openly, privately and consistently that it only desired a fair settlement of the question, and was perfectly willing to leave the details of that settlement to the good judgment of the business men on the committee of fifty. The corporation promised co-operation with the committee of fifty, and its sub-committees at all times, throw open for inspection its records and books, even going so far as to furnish Frederick T. Barcroft, employed by the committee of fifty, with a duplicate copy of every inventory taken by the company. This inventory took some three months to compile, keeping a force of 200 clerks busy. It embraced 40,000 typewritten pages, including blue prints, plans and specifications, every bolt, nut, bar, screw, hammer, screw-driver and piece of wire belonging to the company was noted in this comprehensive compilation.

Mr. Barcroft, on behalf of the committee of fifty, demanded that the United Railway furnish a statement of values upon the basis of reconstruction of the city properties, and while this was not contemplated in the original inventory taken by the Detroit United Railway, Vice-President and General Manager Frank W. Brooks decided to grant the request, and furnished Mr. Barcroft, as consulting engineer of the committee of fifty, with a detailed statement of the cost of construction, which is as follows:

Real estate	\$ 993,294.28
Buildings	902,291.25
Power plants	2,651,137.19
Battery stations	429,068.45
Power distributions	2,010,739.50
Track	9,349,407.20
Rolling stock	5,129,954.00
Shops	984,116.94
Tools, machinery, etc.	981,028.73
Paving	1,219,816.57
Other items	25,327.54
Total	<hr/> \$24,676,181.75

This ordinance, the pains-taking result of the most pains-taking labors of the committee of fifty, most thoroughly took care of the rights of the city, and went on to state that the bonded indebtedness of the company and the par value of the stock which had been issued should not be taken into consideration, but to the capital value, as determined there, should

be added from time to time the cost of all additional tracks and equipment, provided for in the ordinance and all expenses, betterments and permanent improvements thereafter made, which the commission should approve.

It was specified that the cost of any extensions, betterments and permanent improvements made since October 1, 1909, should be also added to the capital value, the railway commission to agree with the company upon that amount, or in the case of disagreement as to the amount to be added to capital value, the disputed question should be determined by the board of arbitration, to be selected in a manner provided for later in the ordinance, which will be described later on. The decision of such a board of arbitration as to the value of said property was to be final.

Upon the capital value as set forth and determined by the commission, agreed with the company or decided upon by the board of arbitration, the ordinance specified that the company should be entitled to the return of interest of six per cent per annum on the capital invested, interest to be reckoned from the date of the effect of the new ordinance. The rate of fare of this ordinance was to be so adjusted from time to time as to enable the company to pay such income and interest and no more, and the cost of operation, maintenance and renewals.

The ordinance further specified that should the company at any time desire to sell any property owned by it, the company must first secure the permission of the commission, the proceeds of the sale thereof either to be reinvested in property owned by the company or deducted from the amount of capital invested, as determined by the commission, the decision of which was to be final. Provision was made to the effect that no action should be taken as to selling any property if the same conflicted with the provisions of any bonds governing the said properties. Subject to the approval of the commission, the company under this ordinance would have been compelled to acquire additional property to anticipate the reasonable needs of service, and the cost of such additional property was to be added to the capital value.

Going further to protect the rights of the taxpayers, section nine of the ordinance provided that there should be no increase in the capital value of the company and no addition or further bond issue, which could be added to capital value upon which the company should be entitled to six per cent interest per annum, excepting for the purpose of securing funds to make extensions, betterments and permanent improvements and then not to exceed the cost thereof, and this could only be done by and with the consent of the commission and the common council. It was also specified that such stocks and bonds should be only sold at par, with the approval of the commission and the common council; however, said stocks and bonds might be sold below par, but in such case only the amount realized therefrom should be added to capital value, and draw six per cent interest per annum. Another provision of this comprehensive street railway law was to the effect that all bonds should be sold to the highest bidders, and that at the expiration of this grant, the commission and company should come to an equitable adjustment of the difference between any bonds that might have been sold below par, and the face value of said bonds, and in case the commission and the company could not agree, the matter was to be referred to the board of arbitration.

Section ten of the ordinance provided for the creation of the city street railway commission, to consist of five members to be appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the council, as soon as the ordinance should become effective. The terms of the first five members appointed were to be one, two, three, four and five years respectively, after which one member of the commission should be appointed by the mayor, with the consent of the common council, in each year, to serve the term of five years. The ordinance also specified that no member of said street railway commission should take or accept any other public office during the terms for which he should have been appointed, and that any commissioner becoming a candidate for or accepting any other public office should have been deemed to have vacated his office as street railway commissioner, and such vacancy should at once be filled by the appointment of a successor under the terms already described. The commission thus created by the ordinance was to have been non-salaried. The salary of a secretary and all expenses of said commission, including the salaries of whatever accountants, engineers, assistants and clerks might be necessary in the discretion of the commission, was to be paid by the company and charged to operation expenses, the entire amount of which salaries and expenses was not to exceed in any one month one per cent of the total operating expenses. In addition to the powers and duties provided for in the various sections of the ordinance, the commission was to have had the power to control the service as to quality, frequency and number of cars, including the right of fixing the schedules of service and the right to route and re-route cars, all of which was to have been approved by the common council. The commission was to supervise the methods of accounting and bookkeeping of the company, to have free access to the books of the company at all times, with the power of auditing same, to see to it that there was proper vouching of the expenses of the company, and that their books and accounts were correctly and honestly kept, and to require from the company monthly statements of car mileage, passengers carried, gross income from all sources, operating expenses and all other expenses and such other statements and reports as they might deem necessary, and to see to it that all moneys received and disbursed by the company were properly accounted for, and to have the power to make changes in the system of bookkeeping and vouchering if such were necessary.

The commission under this ordinance was to have the power to pass upon the type of cars, schedules and the carriage of all equipments and appliances, and approval and distribution of the use thereof, subject to the approval of the common council.

The commission was to pass upon all appraisals of recommendation made by the company. It was also to decide, subject to the approval of the common council, when stocks and bonds might be issued by the company for the purpose of securing funds for additional tracks and the equipment of same, and for expenses, betterments and permanent improvements, which stocks and bonds were to be added to the capital value and upon which six per cent interest per annum was to be paid as provided for in the ordinance.

The commission was further to see to it that the property of the com-

pany was kept up to a standard required by the ordinance, and that the cost of keeping the system up to this standard was to be met from the depreciation of displacements, and renewal funds, as provided for in the law. It was to further decide at all times whether the expenses of renewal and replacements, repair, betterments and improvements, extension and expenses of the company of widening streets, strengthening the bridges and culverts, separating grades, the cost of power-houses, switches, sidings, car-houses, shops, rolling stock, cars and converting cars into another type, machinery, or other property, to be charged to operating expenses and taken out of the replacement fund and made the subject of the bond issue, and in addition to the capital value.

The commission was to have the further power to decide upon and authorize, with the approval of the common council, changes of equipment or source of power or methods of propulsion, and to decide whether the cost thereof should be charged to operating expenses or taken out of the replacement fund, or made the subject of a bond issue.

The commission under this ordinance had the power to approve of the operating expenses and replacements of the company, and to specify that there should be no unusual salaries of officials, officers, directors, agents, attorneys or employees of the company. The commission was given power to object to the amount paid to any agent, director, employee, officer, attorney or official, and if the commission and the company could not agree thereon, on the question as to the amount to be paid, the question was to be decided by the board of arbitration.

The commission was empowered, by and with the consent of the common council, to decide at the period of each adjustment of accounts with the company whether the rate of fare should be continued, raised or lowered. The commission had the power to prescribe the terms and conditions, by and with the consent of the common council, under which freight, express and merchandise on suburban cars should be allowed to run upon city tracks, to the amounts which should have been paid for such privilege. The commission was also empowered to decide at all times as to the necessity of repaving or repairing of pavements between the tracks. It was also empowered to suggest to the common council from time to time the enactment of whatever ordinances the commission might deem necessary to insure the proper collection of all fares, and to prevent any improper use of transfers or free transportation, and to recommend to the council regulations respecting the operation of the railway and to report all violations of the ordinance by the company to the common council.

Section eleven of this model ordinance—which never saw daylight, as far as the voters are concerned, being smothered in the council until too late to be submitted at this general election—specifies that upon taking effect of the ordinance, the corporation operating the street railways in the city of Detroit should open a new set of books and keep separate the city books of the company from its suburban traffic.

CHAPTER XXVI

STREET CAR QUESTION CONTINUED—PLAN OF GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSION—MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PROPOSITION CONDEMNED BY THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY—REASONS THEREFOR—QUESTION TAKEN OUT OF POLITICS.

This model law which was shelved and sidetracked by the politicians in the corporation counsel's office, goes into the question of fares. It states that the minimum rate of fare for a single ride within the city limits in any one direction over any route of the company should be ten tickets for twenty-five cents, twenty-four hours, upon all lines within city limits, universal transfers, and including said minimum rate, the following schedule or schedules of fares was to be used:

- A. Ten tickets for 25 cents, 24 hours, upon all lines.
- B. Ten tickets for 25 cents, from 5 A. M. to 8 P. M., and 8 tickets for 25 cents from 8 P. M. to 5 A. M., upon all lines.
- C. Eight tickets for 25 cents, 24 hours, upon all lines, with universal transfers.
- D. Eight tickets for 25 cents, workingmen's hours, 7 tickets for 25 cents during the remainder of the 24 hours, upon all lines with universal transfers.
- E. Eight tickets for 25 cents, from 5 A. M. to 8 P. M., and 6 tickets for 25 cents from 8 P. M. to 5 A. M., all lines with universal transfers.
- F. Eight tickets for 25 cents, during workingmen's hours, and 7 tickets for 25 cents during the remainder of the day, until 8 P. M. Six tickets for 25 cents, from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M., all lines, with universal transfers.
- G. The maximum rate of fare shall be 8 tickets for 25 cents, during workingmen's hours, and 6 tickets for 25 cents, during the remainder of the 24 hours.
- H. Five-cent cash fare shall be charged for single fare not paid for by ticket.
- I. Children six years and under accompanied by persons paying fare may ride free. For two such children, one fare.
- J. Whenever the term workingmen's hours are used in the ordinance, it was taken to mean from 5 to 8 A. M. and from 4:30 to 6:30 P. M.
- K. The term universal transfer was deemed to mean a transfer to the point of destination by the nearest available route, to be issued for each fare paid, to be non-transferable, limited to use after arrival at point of intersection of first available car passing said point of intersection. Good ten minutes.

The law further specified that all of the properties of the company within the present and future city limits of Detroit should be properly placed upon an ad valorem basis, the same as the property of any individual.

Section eighteen of the ordinance provided that all paving between the outer rails, whether single or double tracks, should be done by the company. This section embraced all lines within the city limits, including those under the original grant, the paving of which the city was responsible for.

The ordinance further created a depreciation, replacement and rolling-stock fund, and decreed that there should be set aside and placed to the credit of this fund monthly, from the gross receipts of the company, a sum equivalent to three cents for each revenue car mile for the month, and the company upon accepting the ordinance, was to agree to maintain the entire system at a standard of seventy per cent of the cost of reproduction.

It was also specified that all cars operated by the company should be of modern type, with double trucks, to be approved by the commission and to be equipped from time to time with modern appliances, such as automatic ventilators, noise-reducing appliances, etc., to add to the safety and comfort of the public, as might be approved by the commission. The new cars to be built by the company, for the additional cars provided for in the ordinance, and all other new cars were to have been approved by the commission. It is also specified that all cars were to be kept thoroughly clean, both inside and outside, thoroughly heated, properly appointed, and the equipment to be maintained in a high state of efficiency.

Section thirty-one specifies that in case of any differences arising between the company and commission, and the common council, with regard to any of the rights thereunder, either party might require such question or questions to be submitted to the board of arbitration. The selection of this board to be as follows: The city to appoint its representative, the company its, each to notify the other of such appointment, together with a notice of the question upon which arbitration is demanded. The parties so notified, within ten days thereafter, would be compelled to appoint its representative and the two parties appointed should, within ten days thereafter, appoint a third arbitrator; either party failing or refusing to appoint same within ten days, the appointment was to be made by the person who was district judge for the eastern district of Michigan. If the two representatives were unable to agree upon a third arbitrator within ten days, they should then apply to the said judge of the eastern district of Michigan to make such appointment, and such judge should then have the power to appoint such third arbitrator. When such third arbitrator hereby should have been appointed, the three would have constituted a board of arbitration, a majority of which would have power to decide the question or questions submitted. Whenever any board of arbitration provided for in the ordinance should consider or determine any matters its decision was to be final.

Under the terms of the ordinance, which as stated before was never submitted to the people, the company bound itself to file with the city clerk a bond in the penal sum of \$100,000, that it would comply with all of the terms and conditions of the ordinance and that it would forever save to the city and protect it against and from all damages, judgments, decrees and expenses which the company might suffer or which might be obtained against said city for and by reason of the grant of the privileges to the company and by reason of any damage to life, limb or property caused by the running of cars of the company.

Section thirty-six of the ordinance specified that its acceptance by the company and the taking effect thereon constituted a surrender and termination of all grants and franchises of every kind received, acquired and owned by the corporation, which in any manner might apply to or effect street railways owned and operated by the Detroit United Railway within the city of Detroit and the company agreed by the acceptance of the ordinance to obligate itself to fully comply with all these terms and conditions.

This, in brief, is the result of the painstaking work of the best business men of the city of Detroit, and will, in my estimation, forever stand as a monument to their judgment and integrity.

I have purposely omitted going into the municipal ownership phase of the question until I had thoroughly covered the ground of the regulations proposed as a result of the labors of the committee of fifty. But it is appropriate to here give a report of the sub-committee on municipal ownership. This is self-explanatory, and is so thorough that it needs no explanation. It is as follows: "Your committee on municipal ownership, to whom was assigned the duty of investigating the practical working of the municipal ownership of public utilities and of considering the advisability of the municipal ownership and operation of the street railway of Detroit, beg to report as follows:

"Municipal undertakings in the United States is at present confined to the utilities of water, gas and electric light. These undertakings differ from the undertaking of street railway transportation in two important particulars: Amount of capital investment and number of employees required.

"With the exception of a line a few miles long in Monroe, Louisiana, a town of 5,428 inhabitants, the United States has no municipality owned and operated street railway. The subways of New York and Boston are the leading instances of municipal ownership and private operation.

"Both Cleveland and Chicago have, for several years, been engaged in attempts to reach a satisfactory settlement of their street railway transportation problems. Each city has had to contend with inadequate charter provisions which has necessitated a compromise. In Cleveland this compromise took the form, temporarily, of a holding company, which, while experimenting to find the lowest possible rate of fare commensurate with good service, fell ignominiously into the hands of a receiver. In Chicago a working agreement was arranged, to hold through a period of rehabilitation and containing a 'provisional purchase' clause, awaiting an enabling act by the legislature carrying a plan to finance the purchase of its street railways which would stand the test of the courts.

The city, meanwhile, through a profit-sharing arrangement included in the 'agreement accumulating a fund with which to make a partial payment upon the traction properties if, when the legal disability shall be finally removed, the people of Chicago are still eager to experiment with municipal ownership.' These experiments in Cleveland and Chicago may be termed quasi-municipalization.

"Your committee has, therefore, been unable to secure facts as to the actual working of municipal ownership excepting from European cities. The congested condition of European cities, while most undesirable from the standpoint of health or comfort, yet insures a heavy, short-haul traffic. This, with fares based on the zone system, no free transfers, low wages and inferior service, materially reduces the cost of transportation.

"From information gathered by your committee on statistics, the fact is established that the wages of motormen and conductors in European cities average but eleven cents per hour, compared with twenty-three to twenty-five in American cities.

"Your committee found no condition attending municipal ownership in European cities which seemed desirable excepting an apparently lower rate of fare, and this made possible only through the existence of conditions which Americans would regard as intolerable.

"Anxiety that municipally managed utilities should make a creditable showing often leads to methods of accounting by which many items of expense and the interest upon the bonds issued to purchase or construct such utility are charged to the city's general interest and expense account, instead of being properly made a charge upon the earnings of the utility for which incurred.

"Before any municipal undertaking may be classed as successful, two facts must be established to the satisfaction of the taxpayers:

"(1) Would a rigid system of accounting, with every legitimate expense charged to the utility operated rather than to some general fund, with proper allowance for interest on the investment, depreciation, obsolescence and sinking fund leave a balance upon the right side of the municipal ledger?

"(2) Is the standard of operation, service, wages, and general upkeep such that it would be satisfactory to the people of an American city?

"Comparison of existing municipal street railway undertakings in foreign cities being found of little value for the purpose of our investigation, your committee has considered the subject under the following heads:

"(1) What will municipal ownership of the street railways of Detroit cost?

"(2) Can Detroit afford to make the investment?

"(3) Is it desirable to assume the burden; to assume the responsibility of a costly experiment with no definite assurance that cheaper fare could be provided without affecting the quality of service?

"As the franchise of the Detroit United Railway which expired on November 14, 1909, covered only a part of the city system, unless an advantageous purchase of the remaining lines can be made by the city, municipal ownership can be only partial for at least fourteen years, at least not unless the city shall engage in a costly work of paralleling such

lines. Two systems would mean two fares in many cases now covered by transfer.

"The legal rights to own and operate a street railway, if the people so vote, is now secured to Detroit; extension of the bond limit, now also possible if voted, would insure a part of the purchase price. Unfortunately, it is a fact that the higher the percentage of the bonded debt of a municipality to the value of its taxable property, the higher the rate of interest required to market its bonds. In Detroit the amount which the municipalization of the street railway system would require would, when added to the present bonded debt, so largely increase the percentage of bonded debt to taxable property as to exclude the bonds from Savings Banks' investment.

"Immediate municipal ownership of Detroit's street railways would involve:

"The amount of the appraisal of the committee of fifty plus several million dollars for betterments and extensions, including the fifty-seven miles of new track recommended by the committee on extensions and rearrangement, which are imperative if the city is to have proper service and which the Detroit United Railway or any other company would be required to assure the city in order to secure further operating privileges. In the matter of cost must be included the heavy demand which must be met in the not distant future for the construction of a subway as outlined by the committee on extensions and rearrangement, also interest on the bonds issued to effect the purchase, a loss of taxes in 1908 amounting to \$134,842.63.

"This enlarged field for damage claims against the city would be found no inconsiderable item of expense.

"A comparison of Detroit's bonded indebtedness with that of other cities to-day is all in Detroit's favor, being far below that of other cities of the same class. Any plan to increase the debt of the city must take into account the normal demands certain to be made upon the taxpayers from year to year.

"Detroit's tax rate this year is \$18 per thousand. In order to keep the rate down as low as this the common council and board of estimates are annually driven to the doubtful economy of cutting appropriations for expenditures wholly desirable and almost indispensable in order to prevent too great a drain upon the resources of the average taxpayer.

"Under the tax rate of recent years pavements have often necessarily been allowed to remain in deplorable condition; the present tax rate, which is the cause of some dissatisfaction because more than two dollars higher than last year, is still insufficient to place the pavements in an entirely satisfactory condition. Three much-needed school building appropriations were disallowed this year and there is a generally admitted need of more play-grounds and bath-houses. The board of water commissioners contemplate extensive improvements approximating two and a quarter million dollars. While this expenditure will be spread over a period of several years, the increased water tax necessary to provide for this expenditure will increase the amount the taxpayer and patron of public utilities must pay for the privilege enjoyed.

"As a municipality we are seemingly pushed to the limit of our re-

sources to perform such primary, non-contentious municipal undertakings, as having no element of profit in them cannot be left to private enterprise.

"Do taxpayers desire to assume the responsibility in the hope of securing cheaper transportation?

"By placing the street railway system under municipal control a large body of municipal employees is created, each member having a vote. The management is made to reside in a body politic, subject to change at least every two years. Do these conditions indicate a fair probability that such efficiency and economy in administration and operation will prevail as will serve to reduce fares in a sufficiently large degree to warrant and render advisable the faith and credit of the city; increasing the bonded debt and tax rate?

"Will not the increased expenditure add to the burden of taxation to such an extent as to react upon the industrial development of the city and drive away more population and manufacturing than could possibly be attracted to it by the benefits these expenditures were intended to secure?

"In England the rapid rate of increase in taxation, largely due to increase in municipal trading, has reached an alarming stage. Statistics show that, while in 1880 the local debt of Great Britain and America was about the same, during the ten years from 1880-90 the British local debt advanced at the rate of \$30,000,000 per annum, while the American local debt increased only \$4,000,000 per annum.

"In 1904-5 the national debt of Great Britain was \$91.68 per capita, the American national debt at the same time being only \$11.91 per capita, while in New Zealand and the Australian commonwealth, where municipal ownership is so largely entered into, the per capita of the public debt was, during these years, in the commonwealth, \$288.60, and in New Zealand, \$348.10.

"A comparison made in 1904-5, showing the average indebtedness of eighteen principal cities of Great Britain as compared with eighteen of the principal American cities, shows:

"Per capita debt of American cities.....\$40.96

"Per capita of British cities.....113.62

Our form of city government is adapted primarily to put a check on expenditures. There is no machinery for a progressive business-like administration of any department. Questions of policy and of appropriations must be argued in the common council and board of estimates, and however useful such a system may be to keep the tax rate within bounds, no one will claim that an intricate business like the operation of a great railway system should be left to the decisions of bodies of men inexperienced in the particular problems involved. It is no answer to say that the management might be in the hands of a commission composed of able business men. Success in one business does not qualify a man to succeed in managing another wholly dissimilar business. Moreover, men competent to make profits cannot afford to give their services to secure profits for a city. Nor is the management of a

street railway calculated to draw men into the service for the sake of honor, since the occupation is beset with difficulties and anxieties. Responsibility for life and property is in the highest degree burdensome, and the dealings with an army of employees on the one hand and with the public on the other require tact and experience which command a high price in the labor market.

"With profit to the individual as an incentive to economy in administration eliminated with out municipalities as at present organized, tenure of office tried and with politics entering so largely into municipal elections, it is a matter of grave doubt in the minds of your committee as to whether the conduct of an undertaking requiring experience for efficient management, could be operated by the municipality to the profit either of the taxpayer or the car patron.

"Summing up the situation as it exists in Detroit to-day, your committee believe that, inasmuch as the municipal ownership of street railways at the present time would:

- "(1) Largely increase the city's bonded debt.
- "(2) Increase the tax rate.
- "(3) Diminish the amount of taxable property.
- "(4) Increase the city's liability for damage claims.
- "(5) Benefit neither taxpayer, employee nor patron.
- "(6) So increase the tax rate as to react to the detriment of the city's industrial expansion.
- "(7) Promote increased political manipulation.

"We believe: That for Detroit to engage in street railway operation would be to enter a field adapted to private rather than public undertaking.

"To enter upon an experiment certain to be costly and not certain to be successful, a course most unwise, from a business standpoint, and which, in the opinion of your committee, should not be undertaken.

"Respectfully submitted,

"D. M. IRELAND,

"CHARLES A. DEAN,

"M. J. MURPHY,

"FRANK KENNEDY,

"WILLIAM PASHA.

"Sub-Committee on Municipal Ownership.

The corporation now owning and operating the street railways of the city of Detroit throughout the entire investigation of the committee of fifty and during the preparation of the ordinance acted in perfect good faith. It employed expert engineers to secure an inventory and appraisal of the physical value of the system, and compiled something like 40,000 typewritten pages of matter which it furnished the engineer employed by the committee of fifty, and at all times threw its books and records open to the investigation of the committee. Had this ordinance been submitted to the people, carried and adopted by the common council, the street railway company would have accepted its provisions once and for all and removed the street railway problem from politics.

Events accumulate rapidly. When the chapter on the street railway situation was closed, it was supposed the last word was said, when, "Lo and Behold!" our worthy mayor and the interests controlling the Detroit United got together on an agreement subject to ratification by the people, and the accompanying is presented as an addition to the chapter on street railways without changing in the least what has gone before. A tentative agreement has been entered into by Mayor William B. Thompson and the Detroit United Railway whereby the long standing controversy can be taken out of politics and the people be given the benefit of three-cent fares. Following is a brief outline of the settlement which takes the street railway question out of politics:

"This agreement provides that the city shall have the right to purchase the street railway system within the city limits, at any time upon six months' notice served upon the company.

"This right to purchase is a continuing right, and one or more failures to purchase after notice shall not exhaust it.

"The company obligates itself to deliver a free-and-clear title to all its property within the city limits to the city in case of purchase.

"The purchase price shall be agreed upon, if possible, between the city and the company. If this is not possible, the city shall appoint two arbitrators, and the company two arbitrators. These shall select a fifth arbitrator. If they fail to do so within 30 days, the fifth arbitrator shall be elected by the Wayne county circuit bench as constituted at the time of the negotiations. It shall be the duty of the arbitration board so constituted to fix the purchase price and terms of purchase.

"The decision of this arbitration board shall be binding upon the company, but shall not be binding upon the city until submitted to a vote of the people and ratified by them.

"Within thirty days after the approval by the people, the rates of fare shall be as follows on all city lines, and to and from Palmer park:

"Eight tickets for a quarter from 5 a. m. to 8 p. m. Six tickets for a quarter from 8 p. m. to 5 a. m., or at the option of the passenger, a single fare of five cents.

"The rates of fare on interurban cars within the city limits shall be five cents in order to reserve the interurban cars for interurban passengers.

"The company will give universal transfers to and from all lines.

"(a) The company shall provide adequate street car service to and from the new Michigan Central depot, as designated by the common council.

"(b) In 1912 the company shall finish any uncompleted portions of the extensions agreed upon in the spring of 1911.

"(c) In 1912 the company shall pave between its tracks from Artillery to Home street on its west Jefferson line, and from Hillger to Gray streets on its east Jefferson line.

"(d) The company shall build new extensions each year at an average of not less than 5 per cent of its total track mileage for that year.

“(e) In 1912 the company shall build a north and south line in the western portion of the city, as designated by the common council; and shall connect its Myrtle street line on the west side with its Mack avenue line on the east side, upon some street in the neighborhood of Bagg street, as designated by the common council.

“The provisions of the Detroit Railway ordinance as to service shall remain in force, with the further provision that the company shall provide such service as the common council may ordain, and the traffic demands; and the cars shall be designed as to route and destination.

“All franchises shall expire on December 4, 1924.

“The tax clause of the Detroit Railway ordinance is to remain intact, with the addition that no tax is to be laid upon any investments in paving and foundations; and no license fee and express car fee, interurban car fee or rental car fee, nor any other tax than the ad valorem tax specified in the Detroit Railway ordinances, laid by the city.

“The company agrees hereafter to separate its grades on demand of the common council, in accordance with the plan now existing between the city and the steam railroads for the separation of grades, and to pay its proportion of grade-separation expenses in accordance with that general plan.

“In the event of purchase, the company agrees as follows:

“(a) No value is to be placed upon this grant.

“(b) The value of all existing franchises at the time of purchase shall be computed to the date of their expiration; but in no event after Dec. 4, 1924.

“(c) In order to prevent assigning values to the company for work done on paving and foundations by the city, all existing pavements and foundations constructed by the company are to be valued in 1912, and paid for at this price without interest, in case of purchase.

“(d) All future grade separation work and foundations which are to be laid at the expense of the company, are to be sold to the city, in the event of purchase, at cost, plus 10 per cent for the use of tools and equipment.

“It is expressly understood that this agreement is indivisible; and in the event of any section being judicially declared void, the whole agreement is to fall.

“The city agrees to maintain the pavements and foundations on all lines, in accordance with the terms of the Detroit Railway ordinance.

“In the event of purchase, interurban and passenger cars are to be operated over the city's lines until 1924 as follows:

“(a) The city is to man, collect and retain the fares collected on the passenger cars, and pay the company 2½ cents per car mile for the use of the cars.

“(b) The company is to man the express cars, load and unload the cars, and conduct the express business, and pay to the city for the use of the tracks and equipment, and the privilege of operating over the city's lines, fifteen cents per car mile.

“All pending controversies and all claims and demands in dispute between the parties are to be canceled and discharged by each side.

“The company may, for the convenience of the public, change existing routes; but if the new route proves unsatisfactory, the right is reserved to the common council to order the restoration of the old route.”

This will virtually end a twenty years' war.

CHAPTER XXVII

FIRST POWER PRINTING PRESS IN DETROIT—INCEPTION OF THE SAULT STE MARIE CANAL—DETROIT PROMINENT IN SENDING SUPPLIES TO FAMINE STRICKEN IRELAND IN 1847—POSTAGE STAMPS MAKE THEIR APPEARANCE—FIRST TELEGRAPH INSTALLED UPON HORACE GREELEY'S VISIT TO DETROIT—MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPLETED TO BUFFALO AND A LINE OF PASSENGER STEAMERS STARTED BY THAT COMPANY BETWEEN DETROIT AND BUFFALO—CHOLERA AGAIN SWEEPS DETROIT—THE GREAT RAILROAD CONSPIRACY—GREAT WESTERN OPENS UP RAIL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DETROIT AND NEW YORK—FURTHER RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES GIVEN THE CITY—INSTALLATION OF THE FIRST TELEPHONE SERVICE—BELLE ISLE PURCHASED FOR \$200,000 AND TURNED INTO A CITY PARK.

Now that the street railway question has been logically followed from its infancy to the present day, it becomes necessary to again take a step back into the past, into that period when the city was struggling to give birth to civic improvements which laid the foundation for its present greatness.

The year 1846 witnessed the introduction of the first power printing press into Michigan, the *Free Press* installing the machine, which was then considered a marvel, although in the light of present equipment it would seem like a joke.

On February 4, 1847, a meeting was held in the interest of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, the construction of a waterway at that point having recently been proposed.

The same month a committee was appointed to devise means for sending relief to the starving poor of Ireland, and so well did they do their work in Detroit and throughout the state that 2,348 barrels and packages of provisions, including 2,175 barrels of flour, were sent to New York.

History was made rapidly that year. March 9th a bill was passed locating the state capital at Lansing, and eight days later the last session of the legislature to be held in Detroit came to a close.

Postage stamps came into use that spring, but it was late in the summer before they reached Detroit. An item in the *Detroit Free Press* under date of August 16, 1847, tells of the receipt at the postoffice of a supply of five and ten cent stamps for the prepayment of postage, it being added in explanation that "all that has to be done is to prefix one of the little appendages, and the letter goes direct."

November 29th the first telegraphic dispatch was sent from Detroit to Ypsilanti, this being the extent at that time of the line. Judge John J. Speed and Ezra Cornell were the promoters, this being a link in the line they contracted to build between Buffalo and Milwaukee. Not until some time later was it possible to communicate with the east in this manner, the first dispatch from New York being received March 1, 1848, the same day that Horace Greeley visited Detroit.

With the completion and publication of a geological survey of the state the influx of immigrants was accentuated, and the state again became the objective point of eastern homeseekers. At this time (1837) the "internal improvement" craze was at its height, surveys were made for canals with prodigate generosity, and rights-of-way of several railways were in the grubbing stage of development. Contracts were let for the building of a line of railway from Detroit to Pontiac, and the Detroit and Pontiac Railroad Company was empowered to organize and conduct a bank at Pontiac, which it was thought would facilitate the financing of the railroad project. It was not, however, until after the state had loaned the company one hundred thousand dollars, in 1838, that any part of the line was placed in operation. This was in 1838. During that year, the track—a timber and strap iron affair characteristic of all the roads of that period reached from Detroit to Royal Oak. Before the Pontiac line had reached Birmingham, cars were in operation over the Michigan Central between Detroit and Dearborn. The latter line was originally projected as the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad, and had been incorporated two years after the Pontiac enterprise was legally born. The exploitation of the line afterward known as the Michigan Central was most ably conducted, and a noted government engineer was detailed by the war department to make the initial surveys of the line. Later the company was granted banking privileges at Ypsilanti, and was financially assisted by the City of Detroit to the tune of \$50,000 in stock subscriptions. In 1837 the line was purchased by the state and its control placed in the hands of the board of internal improvements which substituted the name of Michigan Central for that of the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad. At first these lines were operated by horse power, but what was then looked upon as the crowning achievement of progress, occurred, and a real steam locomotive was introduced and used in 1837 by the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad. This line, which was chartered in 1833 to extend from Toledo into Michigan, reached Adrian in 1836. Regarding this enterprise, "Landmarks of Detroit" says: "A law was passed establishing the Michigan Southern Railroad which was intended to be fostered by the state, and a perpetual lease of the Toledo and Adrian line was obtained. Another line was built from Adrian to Monroe, with a view of making it a connecting link between the two most southerly Michigan ports—Monroe on Lake Erie and New Buffalo on Lake Michigan. After spending in the neighborhood of one million dollars on the construction of the line the burden of the indebtedness became heavy for the people to bear, and the credit of the state being at a low ebb, the road was sold to a corporation for five hundred thousand dollars. The new owners of the road concluded to make its terminus at Chicago, instead of New Buffalo.

The citizens of Detroit being anxious to aid any scheme which promised better transportation facilities, and to promote in every way the welfare of all railroads seeking an entrance to their city, allowed the Pontiac line to run its cars down Dequindre street and the Gratiot road, to a station near the present site of the Detroit Opera House, while the Michigan Central was granted the use of the Chicago road (now Michigan avenue), and a station site at the southeast corner of Michigan avenue and Griswold street, where the city hall is now located.

The Pontiac company through its failure to keep its tracks in passable condition, in spite of many ordinances passed directing that this be done, became very unpopular with the citizens, who, taking the matter in their own hands, inaugurated a series of night attacks upon the property of the company. Armed with picks and shovels, they sallied forth under the cover of darkness and ripped up the tracks of the Pontiac company on the Gratiot road and in Dequindre street. Guards were placed along the line and a number of arrests were made, but these tactics did not stop the tearing up of the tracks. Finally ground at what is now the foot of Brush street was purchased, Gratiot road was abandoned and the line crossing Jefferson avenue at Dequindre street ran down the river front to what is now the antiquated looking Grand Trunk and Lake Shore & Michigan Southern depot. In passing, it is but justice to say that, had it not been for the building of the new union depot, made necessary by the construction by the Michigan Central of the international tunnel under the Detroit river, the Brush street depot would have been torn down and a new one erected. As it is, these roads will use the new union depot at Eighteenth and Rose streets, when that structure shall be complete, which will be two or three years from now (1912).

During the successive incorporations of railroads during the early days, a company secured a charter from the state for what was known as the Oakland and Ottawa line. Early in 1855 the legislature authorized the combination of the Detroit & Pontiac line with the Oakland and Ottawa, the two properties to be known as the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad. Grand Haven was the objective point of the line on Lake Michigan, and in 1858 the Detroit & Milwaukee line reached that point, passing through Owosso and Ionia. In 1859 transport steamers were placed in operation between Grand Haven and Milwaukee, thus opening up a through line between that city and Detroit. As both parties to the consolidation were heavily involved financially, default was made in the payments on the mortgages given for construction loans, and the Detroit & Milwaukee was sold to the Great Western Railroad Company, which was, in turn, absorbed by the Grand Trunk which still owns and operates the system.

In the meantime, the Michigan Central had been steadily pushing its rails westward. An elaborate entertainment was given Governor Mason and a party of distinguished citizens from Detroit at Ypsilanti, at the time of the first excursion between these two points, the first train over the line being run in February, 1838. In the fall of the following year a similar entertainment was furnished when the road ran its first through train between Detroit and Ann Arbor. At that

time the Detroit terminal of the road was extended down Woodward avenue from the Campus Martius toward the river, and sidings were put in for the accommodation of merchants doing business between Woodward avenue and Brush street. This track was later abandoned as the business district of the city grew, and in 1848 Michigan Central trains ran into a station upon the site now occupied by the handsome Third street depot. In 1846 the tracks of the Michigan Central had been laid as far west as Kalamazoo, from which place a line of stage coaches carried passengers to New Buffalo; thence the trip to Chicago was continued by steamers. This made a thirty-six hour journey from Detroit to Chicago, for which each passenger was charged six dollars and fifty cents.

Although the Michigan Central, from the time of its completion to Kalamazoo, was making money, the financial condition of the state was such that it became necessary to realize on some of the money tied up in the railroad branch of the development of the commonwealth, and a sale of the bonds was attempted at Albany. This scheme failed and the attorney general, H. N. Walker, and George F. Porter organized a purchasing company at New York. This corporation took over the road on September 23, 1846, for the sum of two million dollars. In this way the state disposed of a going property for an amount within \$45,000 of what it cost them.

The new company had easy sailing. It found a special charter awaiting its formation. In addition to the operation of a steamboat line between Detroit and Buffalo, it pushed the construction of its line to the west. It was now a race for the western shore of Lake Michigan between the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern, the state's interest in the latter road also having been disposed of. The rails of the Michigan Central were laid to New Buffalo in 1849, but owing to opposition to extending the line into Illinois, the road was compelled to make traffic arrangements. This was done through the acquisition of stock in an Indiana railroad having a connection with the Illinois Central, with which running agreements were made, thus giving the Michigan line an entrance to Chicago.

The Michigan Southern pursued the same course, but the Michigan Central succeeded in getting into Chicago just one day in advance of the Southern.

The Michigan Central, seeking an eastern connection, interested itself in the Great Western, and after the expiration of the charter of the Detroit and Niagara, a rival company, spent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in completing the Great Western, thus making a through route from Chicago to Buffalo.

January 17, 1854, was a great day for Detroit. The Great Western railroad was completed from Buffalo to Windsor, and for the first time rail communication was opened direct between Detroit and New York and the east. The first train arrived in Windsor at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, three hours late. The distinguished men who had made the trip crossed the river on a ferryboat, there was a parade through the streets of Detroit and later 1,700 persons partook of a dinner served in the long freight house adjoining the Third street depot. The cele-

bration cost the city \$4,329.90, and the bills were paid by the aldermen without a word of protest. In February the "Transit," the first railway ferryboat, made her trial trip with passenger cars on board.

In April, 1851, began the trial of thirty-three persons known as the Michigan Central Railroad conspirators, the case continuing for four months, at the end of which time twelve persons were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment.

Though the people had welcomed the railroads and had at first supported liberally every transportation enterprise fostered by the state, a revulsion of feeling occurred when outside capital secured control of the Michigan Central. Disputes about the settlement of claims for damages embittered the farmers living along the line and an open warfare began. Upon their failure to secure, by peaceful means, redress for losses, the farmers started what was at first, a mild form of annoyance, but, this having no effect, they grew bolder and some of the lawless spirits derailed trains, tore up and blockaded tracks, and otherwise destroyed railroad property. Not content with this, they carried the war into the enemy's camp and burned the company's freight station at Detroit inflicting upon the company a loss approximating one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. This outrage occurred in November, 1850, but it was not until six months later that the company's representatives were able to gather sufficient evidence to justify arrests. In April, 1851, thirty-eight suspects, among whom were a number of well-to-do and influential farmers, were confined in jail awaiting trial. Though twelve men were sentenced to imprisonment, the property of the company was not safe, and the Detroit car-shops were burned in 1851. Three years later the company's passenger station was laid in ashes by incendiaries.

Cholera again swept Detroit in the fall of 1849, there being upwards of three hundred deaths. The first annual fair of the Michigan State Agricultural Society was held in September, on a tract of vacant ground on Woodward avenue at Duffield street.

Recognizing the need of more extensive rail communication, a meeting of citizens on January 29, 1869, voted to raise \$100,000 in aid of the Detroit, Hillsdale & Southwestern Railroad, and the following January \$300,000 was voted in aid of the Detroit, Lansing & Northern Railroad.

Detroiters were liberal in their response to appeals for aid in other directions, as witness the fact that on October 9, 1871, \$25,000 was raised in one hour for the relief of Chicago's fire victims, while three days later there was a further tender of money and supplies for sufferers from forest fires which swept along the shores of Lake Huron and in the vicinity of Manistee.

August 21, 1872, the board of trade and common council left on an excursion to Indianapolis, on the occasion of the opening of the Detroit & Eel River Railroad, now a part of the Wabash system.

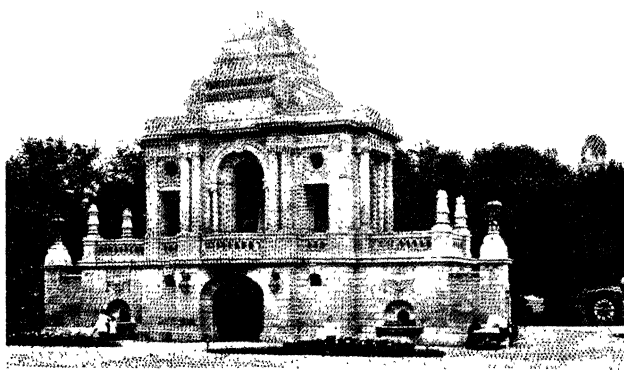
In July, 1873, the Detroit & Bay City Railroad was completed to Bay City, and about the same time the last of the old stage lines disappeared*

* Further details of railroad development will be found in the chapters on "Transportation."

The first telephone service in Detroit was installed in 1877 between the *Detroit Free Press* office and the offices of Frederick Stearns & Company, then located near the foot of Fourth street. On June 2, 1878, the *Free Press* took another forward stride by making use of a Bullock perfecting press and the papier-mache process of casting printing plates—the first time in Michigan. This year telephones were first supplied the citizens.

August 14, 1881, witnessed the arrival of the first through train from St. Louis, the Detroit, Butler & St. Louis Railroad having been completed between the two cities, Detroit giving a bonus of \$200,000 to assist the enterprise.

Back in the early seventies the question of public parks began to be agitated. It was not until the spring of 1879, however, that the pro-



HURLBUT MEMORIAL

posal to purchase Belle Isle and convert it into a park was seriously advanced. The idea was first conceived by L. L. Barbour, and he interested several other prominent citizens, with the result that in the end the city was enabled to purchase the entire island for \$200,000. There was some opposition to the plan. Even after the city had come into possession of the island it was suggested that it be cut up into building lots, but this raised a storm of protest. Today the value of Belle Isle to the city is beyond computation.†

The year 1880 saw the introduction of electric lights into Detroit, this being one of the first cities in the country to use them. A small Brush dynamo was placed in the basement of the *Free Press* building and a circuit of fifteen lights was distributed among subscribers in the neighborhood. The next year the Brush Electric Light Company was reorganized and, with added capital, engaged extensively in supplying both light and power. In 1893 the city decided to own its own

† See chapter on "Parks and Boulevards."

electric light plant and bonds to the extent of \$600,000 were issued for the purpose.

Legislation in behalf of Detroit's Grand boulevard was obtained in 1879 and the boulevard was surveyed and dedicated in 1882.

The first great impetus to art in Detroit came with the art loan of 1883, this resulting in the erection of a building on Larned street east in which public exhibitions were held for several years. Shortly afterward Hon. Thomas W. Palmer offered donations from several individuals amounting to \$100,000 if \$40,000 could be raised from other sources to establish a permanent art gallery. Instead of \$40,000 the sum was increased by subscriptions to \$100,000, and the present Museum of Art was opened September 1, 1888.

In 1883 St. Joseph's Retreat at Dearborn was opened. The next year saw the completion of the main building of Harper hospital, also the House of the Good Shepherd. Grace hospital was founded in 1886 and the McGregor Home came into existence in 1891. The Protestant orphan asylum, which this year celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary, moved into its present home on Jefferson avenue in 1892.

The Detroit International Fair and Exposition, quite the most pretentious enterprise of this nature ever undertaken locally, opened for the first time September 2, 1889, continuing each autumn through 1892. It was conducted on the ground now occupied by the Solvay Process Company, just beyond Fort Wayne. As an industrial exhibition it was a pronounced success, but it proved a financial failure. In 1884 the Michigan State Fair was held in the exposition grounds and proved the most successful up to that time. The following year the property was disposed of.

January 21, 1893, was a memorable occasion, for on that day the first train ran into the Fort street union depot.

The year 1891 will long be remembered because of the great street railway strike, which resulted in Detroiters walking to and from work for some time and was responsible for the introduction of arbitration as a medium for the settlement of difficulties between the company and its employes, a practice that has been continued.

Excavating for the present postoffice building was begun June 29, 1890, and the first floor was occupied by the postoffice department on November 27, 1897, the federal courts and other departments moving into the building in 1898.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DETROIT'S SHARE IN THE SPANISH WAR—STATE SENDS FIVE REGIMENTS WITH THE LARGEST SHARE FROM DETROIT.

On April 23, 1898, President McKinley issued a call for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers to serve in the Spanish-American war. Michigan's quota was four thousand one hundred and four, to consist of four regiments of infantry, each comprising ten hundred and twenty-six officers and men. As usual the state lived up to its splendid reputation. On April 24th Governor Pingree instructed the Adjutant General of the state to issue an order for the mobilization of the entire National Guard at Island Lake, a spot then used by the state troops as a summer camping-ground and school of instruction.

The date of assembly was placed at April 26th, the adjutant general assumed command, and the work of reforming the Michigan troops to meet the demands of the national government was at once begun. The second independent battalion was assigned to the First Infantry, together with the acceptance of eight companies from different localities in the state, to complete the Third and Fifth regiments. The regiments thus organized were designated the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, and Thirty-fourth regiments of Michigan Volunteer Infantry. Of the Thirty-first, three companies (I, K and L) were made up mainly of men from Detroit, including Colonel Cornelius Gardiner commanding; Charles W. Harragh, major; Andrew P. Biddle, surgeon; Frederick L. Abel, first lieutenant and adjutant; and Allen D. McLean, hospital steward. The other field and staff officers were men from other portions of the state. The regimental band had three representatives from Detroit, and Companies I and K were all Detroiters. This was also true of Company L, with the exception of one musician. The death roll of this regiment incidental to the service was fourteen men. Company I, of the Thirty-second, including its officers, was made up of men from Wayne county, and the county also gave a large percentage of officers and men to K, L and M, of the Thirty-second. The death list of this regiment was twenty-one men. The Thirty-fourth regiment had on its roster eight men from Detroit including one officer, Colonel William Latimer. The Thirty-fifth regiment had two men as staff officers and a few from Wayne county in the ranks.

On the tenth of May, 1898, the enlistment and muster of the Thirty-first regiment was completed and on May 15th, under command of Colonel Gardiner, it left for Chickamauga Park, Georgia, in the service

of the United States. The Thirty-second was mustered into the service of the United States May 4, 1898, and on May 19th, under command of Colonel William T. McGurkin, left Island Lake for Tampa, Florida. The Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth were mustered in May 24th and 25th, under the commands of Colonel Charles L. Boynton and John P. Petreman, respectively. The Thirty-third left for Camp Alger, Virginia, May 28th, and the Thirty-fourth followed for the same place June 6th. The Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Michigan regiments participated in General Shafter's expedition against Santiago, and bore their full share of the hardships and dangers of that campaign.

The Thirty-first Michigan remained in various southern camps until January 25, 1899, when it was transferred to Cuba, where it served until April 25th of the same year. As the Thirty-second had none on its roster from Wayne county, it is not further mentioned here, although it shared in upholding the reputation of the state. The Thirty-fifth did not become actively engaged, as the exigences of the war did not demand its interposition. It was, however, recognized as a fine regiment and splendid command in both personnel and equipment.

Governor Pingree, himself a veteran of the Civil war, took an intense interest in the welfare of the Michigan men. During the mobilization and reorganization of the National Guard at Island lake, he was almost constantly there, and when reports came from southern camps of unsanitary conditions, consequent illness, and mortality among the soldiers, he sent representatives to inquire into the reports and personally visited some of the camps. It was largely through his efforts that conditions were improved, and all through the war he was active in following the fortunes of the troops from the state. The daily papers of Detroit had special correspondents with the troops of the state and their movements were fully set forth during their comparatively short service.

CHAPTER XXIX

STEADY GROWTH OF THE CITY—JUDGE WOODWARD'S PLAN PARTIALLY ADHERED TO—BECAME THE CENTER OF TRADE FOR THE NORTH AND WEST—POPULATION CROWDING THE HALF-A-MILLION MARK—IMMENSE INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES—PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY—MOVEMENT FOR BETTER TRADE RELATIONS WITH CANADA ORIGINATES IN DETROIT.

Each year during the life of the city, from the time it arose from the ashes in 1805, better, stronger and more progressive than before, has been a record of steady advance. During the earlier years, it was, in proportion to the population, a remarkable progress; yet, when compared with the phenomenal growth of the past ten or fifteen years, the progress of early days seems slow.

When, in 1805, fire swept every house from the city's streets save one, an opportunity was given for the remodeling of the place. The town, as has before been explained, was then under the anomalous rule of the territorial governor and three supreme court judges. The ruling spirit of the latter portion of this experimental municipal government was Judge Augustus B. Woodward. While in Washington he became enamored of the plan of that city, as first conceived by the eminent French architect L'Enfant. The Judge adapted the plan to the requirements of Detroit. As originally designed, a complete circle, called the Grand Circus park, was to be the central point. Through the center of this were to be two streets one hundred and twenty feet wide, dividing it into quarters. From the outer rim of this circle were to be avenues alternately 200 and 120 feet wide. As the city grew, new focal points were to be established where avenues met the streets radiating from Grand Circus, and thus numerous open spaces would have dotted the city. William Stocking, statistician of the Detroit Board of Commerce, in the "Book of Detroiters," admirably outlines the development:

"The plan met with derision from the associates of Judge Woodward and was ridiculed by the people. But it was carried out in part. The south half of the Grand Circus remains. From it radiate two avenues with 200 feet width and two of 120 feet. Through its center runs Woodward avenue, 120 feet wide, extending from the river six miles to the northerly city limits, the lower end being the center of the principal retail district, and the rest of it the location of some of the finest

residence sections. Part of the plan remains, also, in the Campus Martius and Cadillac Square, one-half mile south of the Grand Circus, open spaces, around which are grouped the City Hall, the County building, the largest hotel, the largest opera house and a number of modern office buildings. Crossing Woodward avenue at right angles, still farther down, is Jefferson avenue, also 120 feet wide. The lower end is devoted to wholesale houses; other portions of it are adorned with handsome residences surrounded by spacious grounds. Numerous triangular parks were formed by the intersections of diagonal streets, and the transformation from the irregular and uninviting town to the well planned and attractive city was complete.

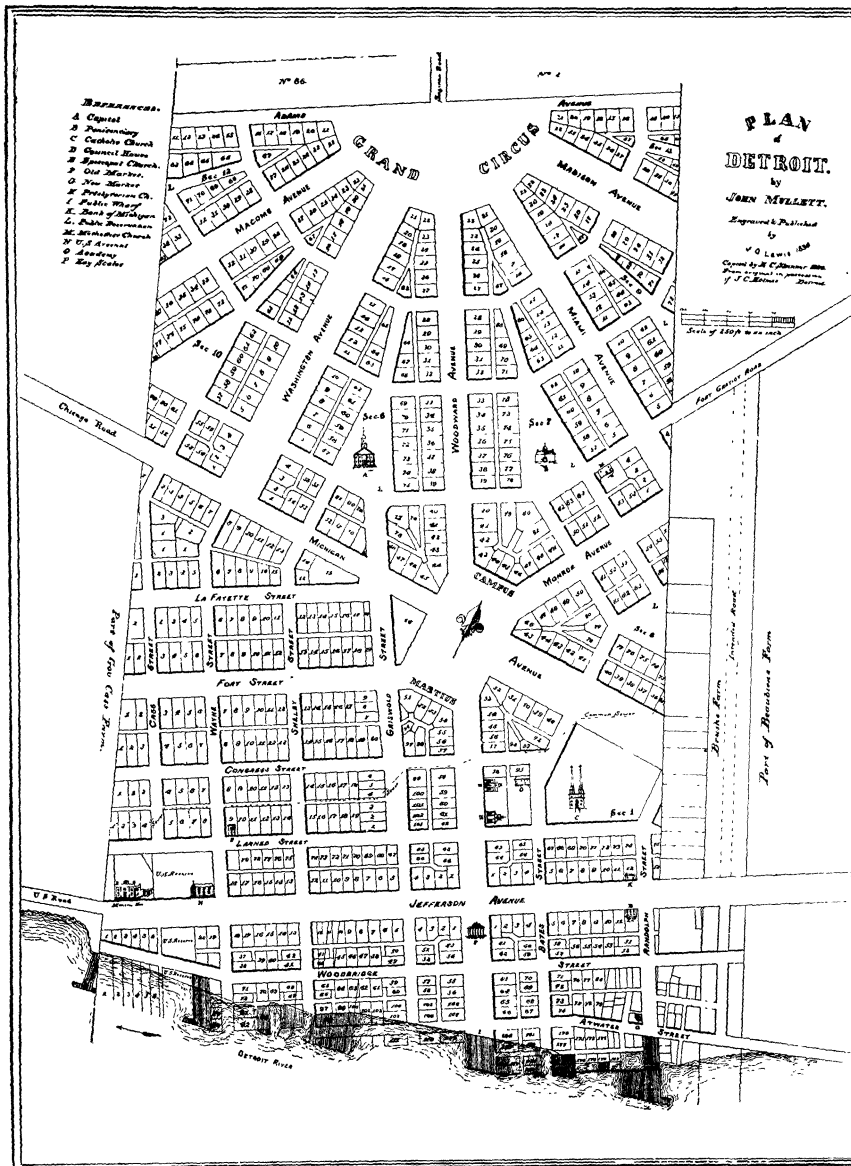
"The example of wide streets set by these portions of the Governor and Judge's plan has been followed by many subsequent platting. There are three long business avenues 100 feet wide and many residence streets 60 and 80 feet wide. Tree planting was encouraged at a very early date and has ever since been continued, so that the city has become known as one of well shaded as well as wide and well paved streets.

"The park and boulevard system has worthily supplemented the original platting. In the river, opposite the east end of the city, is an island, 700 acres in extent, which was acquired by the city 30 years ago. Its surface was originally forest and swamp. Part of the forest has been left in its native wildness; other portions have been cleared and transformed under the touch of skillful landscape artists. The swamps have been displaced by lakes, and these, connected by canals, give a long stretch of enticing waters for rowboats and canoes.

"A portion of the center is occupied by a zoological enclosure. Near by is a horticultural building and an aquarium that ranks among the best in the world. These, with other attractions, make the island one of the most unique and interesting parks in the country.

"Belle Isle is connected with the main land by a bridge about half a mile long. From this starts Grand boulevard, 150 feet, and in some places 200 feet, wide and twelve miles long, encircling the city and terminating in a small park and dock at the western end. The roadway is macadamized and the sides and center have park-like treatment through the whole length. Palmer park of 140 acres in the northerly part of the city, Clark park of 30 acres in the western part, and smaller parks on the river front and other sections add to the attractions which together have given Detroit the deserved reputation of being one of the most beautiful cities in the country."

Detroit had from the outset been the natural commercial metropolis of the country, west and north. It was the terminus of the steamboat and stage lines, besides being a most important lake port from which the upper country was almost wholly supplied by Detroit merchants, and from which merchandise, brought by boat, was distributed into the interior, being the converging point of the territorial roads which led into the new settlements. It was nearly along the line of these roads that the first railway lines were built, and many lines since constructed have had Detroit as an objective, or a starting point. The advantage given by the location was followed up by an enterprising and



MULLETT'S MAP OF THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES PLAN AND MILITARY RESERVATIONS IN 1830

energetic body of men who personally pushed their trade. It is an interesting fact that, of the Detroit pioneers in this trade, one afterwards became Michigan's most distinguished senator and two others became governors of the state. The advantages of location have continued, and with the growth of the city and the settlement of the country the field covered has widened. It now includes not only the whole of Michigan, but northern Ohio and Indiana; parts of Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and in some branches, Canada and South Dakota.

For all lines Detroit has some advantages over the larger eastern cities. Rents and taxes are much less. Crating, carting and terminal charges are light compared with those in New York. On many goods there is a great advantage in freights. Detroit dry goods merchants early commenced the direct importation of goods from Europe and have always continued the practice. Many American-made goods are brought direct from the manufacturer, thus making a saving of one commission to the country merchant. In some lines goods are laid down in Detroit at the same price as in New York, thus saving to the country merchant freight as well as commission. Similar advantages accrue to other lines. As a consequence Detroit stands well in all branches of wholesale trade, and pre-eminent in some. It is one of the best wholesale drug markets in the country, being second in the volume of its business only to Philadelphia. It ranks high as a hardware market, and has some superior advantages for the general grocery trade and its specialized branches. The wholesale dealers to the number of 100 have recently organized an efficient association for the purpose of further promoting their interests.

The industrial prosperity and rapid growth of Detroit make it a particularly good point for all branches of the retail trade. But it has one peculiar advantage. Its suburban railway system makes it the center of a metropolitan district having a radius of 60 to 70 miles in every direction. The district, including the city, contains nearly one-fourth the population of the state. Every city and village in the district is reached by the trolley system, which gives frequent and rapid service, both passenger and freight. This addition to the natural advantages for retail business which the city possesses is of great value to trade.

Unexcelled residence attractions, both for employers and employes, favorable labor conditions, good municipal government, a light public debt, a low rate of taxation and an excellent home market are among the other inducements to the location of factories in Detroit.

The city first cut an appreciable figure in the census returns of manufactures in 1860. In the next ten years the capital invested increased 256 per cent. and the value of the product 303 per cent. This was a period of inflated values and the selling price of the product increased by a much larger percentage than the quantity of the output. From 1870 to 1880 was a period of declining values, and while the quantity of manufactured goods increased, the total returns for the product remained nearly stationary. Since 1880 each decade has shown a substantial increase. In that year Detroit was the nineteenth city in the country in the value of its manufactured product; in 1890 it was sixteenth and in 1900 it was fifteenth; it is now probably as high as twelfth.

Within the past seven years Detroit has made more rapid growth than in any previous period of equal length, and more rapid than any other city of its class. A state census taken in 1904, with the aid of federal agents, furnished a measure of the first part of this expansion. Some of the items from the official tables were as follows:

	1900	1904	Inc.
Number of establishments.....	1,263	1,363	7.9
Capital employed	\$67,544,972	\$91,228,214	35.1
Number of wage earners.....	38,481	48,879	27
Wages paid	15,392,527	22,786,576	48
Cost of materials.....	47,175,012	66,794,969	41.6
Value of product	88,649,635	128,761,658	45.2

The figures are only for establishments working under the factory system. If hand trades were included as they were in the government tables up to 1900, they would add from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 to the product. Manufactories in adjacent villages, which were for business purposes essentially a part of Detroit, had a product in 1900 of about \$10,000,000, and in 1904 of \$12,000,000. Three of these villages have since been annexed to the city.

The census classification failed to give some of the most important industries separately, and for a number of them business has been much more active since than it was in the census year. For these reasons the Board of Commerce undertook a separate inquiry upon the business of 1905 and has followed it up by subsequent investigation. Unprecedented activity in carbuilding, shipbuilding and some of the iron manufactories, and the addition of new industries brought the total product for 1905 up to \$170,000,000 and for 1906 to \$180,000,000. These figures are given to afford an idea by comparison, of the phenomenal growth of the city during the past five years.

The incorporated companies doing business in manufactures in 1910 numbered 746 with a total capital of \$155,198,410, an increase during the decade just closed of 90 per cent in number, and \$262 per cent in capital.

In the first eleven months of 1910, 76 established companies increased their capital stock \$16,010,500, as against an increase by 51 companies in 1909 of \$16,328,500. Among the industries which show the greatest increase in the output of their factories are stoves, soda ash, and kindred products, ship-building, car building, special lines of furniture, such as tables, chairs, etc.; and the whole range of iron, steel, and brass products.

The population of this city was at the close of 1910, according to official figures, 465,766. This census gives Detroit a higher percentage of increase than any city in the United States of the same, or higher rank. In 1900, the population was 285,704, showing a gain of 63 per cent during the decade. During this period, the city increased its area from 29 to 41.44 square miles, thus annexing three populous villages which were already a part of it in a business sense, though outside the city limits.

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The census tables in Detroit present an interesting study. The population, according to the United States enumeration at the end of the different decades, and the state enumeration in 1904, with the percentages of increase, were as follows:

Year	Pop.	Inc.	Year	Pop.	Inc.
1810	1,650	...	1870	79,577	74
1820	1,442	*7	1880	116,340	46
1830	2,222	54	1890	205,876	77
1840	9,102	311	1900	285,704	39
1850	21,019	123	1910	465,766	63
1860	45,619	117			

From 1810 to 1820 the population of the state increased 87 per cent., while that of the city fell off. Between 1820 and 1830 the population of the territory increased 256 per cent., while that of Detroit increased only 54 per cent. In the next decade the territory increased 577 per cent. and the city 311. Since then the city has gained steadily on the rest of the commonwealth in which it is situated. In 1840 it had one twenty-third part of the population of the state; now it has about one-seventh. These variations in the percentage of increase in population and in its relation to that of the state are easily explainable. Between 1810 and 1820 occurred the British occupation of Detroit and losses by war in this vicinity, and the people became scattered. The decade from 1820 to 1830 was the period in which the opening of the Erie canal started a rural migration westward, and the settlement of the interior of Michigan received its first impulse. The newcomers did not tarry in the city. Between 1870 and 1880 occurred the panic of 1873, and the business depression which lasted for over four years. The demand for manufactured goods diminished, with a corresponding falling off in consumption and in the demand for labor. Foreign immigration and the rush of men from the country to the cities declined, and a low percentage in the increase of urban settlement was the result. Between 1880 and 1890 business was more prosperous, labor was in greater demand, building revived, and the current of population again set toward the industrial centers. In this decade also there was a large annexation of adjacent territory to Detroit. Between 1890 and 1900 occurred another long period of business depression, commencing with the panic of 1893, aggravated by the free silver agitation of 1896, and still further accentuated by the tariff legislation of 1894 and by tariff uncertainties for three years longer.

The rapid industrial growth so noticeable during the years 1908 and 1909, continued through the early part of 1910, at an accelerated speed. The influx of workmen was so great that it was difficult to put up houses rapidly enough to accommodate them. Even at that it was hard to get workmen, especially skilled mechanics, and advertisements were placed in eastern papers. The Detroit Board of Commerce, so great was the need of the higher class of labor, issued and sent to Eng-

* Decrease, per cent.

land 25,000 copies of an illustrated book calling attention to the advantages of Detroit. This was done with the hope of inducing immigration.

The crest of this industrial wave was reached in September, 1910. While the factories are working to their normal capacity, and some are working overtime, there is now difficulty in securing all the skilled mechanics required. The total business of the year was in excess of 1909, acknowledged to be the banner twelve months in the business history of Detroit. A few comparative figures here will be of interest.

GENERAL ITEMS	1909	1910
Number of families (June, 1910)	99,779	101,242
Assessed valuation (April, 1910)	\$359,819,910	\$377,335,380
City tax levy	6,329,536	6,837,636

BANK STATEMENTS (NOVEMBER)

Total resources	\$153,656,281	\$166,613,226
Capital and surplus	18,410,000	20,130,000
Savings deposits	54,859,163	62,747,050
Total deposits	129,492,000	140,786,000
Clearings	700,000,000	900,000,000

FEDERAL BUSINESS (11 MONTHS)

Exports	\$34,718,863	\$36,999,326
Imports	6,486,115	7,358,499
Post office receipts	1,690,214	1,915,745
Internal revenues	4,879,315	6,147,291

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION (11 MONTHS)

Number of permits	4,104	5,151
Estimated cost	\$13,217,780	\$15,808,375
Manufacturing buildings	193	224
Cost	2,288,967	2,920,070

MANUFACTURING (11 MONTHS)

New corporations	184	212
Subscribed capital	\$6,198,990	\$8,659,886
Paid in capital	4,283,142	6,381,134
Old companies increase capital	14,413,500	16,010,500

To the cost of buildings for manufacturing purposes should be added \$700,000 for factories just beyond the city limits, but owned and operated by Detroit capital, for the city has again overstepped its boundaries. The annexation of two more villages, which is likely to occur soon, will largely increase the city's official business figures and place it in the half-million class as far as population is concerned.

While every branch of manufacturing has been expanding, the ad-

vance in the automobile industry has been the most astonishing. The following are the figures compiled by the companies themselves and furnished to the Detroit Board of Commerce for the season just closed:

Capital	\$35,425,000
Men employed	27,200
Number of cars built	114,120
Value of product	134,587,000

The work of automobile factories now in hand on orders, bids fair to equal in volume that of 1910.

The annual exports from Detroit for the year 1910 amounted to \$40,970,509, exceeding by \$482,214 those of 1909, and considerably more than double those of ten years ago. These figures are for the goods sent from this place as a port of departure and do not, by any means, include the total exports, as many lines are shipped abroad from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and from Pacific coast points.

The most striking feature of this foreign trade, as shown by the Detroit customs house records, is its distribution to foreign countries. The relative proportion of goods shipped to Ontario and Quebec from this point has materially increased since 1907, its total this year being \$26,955,556. The value of products going direct to England in 1910 is given as \$10,632,281. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia come next with \$1,783,522. The enormous proportion of 99.3 per cent of the total exports from Detroit, as a port of departure, went to Great Britain, its colonies and dependencies. This distribution is as follows:

Canadian North America, including	
Newfoundland	\$29,016,679
England, Scotland and Ireland	10,994,313
Australia and New Zealand	324,918
British South Africa	364,279
British India	240
Total	\$40,699,290

The direct exports to Germany from Detroit were valued at \$181,399, and the small remainder was distributed between Japan, Belgium, China, France, Turkey, the Straits Settlements and Norway. The trade with Japan was smaller than in former years, and not a dollar's worth was shipped from Detroit, or passed through here, for Mexico.

The exports of half a million dollars and over were:

Breadstuffs, of which \$1,791.35, was in corn, and \$301.315 in prepared foods	\$2,410,515
Cars, carriages, and other vehicles of which \$2,106,615 was in automobiles, and parts	2,586,775
Chemicals, drugs and medicines	950,706
Coal and coke	1,058,317
Cotton and manufactures thereof	4,706,433

Fruits	\$783,727
Furs and fur skins	582,518
Iron and steel and the manufactures thereof, fifty different classes being specified, of which \$2,727,771 was in twenty-one classes of machinery.	6,514,513
Leather and manufactures thereof, double that of 1909	2,468,777
Meat products, of which \$9,167,920 was in hog products.	9,851,762
Paper and manufactures thereof, of which \$346,770 was in books and engravings	677,496
Wood and manufactures thereof, of which \$1,813,251 was sawed lumber	3,267,196

The International tunnel built by the Michigan Central Railroad has been completed, and freight and passenger trains are run over it regularly. It is clean and without gases, lighted and operated by electricity. The fact that an underground means of transportation existed during the winter has been the means of avoiding the many vexatious delays caused by ferrying cars through the ice in the Detroit river.

The new Union depot now being constructed near Eighteenth and Rose streets will be directly on the main line east and west. This will obviate the necessity of switching cars back to the present depot at Third street, and will enable the roads using the tunnel to cut down the time of their through trains between the east and the west and vice versa.

A glance at the export statistics will at once explain the attitude of the business interests and newspapers of Detroit upon the questions of better trade relations between Canada and the United States. The contention is made, and apparently borne out by the figures, that an arrangement for reciprocity, as contained in the agreement placed before the United States senate by President Taft, will injure the agricultural interests of neither the states nor Canada. In fact, it might be stated that the first well organized movement for reciprocity in Canada had its origin in Detroit.

Now that the facts have been made public, through the report of the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association, there can be no violation of confidence or revelation of diplomatic secrets. A meeting of business men was called and addressed by prominent Detroit men, as well as by R. D. Sutherland, then speaker of the Canadian House of Commons. The speaker stated that Canada would never again appeal to the United States for reciprocal relations; that its great resources were being developed and the nation was bound, therefore, to be prosperous. His address was an exposition of the situation from the Canadian standpoint, but was an unofficial utterance of his personal views. As a result of the meeting, resolutions were adopted requesting President Roosevelt to seek power at the hands of congress to arrange better trade relations, or take, if possible, the initiative in negotiations. Private advices from Washington were to the effect that, if the business interests of Detroit or other border cities would secure from the Canadian government, an unofficial announcement that the Dominion would receive suggestions from the United States, the latter government would take initial steps in negotiations. A meeting between the business interests of Detroit and the Canadian government

was being arranged when the last presidential campaign came on. Other border cities strongly endorsed the position taken by Detroit, and some of the commercial bodies of Canada.

It was deemed advisable by the incoming administration to await the result of legislative action regarding the tariff before any further steps looking to a diplomatic solution of the question were taken. When the maximum and minimum clause was introduced in the Payne bill in the house, it was at once seen that it was automatic, and, compelling other countries to take the initiative debarred Canada from its provisions, as the self-respect of the Dominion would preclude it from again seeking the United States for reciprocity, even if that course were deemed desirable on the part of Canada. The senate discretionary maximum and minimum clause was then substituted for the house provision. The latter allowed the president to use his own judgment as to the declaration of the minimum clause. When Ontario and Quebec placed an export duty on pulp and pulp wood cut from the lands of these provinces, paragraph 495 of the new tariff law made it obligatory on the part of the United States government to levy a retaliatory duty. It was deemed that the levy of the export duty by Quebec and Ontario was a discrimination against the United States, which under the Payne bill, would prohibit the president from giving Canada the benefit of the minimum clause through the twenty-five per cent ad valorem duties imposed as the maximum in addition to the schedule charges. The view was taken by Detroit business interests, and so represented to Washington, that in placing an export duty on pulp wood and pulp, Canada was only following the example of the United States and was thus simply conserving her own resources, a precedent this country had set. This view seemed satisfactory, as President Taft declared the minimum under the Payne bill in force between Canada and the United States.

CHAPTER XXX

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT—STEADY INCREASE OF THE BUSINESS OF THE CITY—SPLENDID WORK OF THE BOARD OF COMMERCE, AND OF THE WHOLESALERS' AND MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

Largeness is a characteristic of the business interests of Detroit. Its manufacturers are vast in volume, distributed to a territory the vastness of which is circumscribed only by the boundaries of the world. Its factories for its specialized industries are among the largest in the world, and its manufacturers and merchants, if not the largest in stature, are such in achievement.

Talk of business depression passes over Detroit as lightly as water from the back of a duck. The reasons for this are obvious. The credit of Detroit firms is of the best. The companies are virtually close corporations in which men of means and public spirit are directors. There is never any difficulty in securing the cash with which to make the wheels go round. The mechanical part of the business is always the most modern, the workmen, well paid and skilled, are happy and contented and put their best endeavors into their work with the consequence that the goods are better constructed and better finished than those of almost any other city that might be mentioned.

Being well paid, these skilled and unskilled mechanics, who form so large and creditable a portion of the population of the city buy the best, whether it be bread, furniture, clothing, dry goods, drugs, shoes, or luxuries such as intelligent men enjoy. It is small wonder, under these circumstances, that the fact that goods are made in Detroit is a stamp of quality and a guarantee of satisfaction.

From one end of the earth to the other this reputation has spread, attracting hither more superior classes of new enterprises than any other city in the country.

With these factories come additions to the population, which, because of the intelligence necessary to make them acceptable workmen in the incoming factories, become desirable citizens and excellent customers for the merchants.

The interurban lines bringing the outlying cities in closer touch with Detroit widen the field of the retailer and increase the business of the wholesaler. Instead of having the 500,000 inhabitants of this city to cater to, the business interests of the metropolis of Michigan have as a clientele the inhabitants of all the cities within a radius of sixty miles. These come in in the morning, do their shopping or ordering of goods

from the wholesaler and manufacturer, and return home in the evening more than ever impressed with the beauty of Detroit, and its advantages as a place in which to do business.

This is not injuring the retailer in the smaller places for to him is brought those from farther out, and the influx of new trade thus provided more than compensates for the drift to the city of those who take advantage of the rapid transit to do their business in Detroit.

The same can be said of the steamboat transportation that places this city in a semi-independent position during navigation and tends to exercise a wholesome restraint on the arrangement of rates by the railroads.

Splendidly endowed by nature for its development, Detroit has made and is making the most of her opportunities and is now rising to the first rank in all things commercial, financial and industrial.

Much of this splendid development is due to the public spirit of the business men of Detroit as shown through its principal business organizations, the Detroit Board of Commerce and the Wholesalers and Manufacturers Association, the history of each of which is an important factor in the general development.

In the early part of 1903 a number of Detroit's leading citizens became impressed with the desirability of combining the most important of its civic and commercial interests in one strong organization. There were then in existence the Board of Trade, which had abandoned most of its former civic activities and confined its work chiefly to trading in grain, flour and seeds; the Real Estate Board, which was neither very strong nor very active; the Chamber of Commerce, an organization in financial straits and with purposes not very well defined; the Convention League, which was somewhat closely affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce; and the Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange, which was the most active and efficient of all.

The latter organization, after earnest consideration by the directors and the general membership, extended invitations to the others to unite in forming one central body, offering if this was done, to abandon its separate organization. The Board of Trade, after careful consideration, decided to retain its separate identity for trading purposes only, but many of its members individually announced their purpose by joining the new organization. The Real Estate Board reached the same conclusion. Although retaining its separate officers and committees, this body has always been on close and friendly terms with the Board of Commerce. Some of its strongest men are members of both bodies and the two have united in support of numerous measures of civic and legislative importance. The Chamber of Commerce and the Convention League accepted the proposition of the Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange, joint committees were appointed, a general plan was outlined, and finally an organization committee of twenty-four members, prominent in business and professional life was appointed. Through this committee the plan of organization was perfected and the Board of Commerce commenced its separate existence June 30, 1903, with 253 charter members who had subscribed \$100 each. It was afterwards decided that the permanent membership should be individual instead of corporate; that the admission fee should be twenty-five dollars and the annual dues

the same. In order to put the charter members on a financial equality with the others, each one was awarded two individual memberships. This arrangement was soon completed so that the board may be said to have commenced business with 500 members. They represented every phase of commercial, mercantile, financial, industrial and professional life. The following directors were elected, for one year: George Hargreaves, William P. Holliday, James Inglis, M. J. Murphy, Thomas Neal, Harry L. Pierson, Frederick B. Smith, Ryerson Ritchie; for two years, George H. Barbour, John B. Howarth, Joseph J. Crowley, Joseph L. Hudson, Antonio C. Pessano, Sigmond Rothschild, and George H. Russel.

The first meeting of the directors was held July 10th. Temporary quarters were taken on the tenth floor of the Hammond building, and permanent quarters were secured in the State Savings Bank Building. Great care was taken in the selection of committees, consent to serve being obtained from every member before the list was announced. An executive committee was appointed, consisting of George Hargreaves, chairman; James Inglis, Thomas Neal, John B. Howarth and Harry L. Pierson, and committees were also appointed on the following subjects: Conventions and publicity, decoration and furnishing, entertainment, first-year members, grade separation, insurance, international bridge, international commerce, legislation, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, manufactures, membership, admission, municipal art, municipal affairs, streets and pavements, taxation, transportation, wholesale trade, smoke abatement; other committees were appointed for temporary service, as new subjects came up demanding attention.

The purposes and methods to be pursued by the board were thus succinctly stated by the first president, Mr. M. J. Murphy, before he had even made up the committees: "The policy of the board will be radically different from that of any former association of the city. In the first place the membership is made up from among Detroit's representative citizens, irrespective of their calling. The professional man or clergyman is as eligible as the merchant or manufacturer. The reason for this lies in the fact that the board is not organized to promote any special business or class interest, but rather to advance the general welfare of the community. The city's commerce and manufactures, speaking in a broad sense, will of course benefit from its activities, but its energies will be chiefly devoted to civic betterment and reform.

"Each department of our work will be placed in the charge of a qualified standing or special committee, each member of which will be chosen because of his especial fitness for the work. Appointments on committees will not be made to compliment or please anyone. Personal efficiency will be the first consideration.

"The organization will do its work through the committees. Suggestions for work will come from the members and all matters which should engage our attention will be referred to committees, to be investigated and studied by them and then submitted to the directors, who will act in a critical and advisory capacity.

"Under the new policy, matters of business or civic interest will not be subject to hasty or ill-advised action; each stage in their consideration insures care and deliberation. The conclusions finally reached are con-

sequently the result of the combined counsel and advice of men of ability and good judgment. When conclusions are reached or success attained, the report of any committee will be given to the public—not before. No premature announcements will be made. Meetings of the directors and committees will be executive.”

The plan having new or controverted subjects threshed out in committee, before being brought up for general discussion, has been generally followed ever since, though in a few cases matters have been referred directly to general meetings without committee reports, and, in three or four, referendum votes have been taken. The committee plan has the advantage of presenting a subject in concise and well-considered form, and of eliminating matters essentially or needlessly controversial. It is very rarely that a committee report of the board has failed to meet the approval of the general membership or the public.

The Board of Commerce, following out its original methods, has been an important factor in the life and development of Detroit. On the commercial side it has been instrumental in bringing many industries to Detroit from other cities; in creating new home industries; in promoting favorable labor conditions; in securing improvements in transportation and postal service, and in giving wide publicity to the advantage offered by Detroit for production and distribution and its attractions as a place of residence.

In civic affairs it has touched almost every subject of local interest—the tax budget; the expenditure of city and county funds; the tax limit; street paving; alley cleaning; improved county roads; grade reparation; smoke abatement; park improvement; abuses in charity solicitation; fire protection and insurance; housing conditions; the saloon question—these are only a part of the subjects it has touched. On all these its committees have been in frequent and friendly conference with the Common Council, Board of Estimates and general city officials.

Its interests also have had wider scope. It sent committees to represent its views to a number of sessions of the legislature of Michigan and to the constitutional convention of 1908; it has also sent delegates to meet committees of congress on a number of subjects. Ever since its public activities commenced, in 1903, it has been the leading commercial organization in the country in advocacy of reciprocal trade relations with Canada.

The recent growth of the board has been rapid and its influence cumulative. Its membership April 1, 1905, was 658; in 1906, 968; in 1909, 1,154; in 1910, 1,221, and in 1911, 2,374. Its presidents have been, in order, Michael J. Murphy, Joseph L. Hudson, Charles F. Bielman, James Inglis, Lem W. Bowen, George T. Moody, Edward A. Summer and Abner E. Larned. The officers for the year April 11-12 are: Milton A. McRae, president; Gustavus D. Pope and Bernard Ginsburg, vice-presidents; Julius H. Haass, treasurer, and Lucius E. Wilson, secretary.

In the development of Detroit, which has been of such splendid proportions, the Wholesalers & Manufacturers Association has been a most important factor.

In the early days of the commercial progress of the city, the whole-

sale merchants of Detroit held within their grasp the almost exclusive trade of that splendid territory to the north of us, known as the Upper Peninsula, and also distributed their goods to all principal points on Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan. That was the period of unexampled prosperity, and Detroit was the central shipping point of the Great Lakes this side of Buffalo—Chicago being in its infancy and Milwaukee just born.

Through mistaken financial policy upon the part of the then Detroit bankers, the merchants were not able to carry their upper-lake customers as long as was necessary, and the trade which had before centered in Detroit was thus diverted to Chicago, and later split up between the metropolis of the west, and Milwaukee, Minneapolis and St. Paul. For a period there was a state of semi-stagnation in the wholesale business of this great city. Circumscribed as we were by a treaty wall and a foreign country on the east, competitive points like Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and St. Paul on the West, and Toledo, Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati on the south, the efforts of the wholesalers were necessarily to points within this limitation.

With the general progress of the city, however, to stand still would question retrogression and the wholesale merchants, who were members of the Detroit Board of Commerce, determined they would push out and create business where none existed, as well as enhance the volume of trade in the territory naturally tributary to Detroit. For this reason the wholesale committee of the Board of Commerce was called into play and that committee made a number of most pertinent recommendations, which, however, were not carried out, owing to the exaggerated interest then displayed in the industrial portion of Detroit's development. It became evident that, in order to accomplish what they desire, the wholesalers would have to organize a separate body, and for this purpose a band of some twenty-five leading spirits in the wholesale world got together and formed the nucleus of the present splendid wholesale organization known as the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association of Detroit. The nucleus met and adopted a constitution and by-laws, elected officers, started out in the work and promptly determined to make their mark in the commercial chapter of Detroit's progress.

Against all sorts of opposition, the organization, then known as the Wholesalers' Association, with Mr. Walter S. Campbell as secretary, devoted itself to the greater development of the wholesale business of the city. The membership grew, more interest was taken in the affairs of the association, and Detroit was thereby reputed to become better known as the very best wholesale market in the middle west; a market in which any class and kind or style of goods could be found on display, at prices which compared favorably and in many instances were lower than those of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and New York. The reason for this was the advantageous geographical position occupied by Detroit, which enabled it, in the adjustment of freight rates, to get the goods from the manufacturing centers to this city for distribution, at a cost of transportation which enabled her merchants to compete with those of the other active competitive cities.

In 1909 a resolution changing the name from that of the Wholesalers' Association to the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association of Detroit was unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors, and ratified by the vote of the membership. This added to the association not only prestige but new members, and furnished the centers of work for the further aggressive campaign in behalf of the wholesale interests of the city.

The Transportation department of this association, under the able management of Sidney Renshaw, was able to do so much good for its members, especially during the congested condition of the railroads during the crop-moving period of 1909 and 1910, that it attracted the general attention of the automobile interests of the city, which had been absorbed into the membership of the association and received, through the intelligent efforts of the officers of that body, sufficient cars to move their product at a time when all individual efforts in that line had proved abortive. The tracing of shipments accelerated the movement of freight and the assurance of more prompt delivery, secured through the transportation department of the wholesalers, was so beneficial and so much interested the business interests of the city of Detroit that the natural result was an additional influx of members.

The methods of work of the association were not antagonistic to the transportation interests, except where such antagonisms were rendered absolutely necessary by the negligence and indifference of the transportation companies; but where it was necessary to fight, the association fought with a right good will, and invariably won, because it was right in its original contentions. One prominent feature of this attitude was the outcome of the excess baggage cases, whereby all the wholesale interests of this city were saved many thousands of dollars per year through the adoption by the Michigan Railroad Commission of a schedule which approximated fairness.

Another important achievement to which the association has a just claim for credit is the establishment of better trade relations with the Dominion of Canada. Early in the history of the organization it was recognized that Detroit, as a border city, was entitled to and should have a larger share of Canadian business. To secure this it was necessary to override obstacles created through ill-advised national legislation, and the obligatory attitude on the part of the United States toward the freer trade with Canada. Meetings were held in Detroit under the auspices of the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association, at which a distinct sentiment in favor of better trade relations was developed, and a quiet diplomatic campaign to bring about the desired end was inaugurated by that city. The sympathy and co-operation of commercial bodies of other cities were obtained in this movement, and they worked royally toward the common end. Official information was received from Washington, during the administration of President Roosevelt, that if an unofficial assurance could be obtained from the Canadian government to the effect that the Dominion would accept suggestions from the United States, that the United States government would be ready to do business. Arrangements were made to have conferences with Premier Laurier and his cabinet on the question, parlia-

mentary assurances having been received that they were favorable to the spirit thus shown by the United States. This was all done under the cover of confidence, and when matters were so shaped as to be at the point of development, the last presidential campaign came on and President Taft suggested from Hot Springs, Virginia, that it would be advisable to await the action of congress on tariff legislation before we went any further in diplomatic channels. This was done, and through the influence of the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association, the maximum and minimum clause was introduced in the house of representatives in the Payne bill, but became so mutilated before it got into the measure that it was shown to be automatic, compelling foreign nations to take the initiative before they received the benefit of the minimum clause. This, of course, barred Canada from any participation in that, as the dominion had so often approached the United States on the question that it could no longer with self-respect become a suppliant. The Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association then became active through the senate, and secured the introduction of the present maximum and minimum clause, which, in order to pass the bill, was approved in conference between the two houses. Thus a better foundation for the trade between Canada and the United States seemed formed, when the provinces of Quebec and Ontario passed a bill to the effect that an export duty would be levied on pulp and pulpwood, under paragraph 495 of the Payne bill. It became obligatory on the part of the United States to place in force at once a retaliatory and prohibitive duty on pulp and pulp-wood. This action on the part of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec were taken by the United States politicians as an act of discrimination against the United States, by which the president would be debarred from declaring in force the minimum schedule under the Payne bill, by which the United States could receive the benefits of the intermediate tariff of the Dominion parliament, as an opportunity to give favorite nations the basis for better trade.

The Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association of Detroit took the ground that in placing the export duty on pulp and pulpwood, the Dominion government was not discriminating against the United States, but was simply following the example of this country in conserving its natural resources. This view was sent to Washington, and fortunately met with the approval of the administration, and President Taft was about to declare in force the minimum clause of the Payne bill, when the account of the ratification of the treaty between France and Canada came up in the Dominion parliament. Detroit interests represented by the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association showed the remarkably small amount of trade between Canada and France, and definitely demonstrated that it would have no influence upon trade on this side of the water. This view was also fortunately approved by the administration at Washington, and the minimum clause of the Payne bill was finally declared in effect.

Without fear of contradiction it can be said that the Wholesalers' and Manufacturers' Association of Detroit was thus largely responsible for the better trade relations between Canada and the United States and also for the movement for reciprocal relations. Through the efforts

of the Association the wholesale trade of Detroit during the period 1907-1910 was increased from sixty-three million to seventy-five millions of dollars, and when it is seen that the wholesale interests, almost all of which are represented in this association, handled in that city during each of these years freight valued at about seventy-one million dollars, it will be seen what an immense factor the organization has become in the life of the commercial interests of the city. Later realizing that in union lies the greatest strength and answering the call of civic patriotism the Wholesalers and Manufacturers Association amalgamated with and became a part of the Board of Commerce so there is now one great civic organization working for the general welfare of the fair City of the Straits.

CHAPTER XXXI

INDUSTRIAL—GREAT GROWTH OF DETROIT'S MANUFACTURING INTERESTS, THE CORNER STONE OF THE CITY'S PROSPERITY—INDUSTRIAL PEACE CAUSE FOR ATTRACTION OF NEW INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES, BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH THE FIRMNESS AND FAIRNESS OF DETROIT MANUFACTURERS AS REPRESENTED BY THE EMPLOYERS' AND BUILDERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF THIS CITY.

The Detroit of today is a beautiful city containing 41 square miles of broad streets and avenues, most of which are paved, and all are well shaded by the trees upon both sides of the thoroughfares. Everywhere are signs of prosperity. The well kept lawns, artistic homes even in the humbler portions of the metropolis of Michigan, are indications of the character of the thrifty, law-abiding citizens and bread-winners.

These homes and the home life approach the ideal more than in any other city of its size in the country. The wage-earners are most of them property owners and taxpayers. They have the welfare of the city at heart and discharge their duties of citizenship with a conscientiousness that is remarkable.

The Detroit of today is a city of 500,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom are persons in medium circumstances. The great ambition among the wage-earners is to be able to say, "my home." Thus it is that the savings habit has been formed and there are now on deposit the savings of breadwinners amounting to over \$72,000,000. And yet never in the history of the city were there so many homes being bought on contract as there are now.

In this Detroit of today the children of the men who wend their way homeward begrimed with toil at the end of the day are comfortably and neatly dressed. The artisan, the laborer, the clerk, the manufacturer and the merchant enters his home with a feeling of pride and satisfaction, for within he realizes he has provided his family with not only the comforts of life, but, thanks to the prosperity of the city, with luxuries as well.

The great mass of the children, clean, comfortably clothed, bright and intelligent, flock to the public schools where one can see the future citizen of Greater Detroit in training. The throngs that crowd the school rooms and make the echoes ring with their laughter while at play comprise the embryo statesmen, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, lawyers, engineers, doctors, clergymen, and last, but not least, skilled mechanics whose efforts will tend to make greater the Detroit of today.



SAMPLES OF DETROIT RESIDENCES

It is this higher class of citizenship, even among those who have come among us from foreign lands, that is making the city what it is. Their co-operation in maintaining the laws, in adding to the quota of industrial endeavor their faithfulness and skill, has rendered possible the excellent work of the business interests as concentrated in the Board of Commerce. Without this co-operation in making the Detroit of today an ideal place in which to live and labor, the public spirited men who are devoting their time to furthering the industrial and commercial welfare of the city would be powerless to achieve their aim.

So it is that working hand in hand—figuratively speaking—labor and capital, each recognizing the rights of the other, have united in making this city great. What has been the result? Prosperity of a lasting nature. Into the homes of the bread-winners, skilled and unskilled, are going the pianos, carpets, draperies, works of art, good linen, excellent furniture, better classes of commodities—groceries, meats, breads, etc.—giving the beauty, health and comfort that in Detroit makes life worth the living.

This is the Detroit of today in which liberality is linked with thrift, and luxury with good sense. This is the Detroit of today where the humblest citizen breathes the fresh air of the parks and drinks the purest of water in common with the richest. This is the Detroit of today where the rights of all are respected, where the children are being educated and drilled in patriotism and good citizenship, where the young women are given advantages of accomplishments seldom seen in other cities, and where the merchants thrive, the banks succeed and manufacturers grow apace.

To illustrate this last statement and show that it is made on good grounds it is only necessary to give the market value of the manufactured products of Detroit factories by decades, as follows:

1850	\$1,950,983
1860	6,498,593
1870	26,217,685
1880	30,181,416
1890	77,351,546
1900	100,892,838
1910	440,565,000

In the later year the 2,027 active factories of Detroit paid their 125,000 employes \$245,090 in wages per working day, or \$6,372,340 per month, making the yearly total of \$76,468,080.

William Stocking, statistician of the Board of Commerce in commenting on Detroit's growth, furnishes the following interesting information: "Two recent publications in other cities, speaking of the remarkable growth of Detroit, have attributed its prosperity mainly to the automobile industry. In the past four years that has undoubtedly been the largest single factor in the growth of the city, but Detroit was on the map long before the automobile was ever dreamed of, and, even with that factor entirely eliminated, its advance during the last decade would have been greater than that of almost any other city of its class.

"Detroit has for thirty years past been noted in the industrial world for two things—its preeminence in certain lines of manufacture and the great extent and variety of its minor industries. It has never being a one-industry town. It has never believed in the policy of carrying all its eggs in one basket. For many years it led all the other cities in the country in the manufacture of freight cars, pharmaceutical preparations, stoves and varnishes, and was among the leaders in paints, perfumeries and half a dozen others. But, in addition to these, it had hundreds of factories devoted to other industries, working in iron and steel, brass and copper in various forms, brick, lumber and other building materials, furniture in wood and metal, textile fabrics, household articles in great variety, and novelties in endless form. In the census tables of 1904, before the automobile industry had assumed great prominence, Detroit manufactories were classified under 165 different headings, and in most cases a single class covered a variety of products. The expansion of these varied industries and the addition of many new ones go far toward accounting for the increase in population and general business. In a single year old companies increased their capital to the extent of over \$15,000,000, and in another \$13,000,000. These increases were in many cases stock dividends out of accumulated profits; in others they represented the introduction of new capital for making needed extensions.

"Between 1900 and 1910 the large stove companies increased their capital from \$300,000 to \$3,000,000 and \$3,500,000 respectively, and all made extensive additions to their plants. The pharmaceutical companies and the paint companies made like enlargements of capital and plant. The manufacture of soda ash and kindred alkalis increased several fold during the decade. The manufacture of furniture advanced from a minor to a leading position, and there were expansions in almost every other old line. Besides this, several entirely new industries were established during the decade. The first coke iron blast furnace in the city was one of these. The baking of coke and the manufacturing of Portland cement were two others. The manufacture of adding machines was another, and this is now conducted by one of the largest establishments in the city. The casting of aluminum was unknown here ten years ago, but now it is an industry of great magnitude. The making of overalls was a small industry in 1900; ten years later it had become a manufacture of importance, in which Detroit leads all other cities of the country combined. The expansions and new industries mentioned go far toward explaining the phenomenal increase in Detroit's population.

"It is a noticeable fact that almost every line of business increased during the decade by a larger percentage than the population. The following figures covering this branch of the subject are significant:

Population	63	per cent increase
Bank capital	88	per cent increase
Bank deposits	93	per cent increase
Bank clearings	80	per cent increase
Postoffice receipts	137	per cent increase
Exports	108	per cent increase

Imports	165	per cent increase
Manufacturing companies incorporated.....	252	per cent increase
Capital of same	345	per cent increase
Number of building permits	124	per cent increase
Cost of construction.....	245	per cent increase

“This disparity is explained partly by the fact that the per capita amount of business under modern methods is increasing, and partly by the fact that there is a growing population outside the city limits which contributes to its business, but not to its census record.

“These percentages have been computed by the Board of Commerce from figures obtained from official sources. Bradstreet's Commercial Agency produces from its own records, a striking confirmation of the general business advance in Detroit. The figures which it gives out are as follows:

Number of firms rated ten years ago	5,742
Number of firms rated now.....	8,858
Increase	3,132
Aggregate rating ten years ago	\$107,926,800
Aggregate rating now	257,401,500
Increase	149,474,700

“The increase in rating is about 140 per cent, thus furnishing another significant indication of the per capita increase in business.

“Taken from every angle of view, the record of Detroit's business for the last decade is one of unexampled growth.”

Detroit has the largest factory for the preparation of non-proprietary medicines in existence.

Its stove factories are the largest and most complete of any in the country.

Its automobiles are recognized the world over as the best, and more of them are made here than in any other city of the United States.

It has the largest varnish plant in this country.

It has the largest paint manufactories of any city in the west.

One of its cigar factories is the largest ever seen under one roof, and that will be added to.

It has the most model and largest manufactory of adding machines in the world.

It has the largest malleable iron plant in the universe.

Its freight cars—manufactured in Detroit—are running on the railroads of all the principal systems of the United States, Italy and Spain.

Largest coin machine factory ever built.

It has the largest soda and salt works in the country.

It will have one of the best rock salt mines in the world.

It is the center of reinforced concrete construction.

This city has one of the largest steel casting plants in the west.

It produces half the capsule output of the United States.

It has some of the best lubricator factories in the world.

It boasts of one of the largest chair factories in the world.

Its shipbuilding interests are immense.

It manufactures most of the ovens used in up-to-date bakeries and hotels.

It has some of the most health-giving mineral baths in the country.

More wage-earners own their own homes in Detroit than in any other city of the United States.

In proportion to the wages paid, its bread-winners save more money than in any other city of the middle west or west.

Its wholesale houses are among the largest, most substantial and enterprising of any city in the country.

It has two of the largest copper and brass rolling mills in the country.

The maple flooring manufactured in Detroit is famous from one end of the country to the other.

Its municipal debt is lower than either Cleveland or Buffalo.

It has less families to a dwelling than any other city in the country.

Its shipyards turn out more tonnage than any other city on the great lakes. It will have one of the most modern, light and well ventilated railroad tunnels under a river ever built.

The savings deposits of the wage-earners in its banks equal that of the combined deposits in the 250 savings banks of the state.

The general deposits of its banks are increasing faster than either Buffalo or Cleveland, and are equal to more than one-third of the assessed valuation of the entire city.

Detroit has the largest slot machine factory in the world.

Detroit has the largest school for stammerers in the world.

Detroit manufactures more stoves than any city in the world.

Detroit has the largest directory publishing house in the world.

Detroit has more conventions than any other city in the world.

Detroit manufactures more capsules than any other city in the world.

Detroit manufactures more automobiles than any other city in the world.

Detroit has the largest cigar manufactory under one roof in the world.

Detroit has three of the largest white lead and color works in the world.

Detroit has the largest parlor and library table manufacturing company in the world.

Detroit has the largest seed house in the world.

Detroit has the largest varnish factory in the world.

Detroit has the largest milk can factory in the world.

Detroit has the largest chemical laboratory in the world.

An idea of the extent of the distribution of the manufactured products of the fair city of the straits can be seen from the following compiled from an article written by the author of this history, based upon an exhaustive investigation:

Detroit seeds are sold in France.

Detroit-made boats sail the ocean.

Detroit-made blowers in use in Japan.
Detroit-made barrels in use in England.
Detroit provisions find a market in Germany.
Detroit-made pulleys find a ready sale abroad.
Detroit-made scales in demand in South America.
Detroit elevators in use in the capital of France.
Detroit injectors used on many boilers in Mexico.
Detroit-made bridges used on the railroads of India.
Detroit-made mirrors used by the Mexican maidens.
Detroit-made shoes worn by the people of Australia.
Detroit-made tobacco sold in the shops of England.
Detroit twist drills used in the mines of South Africa.
Detroit-made cheese tickles the palates of the orientals.
Detroit-made hydrants in use in many European cities.
Detroit-made tools used in the machine shops of Europe.
Detroit-made lubricators used in all parts of the world.
Detroit-made electric lights used in the shops of England.
Detroit tanned leather finds a splendid market in Germany.
Detroit brass and iron railings installed in offices in Mexico.
Detroit seamless tubes used in the cruisers of foreign nations.
Detroit-made cars used on the railroads of Spain and Italy.
Detroit-made picture frames find a ready sale in England.
Detroit-made furniture sells readily in Scotland and England.
Detroit-made marine engines installed in many ocean steamships.
Detroit-made automobiles glide over the highways of Europe.
Detroit graphite paint used on the warships of many nations.
Detroit-made gelatine used by the celebrated chefs of France.
Detroit-made emery wheels eagerly sought by foreign machinists.
Detroit-made carriages used in the mountains of South America.
Detroit-made smelting furnaces used in the foundries of Germany.
Detroit-made go carts used by the mothers of England and Australia.
Detroit-made radiators installed in the palace of the mikado of Japan.
Detroit-made matches used by the inhabitants of Cuba and Porto Rico.
Detroit-made gasoline torches used by the plumbers of Buenos Ayres.
Detroit-made milk cans in use by the milkmen of Germany and France.
Detroit pharmaceutical preparations sold in every country on the globe.
Detroit-made paper boxes hold the sweets sold by the Japanese maidens.
Detroit-made steel bath tubs used in the palaces of the Chinese nobles.
Detroit-made gas stoves being introduced to the people of the old world.
Detroit-made organs make music for the inhabitants of Switzerland.
Detroit-made steel tanks installed in the breweries of Germany and England.
Detroit-made electric heating appliances in demand in European countries.

Detroit-made brass goods in demand by the hardware dealers of the continent.

Detroit-made fountain pens used by the business men of Australia and England.

Detroit-made pharmaceutical machinery sold in every city of importance in the world.

Detroit-made stoves give warmth to the people of Russia, Germany, Switzerland and South Africa.

Detroit-made hardwood flooring used in many of the new municipal buildings of the old world.

Detroit-made condiments used on the tables of the cafes and hotels at the principal European cities.

Detroit-made plumbers' supplies in steady demand by the shopkeepers of England, France and Germany.

Detroit-made paints and varnishes used on the houses and vehicles of Europe and many other foreign countries.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PRESS OF DETROIT AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY—THE "GAZETTE" AND OTHER BURIED JOURNALS—"DETROIT TRIBUNE"—THE "FREE PRESS"—THE "EVENING NEWS"—THE "DETROIT EVENING JOURNAL," "GATEWAY" AND "SATURDAY NIGHT"—"TRADE"—"MICHIGAN VOLKSBLATT"—"MICHIGAN INVESTIGATOR."

In writing the history of the city, it would be neither complete nor just, were not due credit given to the press, which, as a single factor has had more to do with the progress of Detroit, than any other. Clean in tone, fearless in expressing their views, the daily papers of this city have always steadily worked for an uplift in the moral tone of the community. While, as in all public questions, two sides were taken, the position was honestly assumed, and if mistaken, the paper which erred, did so honestly. Exceptionally free from graft, the press has been in a position to mercilessly hold up to public scorn those who betrayed public trust.

The papers of Detroit have always arrayed themselves upon the side of the oppressed; have encouraged all that is good in life; fostered art, drama, literature, civic beautification, industrial commercial and financial development, where these efforts were along right lines; consistently encouraged and upheld the efforts of the churches of all denominations in their efforts for the spiritual welfare of the community, and have turned the searchlight of publicity upon the dark by-ways of the metropolis of the state, not with a view of sensationalism, not with the idea of laying open to public view the festering sores of erring humanity for the purpose of satisfying morbid curiosity, but with a view of assisting in bringing about better conditions, with the result that, today, Detroit is one of the cleanest cities morally there is in the country and is remarkably free from crime when compared to other cities of like population.

While this is true of the secular press, it is emphatically the case with the religious papers printed in Detroit. The trade publications while devoted almost exclusively to business subjects, have an underlying current of high morality which comes to the surface in the editorials, and has much to do with the cleanliness of business methods in Detroit.

Among the attempts at journalism which have found a cemetery, the first in line, among the important publications, was the *Detroit Gazette*, started in 1817 by J. P. Sheldon who formed a partnership known as Sheldon and Reed. This paper, a weekly, was published for thirteen years and wielded a great influence in the community. In 1820 the paper had 118 subscribers in the territory of Michigan, of whom fifty-two were

residents of Detroit. The price of the paper, which was \$4 a year to city subscribers, was reduced to \$3 a year, presumably to secure the payment of the subscriptions, as the editor complained bitterly regarding the non-payment of advertisements and subscriptions. One Ball (?) leased the paper from the original owners in 1828 for nine years, and Mr. Sheldon was continued as editor. He was not sparing of his criticisms of the manner in which the supreme court of the territory transacted business. For this he was placed under arrest, convicted of contempt of court and fined \$100. He refused an offer of two gentlemen, E. P. Hastings and E. A. Brush, to pay his fine, and was committed to jail. A public meeting was held at which resolutions were adopted strongly condemning the action of the supreme court judges, and starting a subscription to pay his fine, no one person to contribute more than twelve and one-half cents. On the evening of March 7, 1829, a public dinner was given at the jail in honor of Mr. Sheldon, the first and last time in the history of Michigan when such a thing occurred. There were about three hundred persons present, at a time when the entire population of the city amounted to only 2,100. Mr. Sheldon remained in jail nine days, and during that period wrote several articles for the *Gazette*, all of which were dated from the Wayne county jail. The amount of his fine having been raised by subscription on March 14th, a committee of prominent citizens went to the lock-up in a carriage and, taking Mr. Sheldon to the Mansion house, tendered him a luncheon. On April 23rd of that year Mr. Sheldon retired from the paper, carrying with him the respect of the people who gloried in his fearlessness. He was succeeded by Mr. Ebenezer Reed. The path of a newspaper at that time was by no means a rosy one, for in the early part of October the *Gazette* said: "Foreign subscribers pay in advance, while those in Michigan pay, or never pay, as it may chance to suit their fancy. Sometimes we get a pig or a load of pumpkins from them, and once in a while there is a man of mettle who will pay cash for his paper."

April 22, 1830, was the date of last paper issued, the entire plant being destroyed by fire a few days afterward. A notice was sent forth that the paper would be re-established, but it never again appeared.

This was really the launching of the public press in Detroit. Other papers appeared upon the horizon and went out with a flash. They were as follows: The *Michigan Herald*, a weekly which lasted four years. Report has it that it was a Whig sheet.

The *Gazette Francais*, the first French paper issued by Ebenezer Reed from the *Gazette* office, lasted for three issues.

The *Detroit Telegraph*, issued in the fall of 1829, did not last much longer than the French paper.

The *Michigan State Register*, started in July, 1836, passed out of existence the next year.

The next venture of which any authentic information can be obtained, was the *Detroit Spectator and Literary Gazette*, published by G. P. Burnham and B. Kingsbury, two Boston men. It was a semi-weekly and existed from the fall of 1836 until the spring of 1838.

Next in order comes *The Spy*, a Whig sheet issued under the supervision of E. M. McGraw as editor, and printed by Harsha & Bates. It

was started in 1837 and expired in 1838. There was a brief revival of the sheet in 1839.

The first daily, which could be so called, was the *Detroit Morning Post*. This was also established by Burnham & Kingsbury, the Boston men who founded the *Spectator*. This enterprise lasted from the summer of 1837 until the early part of 1839 when it was consolidated with the *Craftsman of Michigan*, a weekly sheet with Democratic leanings. Upon the consolidation the paper was known as the *Morning Post and Craftsman*, issued by Kingsbury & Roberts. Later in 1838 the title was changed to the *Evening Post and Craftsman*. After a brief suspension in 1839 it was revived in 1840.

The *Michigan Observer*, a religious weekly edited by Rev. Warren Isham, made its appearance in June, 1837, and was discontinued in 1839. This paper was followed in rotation by the *World*, the *Jeffersonian Democrat*, *Day Book*, *Michigan Agriculturist*, *Eglantine*, *Mirror of the Lakes*, *Journal of Education and Spirit of '76*, all of which lived but short lives.

In January, 1841, Josiah Snow started the *Western Farmer*, well described by its title, and in October, 1841, B. F. Armstrong acquired a controlling interest in the sheet. Mr. Armstrong edited it until the early part of 1842, when Bela Hubbard took the editorial chair. He, however, soon relinquished his position to William Harsha, who bought the paper, and subsequently, on January 21, 1843, sold it to D. D. T. Moore, who removed it to Jackson where it was issued under the name of the *Michigan Farmer and Western Agriculturist*. After this it changed hands with most startling rapidity, being enlarged and improved until it was merged with the *Michigan Farmer* in 1859. This occurred upon the death of C. Fox, its publisher in the fall of 1854. In the fall of 1869 it was taken to Chicago where it was known as the *Western Rural*.

After this in quick succession came the *Rat Gazette*, a product of the Typographical Union, established in 1839; *Michigan Christian Herald*, started in January, 1842, and sold to the *Baptist Standard* of Chicago, in 1866; *Michigan Literary Gem*, which died a natural death shortly after its publication; the *Washingtonian*, a temperance paper started at Jackson, moved to Marshall, and then to Detroit, where it went the way of the others after a year's existence, and *Detroit Daily Times*, an anti-slavery paper edited by Rev. Warren Isham, which lived from May to November, 1842.

One hundred and thirty-nine other weekly and monthly publications found their resting place in the cemetery of journalistic endeavor, and it is but fair to say, in passing, that in every instance the publication had for its object a moral uplift, according the views of what constituted an improvement in the minds of the ambitious, well-meaning, but mistaken editors.

The history of the *Detroit Tribune* which was merged with the *News*, is that of a series of amalgamations including the *Northwestern Journal*, *Detroit Journal and Advertiser*, *Journal and Advertiser*, *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, *Daily Express*, *Free Democrat*, *Michigan Organ of Temperance*, *Michigan Temperance Advocate*, *Daily Enquirer*, *Democrat and Enquirer*, *Detroit Daily Tribune*, *Peninsular Freeman*, *Advertiser and Tribune*, *Detroit Free Union*, *Detroit Daily Post*, *Post and Tribune*, and

the *Evening Telegraph*. When finally issuing from the maze of acquisitions and changes as the *Detroit Post and Tribune*, it was published as a straight Republican morning paper, with Carl Schurz as editor-in-chief. United States Senator Zack Chandler and E. B. Ward were the principal stockholders.

On May 11, 1879, fire damaged the paper to the extent of \$30,000. William Stocking, now statistician of the Detroit Board of Commerce then again became chief editor, having held that post after Frederick Morely, succeeding Schurz, left the sheet until the final consolidation into the *Detroit Tribune*, and the paper started out under a new control. J. F. Harter was in control of the business department until February 18, 1878, when he was succeeded by James H. Stone. The price of the paper was placed at seven dollars a year in 1883; a weekly and semi-weekly were also issued by the company. Stone dropped out in 1884 when J. L. Stickney secured control. In 1885 the paper again changed hands, C. A. Nimocks becoming proprietor. Again on August 1, 1886, the paper was again placed in the hands of James H. Stone for management, having been officially transferred to him. It was known at the time that Mr. Stone, who was prominent in Republican politics was acting as the agent of the leaders of the party, and among his most staunch supporters was the late United States Senator Russell A. Alger, then covered with laurels as result of his service in the Civil war. It was never a very lucrative proposition and was finally sold to James E. Scripps, proprietor of the *News*, who in the memorable campaign of 1896 took the free silver side of the controversy and supported William J. Bryan for the presidency. The change was a great shock to the old supporters of the *Tribune*, and the paper lost prestige so that it became, so to speak, the tail of the kite of the *Detroit Evening News*, and was finally swallowed by that publication entirely.

May 5, 1831, the *Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer* made its appearance, with Sheldon McKnight as proprietor, the office of publication being at Bates and Woodbridge streets.

It was a four page, five column paper, and immediately following the "prospectus" came the announcement that "owing to an error in our order for paper we are obliged to print our first number on a smaller sheet than was intended." This statement, together with two or three other brief items, constituted all the local news the first issue contained, the rest of the paper being devoted to political comment, correspondence from Washington that was exactly four weeks old, a page of resolutions adopted by the Democratic Republican party, a little foreign news some three months old, and a few advertisements, conspicuous among which was the announcement that the "horse boat" ferry had been thoroughly repaired and would ply regularly between Detroit and the opposite shore, leaving the foot of Bates street every half hour during the day.

During the first year of its existence the *Free Press* printed 38,000 papers. Today's issue alone comprises many times that number, and there is more real news in today's paper than was to be found in the entire year of 1831.

Nevertheless, the *Detroit Free Press* as it first appeared was a highly creditable example of the journalism of that day. Detroit at that time

had only about 2,000 inhabitants, and the entire territory of Michigan contained something less than 30,000 persons.

Although the *Free Press* first appeared under that title in 1831, its history might properly be said to have begun some fifteen years earlier, with the founding of the *Detroit Gazette*; for when the *Free Press* put in an appearance it was conducted by the same man who had been publisher of the defunct *Gazette*, and edited by the man who had been an active figure on the *Gazette* during its early days.

Something less than a year before the *Free Press* came into existence the building in which the old *Gazette* was published was destroyed by a fire of incendiary origin, the perpetrator of the deed being convicted and sent to the penitentiary. This left Sheldon McKnight in a position where he was unable to continue publication of the paper. However, settlers were flocking to Michigan and Detroit was booming. Also, political party lines were being broken. The friends and opponents of Andrew Jackson were arraying themselves in factions. The two papers published in Detroit supported President John Quincy Adams, as did most of the federal officeholders in Michigan, who owed their appointments to the Adams faction.

Joseph Campau, a rich French merchant, and his son-in-law, Gen. John R. Williams, long conspicuous figures in local and state affairs, decided that Michigan needed a paper that would espouse the Jacksonian principles. Accordingly they bought the *Oakland County Chronicle*, which had been printed some eight months at Pontiac, moved the outfit to Detroit and placed it in charge of Sheldon McKnight, who was to pay them for it when he could.

Early in the first year of its existence, the *Free Press* directed attention to the necessity of the people of Michigan forming a state constitution for their government, advocating as the basic principles for such a constitution, "universal suffrage," a system of universal education, unrestricted liberty of speech and of the press, an enlightened and independent judiciary without instructive authority, and a definitely defined separation and division of the powers of the different branches of the government."

Differences arising between Mr. McKnight and General Williams in 1832, the paper passed temporarily into the control of the latter, and a lawyer named Charles Cleland was made editor, the words "Michigan Intelligencer" being omitted from the title, and the size of the paper increased. Under his guidance the *Free Press* became the most successful paper in Michigan, and one of the leading journals of the then northwest. Early in 1835 it was issued twice a week, and September 28, 1835, the first number of the *Daily Free Press* made its appearance. This was the first daily ever published in the state and the subscription price was fixed at eight dollars a year.

The *Daily Free Press* had little in common with the newspapers of today, and in comparison with the *Detroit Free Press* of the present time it seems primitive indeed. It consisted of four pages, each about 10x17 inches in size, and the makeup was in keeping with newspaper tradition of that period. The first page was devoted entirely to small advertisements. There were no "scare heads," and illustrations were out of the

question. What news there was—chiefly clippings from the latest New York papers that were available, and these several weeks old—appeared on the inside pages, and was treated in the simplest manner. The first issue of the daily had only nine lines that might be considered local news, and that was forty hours old. Described in the side heading as a “Shocking Steamboat Disaster,” the item told in the briefest possible form how on the previous Saturday morning the steamboat “Commodore Perry,” bound down, blew up four miles below the city. Assurance was given, however, that further particulars would appear in Tuesday’s paper.

Sheldon McKnight continued as editor of the *Daily Free Press*, but a few months, selling his interests in February, 1836, to L. L. Morse and John S. Bagg.

On the morning of January 4, 1837, the *Free Press* received its first visitation from fire—an occurrence that was to be repeated at least twice, as subsequent events proved. All efforts to check the fire, which broke out in an adjoining building early in the morning, were unavailing and the entire plant was destroyed. The loss proved particularly embarrassing at this time, as, owing to the lack of transportation facilities, it was impossible to get other equipment from the east until the opening of navigation.

However, Henry Barns, who afterward became famous throughout the state, had late in the fall arrived in Detroit on his way around the lakes, with a complete printing office which he proposed establishing at Niles. The vessel on which the outfit was being transported was frozen in the ice at this port, and Mr. Barns was induced to dispose of his property to the *Free Press*, taking an interest in the paper in lieu of purchase money. Six weeks later, temporary quarters having been secured the *Free Press* once more appeared, and on June 5th the daily issue was resumed. By one of those queer caprices of fate it happened that the admission of Michigan as a state, for which the *Free Press* had labored so earnestly, took place, while the office was in ashes, and the paper was prevented from recording the occurrence.

Four years later almost to a day—January 1, 1842—the *Free Press* office was again totally destroyed. This time the paper had plenty of company in its misfortune, the conflagration proving one of the most serious in the early history of the city. The office at that time was situated in the old Museum building, at the southeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street. The entire block was swept by the flames, more than twenty-five buildings being destroyed, with an aggregate loss of \$200,000. When the blaze first broke out the employes of the *Free Press* directed their energies toward assisting the *Advertiser* to save its plant, with never a thought that their own place might be in peril. In a short time, however, the flames spread to the *Free Press* office, and in the end both were destroyed, it thus being impossible for either paper to assist the other.

Again the indomitable spirit which has ever marked the progress of the *Free Press* came to the rescue. Two days after the fire A. S. Bagg, proprietor, and John H. Harmon, who had been a printer on the paper, formed a partnership, and secured an office at the northeast corner of

Jefferson avenue and Shelby street. Then came the question of type. The *Macomb County Republican* and *Port Huron Observer*, both flourishing papers, were induced to suspend publication during the winter months, and the type from both offices was hastily brought to Detroit.

As a result, ten days after the conflagration the *Free Press* once more rose from the ashes as a daily. For some weeks the paper appeared in a variety of sizes, occasionally getting down to a four page four column size. On January 28th it resumed its old size, and everything progressed favorably until April 1st when the press which had been borrowed from the *Port Huron Observer* was taken away by the owners. Then the paper shrunk for a few days, eventually to renew its accustomed form as proper press facilities were secured.

From March 14, 1844, to January 7, 1845, the *Free Press* appeared solely as an evening paper, the office being situated on Jefferson avenue opposite the Cooper block. Then it resumed publication as a morning paper.

When Mr. Bagg became postmaster the need of an editor led to the engagement of Colonel Charles B. Flood, who came to Detroit from Columbus. About the same time another column was added to the width of the pages.

Some time during the fall of 1845 the *Free Press* office was moved to Woodward avenue, opposite old St. Paul's church, and here, in 1846, the first power press in Michigan, and the first west of Buffalo, was set up, the first work printed on it being the Revised Statutes of Michigan for that year.

Changes of ownership were frequent until 1851, when the *Free Press*, having absorbed the subscription list of the *Detroit Commercial Bulletin*, came under the proprietorship of Jacob Barns, S. M. Johnson and T. F. Brodhead, with Messrs Brodhead and Johnson as editors. This year the office was provided with new type, the pages increased to seven columns, and steam power was applied to the press. This had been attempted in 1847, but the boiler and engine proved defective, and the floor to the office was not strong enough, so the plan was abandoned until the fall of 1851. This change was brought about in an interesting manner. The *Advertiser* had undertaken the work of printing in book form the report of the great Michigan Central Railroad conspiracy case, but found the task too much and the services of the *Free Press* press room was enlisted. It was during the progress of this work that man-power proved its inadequacy so conclusively that steam was substituted.

Up to this time the *Free Press* had undergone its full share of journalistic vicissitudes, but had firmly established itself. An event of moment was the purchase of the paper on February 3, 1853, by Wilbur F. Storey, who immediately enlarged it, and on October 2, 1853, issued a Sunday paper, this taking the place of the Monday edition. Under Mr. Storey's administration the *Free Press* rapidly forged to the front and became one of the most remunerative newspaper properties of the time. He assumed active management, and surrounded himself with some of the brightest writers of the period. J. Logan Chipman wrote many of the editorials, famed for their political virility and individuality, and the local contributors included such men as Warren S. Isham, Tom Cook and Henry Starkey.

It was during the Storey regime that the late William E. Quinby, for so many years principal owner, and up to the time of his retirement on account of illness, editor-in-chief, became connected with the paper. Early in 1860 Mr. Quinby began to do the legal reporting for the *Free Press*, this being the first work of the kind undertaken on any Detroit newspaper. The breaking out of the Civil war, in 1861, caused Thomas M. Cook to be dispatched to Washington as correspondent. The vacancy, which it was thought would be only temporary, was filled by Mr. Quinby, who was assigned to duty as city editor. Instead of it being a matter of a few weeks, Mr. Quinby was for considerably more than forty-five years actively identified with the newspaper whose course he did so much to shape, particularly in his latter days.

In June, 1861, Mr. Storey, who had long cast envious eyes in the direction of Chicago, which he believed to be the coming metropolis of the west, sold the *Free Press* to Henry N. Walker, and went to Chicago, where he established the *Times*. Several changes of ownership followed, and in 1863 Mr. Quinby, who had become managing editor, purchased a quarter interest in the paper.

In the early days of the Civil war a meeting was held in the *Free Press* office, at which the Western Associated Press was organized, the outgrowth of this being the Associated Press, the greatest news-gathering body in the world today. Thus equipped, and with the best of facilities possible in Washington and special correspondents at the front with several of the fighting Michigan regiments the *Free Press* was enabled to furnish news vastly superior to that obtainable by its local contemporaries. It published morning and evening editions, thus competing actively with the only other two papers in the city, and came to be looked upon as the authoritative source of information on what was taking place in Washington and at the front. Throughout those trying years it remained, as it has ever since, the great daily newspaper of Michigan and Detroit.

In 1872 occurred the last important change in the ownership of the *Free Press* up to the retirement from the proprietorship of Mr. Quinby in 1905. A difference of opinion arose among the Democrats of the time regarding the desirability of nominating Horace Greeley as Democratic candidate for the presidency. Col. Freeman Norvell, editor of the paper, although a stanch Democrat, was opposed to this course, the Democratic national convention to the contrary notwithstanding. Mr. Quinby urged on H. N. Walker, who then owned a half-interest in the *Free Press*; indorsement of the convention, and his plea prevailed. Mr. Walker assured Mr. Quinby that if the latter would purchase Mr. Norvell's one-quarter interest in the paper, valued at \$25,000, he would turn the entire management of the property over to him. That was an immense sum to be raised on short notice, but he succeeded in making the purchase, and from that time Mr. Quinby held the controlling interest in the *Free Press*. In 1872 Judge Albert G. Boynton purchased one-half of Mr. Walker's interest, which he retained up to the time of his death, Mr. Walker retiring in 1875, when Mr. Quinby took over his remaining stock.

Once more the *Detroit Free Press* was devastated by fire, the entire plant being wiped out in this manner on the morning of April 29, 1878,

involving a loss of \$50,000. The fire was caused by the explosion of a gas main, and two hours after it was discovered the most complete newspaper establishment in the state was a mass of smoldering ruins, fourteen men who were at work in the building barely escaping with their lives. While the fire was raging Mr. Quinby secured temporary quarters for the mechanical force in the building adjoining the old office, and on April 30th the *Free Press* made its appearance as usual, containing an extended account of its own fire. Even as the flames burst through on the previous morning the forms had been snatched from the presses and carried to the office of the *Post*, where the paper was printed, with an editorial announcement of its disaster. In thirty days the *Free Press* was housed in more complete quarters in the old building.

In June of that year the paper was changed from a folio to quarto size, and for the first time in Michigan there was issued a thirty-two page paper with a four page supplement, the work being done on a Bullock perfecting printing press which had reached Detroit just the day before the fire.

In 1884 the *Free Press* moved into the building at the corner of Shelby and Larned streets, and in May, 1894, took possession of its present quarters.

With the death of Judge A. G. Boynton, Mr. W. E. Quinby purchased his interest, retaining the same until the summer of 1905, when he sold a controlling interest in the *Free Press* to Messrs. F. J. Hecker, Charles L. Freer, W. C. McMillan and Truman H. Newberry. This joint ownership continued until the fall of 1907, when Mr. E. D. Stair and Mr. Philip H. McMillan bought out their holdings. Mr. Quinby, on account of illness, in 1908 disposed of his shares of stock to Messrs. Stair and McMillan, who have since been controlling owners and publishers of this paper.

The *Detroit News*, then called the *Evening News*, issued its first number August 23, 1873. It was a small four-page six column newspaper, and sold on the streets for two cents, with a circulation of 6,594 copies for the first issue. The first year the *Evening News* was printed at a loss of several thousand dollars; the next year there was a profit of some \$6,000, with a circulation averaging over 13,000 daily; and from that time to the present the circulation has steadily increased until it now exceeds 130,000 daily, its size being several times increased, the price reduced to a cent a copy, and the Sunday newspaper field occupied. In 1873 the population of Detroit was a little less than 100,000, and the *Evening News* printed one copy to every fourteen persons; in 1911, with the population of Detroit about 575,000, the *Detroit News* printed a copy to every three and one-half persons. This, in a brief way, shows how the *News* has grown, and indicates, as far as statistics may, the hold it has on the community in which it lives and thrives. Its circulation in Detroit equals the number of families in its area, as shown by the census report.

But the real history of the *News* is so closely entwined with its founder and owner, the late James E. Scripps, who died May 19, 1906, that its heart story can only be shown by telling something about him. He was born in London, March 15, 1835, came to this country in 1844, and settled in Rushville, Illinois. In 1857 Mr. Scripps became a reporter on the

Chicago Democratic Press, afterwards consolidated with the *Chicago Tribune*, and in 1859 he was engaged as commercial editor of the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, becoming a part proprietor and its editor in 1861. Then, when the *Advertiser* was consolidated with the *Tribune* in 1862, he remained as business manager or managing editor until 1873, when his dream of a small daily newspaper at a popular price and catering to the needs of an enterprising and progressive community became a reality.

This idea of a cheap evening daily was not the inspiration of an instant. It was a matter of slow growth which had revolved in his mind for over a dozen years. The morning newspaper field was well occupied, the daily papers of that time catering to men of leisure rather than to the ordinary citizen, and the combined circulation of the three daily morning newspapers of Detroit not exceeding 12,000 or 13,000 copies. Yet right here in Detroit were at least 20,000 families, and Mr. Scripps saw no reason why the most of these, then denied the opportunity of reading a daily newspaper because of its being a morning publication, or because its price was prohibitive, should not at least have the opportunity of getting the news "hot from the wires," and of reading of the happenings of the hour on the same day in which they occurred.

With fifteen years of newspaper experience back of him, and with a mind trained to know news when he saw it, Mr. Scripps gathered around him a number of bright young men and began to furnish the kind of information the people were anxious to read. This, in Mr. Scripps' opinion, was of the personal nature—not the malicious stories which at that time partisan newspaper editors flung at their political opponents, but the genial kind which, while it neither covered with fulsome praise those mentioned nor sneered at their failings, told in a happy way what they were doing, what they believed in and what they liked. As an example of this "personal" journalism, never before printed in Detroit, is mentioned a series of articles on "The Bachelors of Detroit," which made an instant and happy hit and considerably increased the permanent circulation of the *News*.

"With no political ends to serve and with entire absence of ill feeling," Mr. Scripps once wrote, "the city editor began to handle the city's news with much of the same freedom that would be allowed in conversation. It was a revelation to staid, prosy Detroit, and the *News* quickly got the reputation of being a 'sensational' sheet, although compared with later up-to-date journals in our larger cities it was commendably moderate and respectable. Naturally some took offense to it, but the people generally liked it, even the so-called better classes."

In 1891 Mr. Scripps purchased the *Detroit Tribune*. After conducting it as a separate publication for some years, it was consolidated with the *News* and became its early morning edition. At various times other consolidations and absorptions by the *News* occurred, notably that of the *Union*, a bright daily started to further the cause of organized labor, and later the *Times*. So it has come that today the *Detroit News* represents the hopes and ambitions of a considerable number of newspaper men whose combined efforts have eventuated in giving Michigan its most metropolitan newspaper, with a circulation equaling if not exceeding all the other English daily publications in Detroit. As an instance of the

method of handling important news it may be stated that in the Spanish-America war the *Detroit News* had a special correspondent with each one of the five Michigan regiments that went to the front.

During its career the *News* has had several fights on its hands in the effort to remedy social, industrial and political evils, or in criticising bad economic conditions. And while it has not always been entirely right—for man's judgment is only finite—it has never been governed by private, personal or mercenary motives. Its managers have used their conscientious and disinterested judgment in a manner that in their opinion would best accord with right and justice, and for the greatest good to the community.

Why the *Detroit News* has been successful in making a place for itself in the homes and business of Michigan can best be told in the words of Mr. Scripps: "The conscientious aim at thoroughness and perfection, with unsparing effort and determination to succeed, from its inception, have governed. Added to this, perhaps, an appreciation of the wants and tastes of the reading public, and above all, a wise adjustment of the enterprise undertaken to the measure of capital and resources at command. A small, six-column paper, quietly pursuing independent lines, soon became a valuable property, while had I, as most founders of new papers do, set out to compete with the old papers in their own field, I should quickly have sunk my little capital (less than \$30,000), and met the fate of the great majority of new papers started. I think the same rule will apply to any business, and that success lies very largely in not attempting a \$20,000 business with a \$10,000 capital. There is also a good deal in striking out in a new field, and not squandering one's capital in handicapped competition with established concerns."

It is because Mr. Scripps' ideas and ideals, as far as possible, were during his life and have been since his death so strictly followed, that the *Evening News* won the confidence of the public and wields a powerful influence in the commonwealth. It has never sought popularity where a matter of principle was involved, and it has, in fact, alienated not a few by its persistency in advocating reforms that did not dovetail in with the personal and financial interests of some of its advertisers. But it has never emerged from a fight for a principle, whether it lost or won the battle, without being stronger with the people than before the contest.

The *News* is optimistic. It looks for the accomplishment of many of the civic reforms it has advocated in the past, and is still advocating. It expects to see a more economical administration of national, state and municipal governments. It hopes for the constantly diminishing influence of private corporations and sordid politicians in the affairs of state. And it is sure these will be accomplished by the gradual adoption of such Democratic reforms as the initiative and referendum, coupled with direct nominations and the recall of incompetent and corrupt public servants. And in addition to these will be the public ownership of those public utilities that are natural monopolies, and to obtain the best and most economical service from which it is necessary that they be collectively owned. These are the things the *Detroit News* stands for today—the things the *Detroit News* has always stood for—and whether they are adopted in the near future or in the next decade, so long as the *News* be-

lieves they are founded on right and justice, and are adaptable to the best interests of the community, they will be a part of the policy of the paper.

The managers are well aware that the *Detroit News* has not reached the ideal of a model newspaper. There are limits to human ability to reach perfection. But the management also feels that it is doubtful if a perfect newspaper would be satisfactory to the imperfect men and women with whom the world is inhabited. Then, too, the material out of which a perfect newspaper must needs be composed is lacking in all the walks of life—in the manager's office, at the editorial desk, and in the mechanical departments. But the management believes, as did that Australian editor who visited the United States in 1888 and wrote his opinions after his return to his own country, Mr. R. Raleigh, editor of the *Sydney News*—that, in spite of its imperfections, the *Detroit News*' editorial page, in its treatment of general subjects, deserves high rank, and "it struck me as the best evening newspaper I saw in the whole country."

The *Detroit Evening Journal* was founded by Lloyd Brezee September 1, 1881, with Brezee as editor-in-chief and C. C. Packard as business manager. It began its career as a two cent paper on a capital of \$3,200. The enterprise was changed to a stock company, with \$37,500 paid-in capital in December, 1883. In May, 1884, this capital was increased to \$50,000 and a controlling interest was sold to S. J. Tomlinson who became managing editor. Mr. Tomlinson retired in May, 1885, and William Livingstone became the proprietor and manager of the publication. Frank E. Robinson was made managing editor and Henry S. Harris, editorial writer. Harris resigned in 1886 and was succeeded by E. G. Holden. In 1887 William H. Brearly became sole owner of the paper and continued as such for a number of years. A stock company was then formed which purchased the paper and Walter Hunsacker, now owner of the *Saginaw Daily Herald*, became managing editor.

In 1908 the paper again changed hands, having been bought by Henry Stevens and E. D. Stair. H. H. Hetherington, then on the *News*, became managing editor and still holds that position. The ownership of the paper has not changed. Under the management of Mr. Hetherington the journal became energetic and aggressive for the higher order of affairs and has come to be considered one of the best family evening papers in the middle west. Kirk Alexander, a writer of great ability, handles the editorial columns and Tom May, the greatest cartoonist of the west, adds to the paper a valuable asset.

The *Detroit Times* was started ten years ago by James Schermerhorn as a penny workingman's paper. The editorial policy has been somewhat socialistic. For the first few years it had a hard struggle for existence, but Mr. Schermerhorn's indomitable pluck and facile pen won out, and the paper now is not only self-supporting but has carved for itself a permanent niche in the city's life.

The first copy of the *Gateway* was issued in August, 1903, since which time the magazine has been regularly published every month. In the beginning, the policy of the magazine was to exploit Michigan in the form of high-class informative articles on its various resources and the opportunities for investments, pleasures and colonization afforded in the state.

Other interesting articles on the history of the state were also published; in fact, the purpose of the reading articles was to present a commercial and historical sketch for the information of the people. All articles were prepared by authorities; in short, all articles, as a general rule, published in this magazine have been of high merit. The *Gateway* was first in Michigan to publish a series of articles on Canadian reciprocity, which were from such well known men as Governor A. B. Cummins of Iowa, Congressman McCall of Massachusetts and Joseph Greusel of Michigan. Articles on Reforestation and Conservation were prepared by such well-known authorities as Charles W. Garfield and Arthur Hill; Geological conditions were made known by Professor A. C. Lane, state geologist; and other articles of similar nature by equally well known authorities.

At this time the *Gateway* in size was from eighty to one hundred pages and sold for fifty cents per year. In 1908, the price was fixed at one dollar per year and the size reduced, while the policy was changed so as to take up economic and social questions. Regardless of so-called "muck raking exposures," the *Gateway* steadily declined to be led into the error that the exception is the rule and held strictly to the opinion that the majority of men and institutions are honest and law abiding. It even dared, in the face of public opinion, to publish articles showing that John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company, as well as other men and institutions, were possessed of good qualities. It dared to prove that all public-service corporations are not corrupters of men; that capital is entitled to some consideration. The *Gateway*, in fact, took the position that there was "another side" to all these public questions and was honest and bold enough, regardless of a possible loss of profit, to speak the truth as its editors saw it. That is the policy of the *Gateway* today under the management of its founder and manager, John F. Hogan.

On the second of March, 1907, *Detroit Saturday Night* was born. It came into existence as the first step in the execution of a good idea.

Two men, W. R. Orr and H. M. Nimmo, who had been connected for years with the daily press, conceived the idea that the newspapers of the day did not correctly reflect the moral and intellectual aspirations of the people; that the general public would gladly welcome and give practical support to a newspaper which would measure, in its news-gatherings, a standard of morality on a par with that of the people; that an aggressive, clean and instructive newspaper would be appreciated by the people, because it would correctly represent the people in home and public life.

The success of *Detroit Saturday Night* was both an illustration and a tribute to the culture and morality of the people of Detroit, and after three and one-half years, occupied its own building with its own composing rooms and press rooms—the complete newspaper establishment.

Trade is an independent weekly journal, devoted to the interests of the retail general merchants of Michigan, Ohio and northern Indiana. It is committed to the policy of boosting Detroit as the most desirable market in the central west at which to purchase all kinds of merchandise, upon wholesale terms. The paper is published every Wednesday by the Trade Journal Association, which has controlled the paper since 1897. Previous to that time, the paper had been known as the *Herald of Commerce* and was published by the Evening News Association of Detroit.

The present management is comprised of Fred M. Wilkinson, president; G. T. Newkirk, secretary, and C. A. Day, editor and treasurer.

To write the history of the *Michigan Volksblatt*, it is necessary to go back to the establishment of the first German paper in Detroit. This was the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a Democratic weekly founded, in 1844, by Dr. Anton Kaminsky. The name of this paper was changed several times, as it had different owners, and in 1854 was merged with the *Michigan Democrat*, established in 1853. In the same year the *Michigan Volksblatt* was founded as a Democratic weekly by the brothers, F. and W. Schimmel. On May 1st, 1856, both these papers came into possession of the late Dr. Peter Klein, who merged them into the *Michigan Democrat and Volksblatt*. The paper was then sold, on January 10, 1857, to the firm of Domedian & Kramer. A year later Mr. Domedian sold his share to the brothers, Philip and Matthew Kramer, who on May 1, 1861, began the publication of the *Michigan Volksblatt* as a daily paper. On December 10, 1891, the paper was taken over by a stock company, which still owns the property. The *Michigan Volksblatt* is now issued as a daily afternoon paper with Sunday morning edition, also as a semi-weekly. In its policy it is independent in local affairs and Democratic in national affairs.

The *Michigan Investor* was born in September, 1902, it having been started by Frank R. Alderman and J. E. Phelps. Phelps dropped out in December of that year and Frank Carter and John Russell became interested in the proposition. The following year Mr. Carter became actively identified with its management, and its career since that time is familiar to all residents of Detroit. Much of its success has been due to the editorial work of Mr. Russell, who sold his interest in 1909, to Mr. Carter, who is now its sole owner.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL—UNTIL 1791 AND 1792 ALMOST THE ONLY INHABITANTS OF DETROIT WERE FRENCH AND INDIANS—IN THE LATTER YEAR SEVERAL HIGHLY RESPECTABLE ENGLISH FAMILIES SETTLED HERE—FIRST AMERICANS OUTSIDE OF ARMY TO ARRIVE CAME IN 1805—GENERAL GROWTH OF THE CITY—EARLY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—FRATERNAL ORDERS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

When in 1791 the bubble for the settlement of Gallipolis, Ohio, burst, a number of English and Scotch families, disgusted with the misrepresentations made, sought shelter at Detroit where they found homes and friends. In spite of this influx, added to that caused by the English in possession of Detroit, the French largely predominated and social manners and customs were those brought from across the seas, modified somewhat through frontier associations. As Cadillac in one of his letters says: "When with wolves, one learns to howl." The bush-rangers, trappers and hunters, classed under the name of *coureur de bois*, were the reckless, wild men of the backwoods, who have never been excelled by the "bad men of the west" in their palmiest days, and their riotous dissipation when reaching civilization, resembled that of the cow punchers of the old-time ranges when they came in from the round-up.

The costumes were necessarily those of the backwoods. Judge Campbell, in a poetic effort, says each man wore a cap of otter or seal fur; blanket coats with capotes, which could be raised to defy the winter blasts. The cuffs and pockets were usually bound with fur, and the garment usually any color the wearer fancied.

"While moccasins of Caribou,
Covered his feet instead of shoe.
But in the Shoepac's clumsy bags,
Stuffed at the toes with clumsy rags,
The dweller in the rural shade
His stout extremities arrayed
Gartered about his knees were seen,
Leggins of baize of lively green.
His mighty buck or woolen mittens
Would hold at least a brace of kittens.
And when he sought to cut a dash,
He girt him with a crimson sash.
Some older and sedater folks

Were draped in flowing Camlet cloaks
With soft-lined collars, stiff and high,
Concealing all beneath the eye.
Whose bushy brows would overlap,
And seem to fringe the hairy cap."

When the English made their advent, however, there was an improvement noted, as wealthier citizens and officials wore black silk knee breeches, silken hose and buckles at the knee and upon the shoes. The women, ever fond of finery, created a great demand for swans skins. Bright colors in dress were the rule. The stocks of the English merchants, and subsequently those of the French, contained costly materials for dresses giving an opportunity for the ladies to properly deck themselves out for social functions of which there were many, full of life and color.

Following the game diet of the earliest days, with the introduction of hogs and cows, came a different standard of living, and one historian says many of the best families cured their own pork. For nearly a quarter of a century, however, after the war of 1812, most of the provisions used in Detroit were imported from New York and Boston, and some from Ohio.

In a letter to the secretary of war May 31, 1816, Governor Cass thus describes the times: "The Indian trade originally furnished the only employment for the people of this country, and their only resource against want. As traders, enages and voyageurs, they spent one half the year in labor, want and exposure, and the other in indolence and amusements.

"Associated with the Indians, they contracted their manners and gained their confidence. As a necessary consequence, their farms were neglected and the agricultural products of the country formed but a small portion of the subsistence of the inhabitants. When the failure of game reduced the profits of this trade, and rendered it more difficult for the persons engaged in it to procure employment, the people were driven to other pursuits, and the fatal mistake of educating a whole community for a single and temporary business is now seriously felt and acknowledged. Driven at length to seek resource in agricultural pursuits, the state of the farms shows the extreme defect in agricultural knowledge.

"The spinning wheel and the loom are unknown to the country. Long since the territory was ceded to the United States, and to a certain extent, to the present day, the farmers were in the habit of drawing their manure upon the river in the winter so that it might be washed away into the lake in the spring. The wool of the sheep was thrown away, and even now, I presume, a pound of wool is not manufactured in the territory by any person of Canadian descent, and four-fifths of the population are of that class. Within twelve years the making of soap for family purposes was a curiosity which attracted the attention of the people, and although the wonder has ceased with the novelty, yet few have attempted to profit by the experiment."

The infusion of foreigners proved most beneficial, as it not only made

the place more cosmopolitan, but the industries peculiar to each nation were interwoven with the social and commercial life of the city and stimulated industry. The Irish began to arrive in numbers in 1833, the Germans began their arrival in 1832, and the Poles in 1870. Of course the census returns only give those who were not born in Detroit and Michigan, so the figures as to France and England must be considered outside of those living here of that descent, and with the pronounced views of their several nationalities. However to show how the foreigners were increasing after 1870, the figures given by the census of 1880, are interesting. The nationalities, as described above, of foreign birth were: France 721; Germany 17,292; England 4,200; Ireland, 6,775; Scotland 1,783; Hungary 64; Norway 27; Poland 1,771; Africa 2; Australia 15; Austria 128; Bohemia 557; China 11; Cuba 3; Gibraltar 2; Greece 1; India 9; Italy 127; Malta 3; Mexico 6; Russia 77; Sandwich Islands 3; South America 17; Spain 8; Sweden 55; Switzerland 421; Wales 71.

The Italian colony of Detroit is now of large proportions, and it is estimated that there are at least ten thousand of that nationality at present living in this city. They are principally fruit venders and laborers, who observe the laws except as to feuds among themselves. The so-called Black Hand branch of the more lawless became somewhat active, but it is noticeable that in no instance was a threat made, or an attack attempted upon any but Italians. They are peaceful unless interfered with, when they are dangerous.

Within the past five years, there has been a large increase in the Greek colony due to the fact that this nationality has almost entirely monopolized the bootblackening and hat renovating business in the city. Like the Italians, they are law abiding except among themselves, and if any feuds exist, they are deeply hidden. The younger element, mere boys, are under the domination of certain padrones, but as there is apparently no cruelty, and no tangible evidence that this is not without the consent of the boys who are always loyal to their countrymen, there has been no effort made by the civil authorities to change conditions.

Another element which has become prominent is the Syrian, of which there is a large colony. They are principally peddlers and small merchants.

The Polish element is becoming Americanized, the younger generation being educated in the public schools and becoming teachers, lawyers and doctors. Their fathers came in as laborers in the car-shops and other industrial plants, but, through industry and frugality, soon owned their own homes and became excellent citizens and tax payers. The later importations have been from Poland, Russia and Hungary, people who knew no liberty at home, and who here, at first, mistook liberty for license. With a longer residence here, however, they are becoming accustomed to our laws and customs and, except as with the other nations, indulging in fights among themselves, generally observe the laws of the country and the municipality.

The exigencies of industrial enterprises render necessary more or less of a floating population, which usually centers in the neighborhood of the larger shops, thus creating a distinctly foreign colony. When work is slack, with the Italians, the Hungarians, Slavs, and in some instances, the Greeks they migrate either back to their native land, or to some

more active industrial center. From each batch of these newcomers, however, there are some who remain, intermarry, and in turn become property owners and taxpayers.

The Hebrew element has grown to large proportions. Its members are represented among our most distinguished lawyers, merchants and manufacturers, and in no city in the union are they more broad-minded, public-spirited and charitable. When the onslaught on the Jews in Russia made a hell of that country, the oppressed found friends, homes and assistance in Detroit, with the result that the Ghetto of the city has assumed formidable proportions. There is no law breaking among this nationality. Its members are all engaged in trade of some kind, the newcomers especially, in peddling and the buying up of paper stock and old iron. When not self-supporting they never become public charges, always being taken care of by their own nationality.

There has filtered down from olden frontier times, the spirit of hospitality always seen in new countries, and from generation to generation that spirit has been kept alive, with the result, that today, in this age of bustle and progress, despite the city's wonderful growth, this is the prevailing spirit of the age, and Detroit is one city where "they live and let live." Comparatively low taxes, beautiful surroundings, and general prosperity fostered by conservative progressiveness have made social conditions nearly ideal, and, for the size of the city, Detroit is acknowledged to be one of the most moral centers of population in the country.

The conditions existing in social intercourse have influenced business relations, with the consequence that underlying commerce, finance and industry, is a fine spirit of fairness. What was true in 1831 is true today, and the conditions are admirably expressed by the correspondent of a New York paper who visited Detroit in that year: He says: "The society of Detroit is kind, hospitable, and excellent. A strong sense of equality and independence prevails in it. A citizen whose conduct is decorous and respectable is respected by all his associates. Genuine friendliness and cordiality exist—a frank, cordial, and general civility, at once peculiarly gratifying and indicative of the character of the Michiganians, has been extended to us."

An old copy of the *Detroit Daily Tribune* of December 22, 1857, in which was the notice of the Detroit high school exhibition in which Judge Swan, Gen. Duffield, John Babillion and others distinguished themselves in recitations in ancient and modern languages, or both, is proof that the good people of those days did not pursue a continuous giddy whirl of excitement.

There was about one column of reading matter on the first page, and that a reprint of a sketch from "Household Words." The remaining seven columns were filled with advertisements, mostly in small-face type, set solid. There were a number of editorials as well as a "Washington and foreign news" summary on the second page. John C. Fremont's name was carried in large type at the head of the editorial page as presidential choice in 1860.

J. E. Pittmans advertised coal and pig iron. F. Buhl & Company dealt in silks, furs and hats. Oliver Goldsmith, who died recently, was

conducting his "segar and tobacco store." The Detroit & Milwaukee Railway Company was running west as far as Lowell and covering the distance in twelve hours. The company had its troubles then, and in a card thanked the Ringold Light Artillery, the Valley City Guards of Grand Rapids, the sheriff of Kent county, his deputies and other citizens for aid in suppressing disturbances of laborers near Lowell. All who had assisted in the suppression were invited to take a free ride at their convenience over the line to Detroit and back. H. P. Baldwin & Company were wholesale boot and shoe dealers.

But while life was apparently not lived at a too rapid gait there were plenty of opportunities for enjoyment. There was a hint of quiet, pleasant, social hours in an advertisement by James Black, father of George M. Black.

In addition to the high school exhibition, the Metropolitan theater, on Jefferson avenue, opposite the old Biddle house, was open, the attraction at the time being the "terrific drama" of "Fautus, or the Demon of the Drachenfels," staged at an expense of \$1,000. The Washington Fire Company No. 5, had an announcement of a New Year's eve ball in the Garrison house.

It is due to this spirit of hospitality and fraternalism that some of the best clubs in the country flourish here. The Detroit, Yondetega, Fellowcraft, Country and Phoenix Social clubs are the most prominent. The latter is a Hebrew organization. The Wheelmens Club, the German Salesmens Club, the Harmonic Society and the Arbeiter societies are also prominent. The three latter are made up of prominent Germans who are among the most highly respected citizens of Detroit.

Going further, the fraternal spirit is shown in the strength of secret societies. The Masons are the strongest in the city. They have a handsome temple at Lafayette and First Streets, built and paid for by active members of the lodges there congregated. The blue lodges are as follows: Ashlar, City of the Straits, Corinthian, Detroit Lodge, Friendship, Kilwinning, Oriental, Palestine, Schiller and Zion. It is stated that the total membership will approximate eight thousand.

The chapters meeting under this roof are King Cyrus and Monroe, and the Monroe Council.

The Knights Templar are well represented and both the Detroit and Damascus Commanderies stand at the head of the list for efficiency in personnel, drill and deportment.

The Consistory is one of the strongest in the country and numbers among its membership the most influential citizens of Detroit, and, in fact, of the state.

The Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Maccabees, Knights of Loyal Guard, Eagles, Order of the Moose, Order of the Eastern Star, Protected Home Circle, Royal Arcanum, Union Veterans Association, Court of Honor, Daughters of St. George, Degree of Honor, Foresters of America, Grand Army of the Republic, Improved Order of Red Men, Independent Order of Foresters, Knights of Equity, Knights of Honor, Knights of St. John, Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association and Loyal Legion are also well represented, each order having a temple or temples of its own.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is one of the strongest and most prosperous orders in existence, having a temple of its own and membership which embraces a large number of the most prominent citizens of Detroit.

The Ancient Order of United Workmen was once one of the strongest fraternal insurance orders in the city, but of late years the membership has dwindled, owing to the high rate of the death assessment. The Modern Woodmen of America is one of the latest insurance orders and is very prosperous.

With the growth of the city and the introduction of so many foreign elements, society of a necessity, has become split up into factions, or units, according to the circumstances. Each nation represented in the population has its own social club, and, in many instances, clubs at which gather the leading spirits of each nationality. These are mostly social and benevolent, but, as in the case of all large cities, political clubs are formed for active work in campaigns.

While wealth is the open sesame to society everywhere, Detroit is still old-fashioned enough to give place to family and breeding. There is probably less ostentation in the best society of Detroit than in any other city of its size in the United States. The latch string is always out to the stranger who comes with proper credentials, and he is at once made at home.

This spirit rules also in the labor unions of which there are still a number in existence. The city being in a condition of industrial peace, these unions are assuming more of a social and benevolent character than aggressiveness against capital.

The clubs and societies now in existence in Detroit are as follows:

Adcraft Club of Detroit—President, Wm. C. Radcliffe; vice president, Warren O. Seelye; corresponding secretary, H. G. Trump; recording secretary-treasurer, Norman T. Taylor.

Aero Club of Michigan—President, R. A. Alger, Detroit; vice presidents, W. E. Metzger, Detroit, W. E. Withington, Jackson; secretary, C. B. Ducharme, Detroit; treasurer, R. D. Chapin, Detroit.

Aetone Club—President, Goodman Lefkofsky; secretary, Henry Levitt, No. 215 Montcalm east; treasurer, Ida Applebaum.

Algonquin Club of Detroit—Meets first Tuesday each month at No. 689 Michigan avenue; chief, James Hayes; secretary, J. M. Potichke.

Alliance Francaise—Meets at Detroit Conservatory of Music. President, Theophile Francois; secretary, Alex. Jugeus; treasurer, Mrs. Joseph Belanger.

Alumnae and Literary Association of the Academy of the Sacred Heart—President, Mrs. John Hanley; vice president, Mrs. George M. Savage; corresponding secretary, Miss Bertha Stott, No. 135 Commonwealth Avenue; recording secretary, Miss Monica Weadock; treasurer, Miss Cecelia F. Corcoran; historian, Mrs. F. W. Swift.

American Institute of Architects, Michigan Chapter—President, H. J. Maxwell Grylls; secretary, A. H. Scott, No. 518 Moffatt Blk.; treasurer, Chas. Kotting.

American Institute of Bank Clerks, Detroit Chapter—President, S. R. Kingston; vice president, W. E. Bullard; secretary, F. J. Neidermiller; treasurer, W. H. Farr.

American National Red Cross, Michigan Branch—President, Sidney T. Miller; vice president, Truman H. Newberry; secretary, R. M. Dyar, Union Trust Bldg.; treasurer, E. W. Clark.

Anthropology Club—President, Mrs. J. E. Bolles; first vice president, Mrs. Hugh Connolly; recording secretary, Mrs. Geo. H. Haskell; corre-



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sponding secretary, Mrs. W. H. Cadieux, No. 362 Cadillac avenue; treasurer, Mrs. A. P. Wiedman.

Apollo Club of Palestine Lodge—Meets every Friday evening in Masonic Temple. President, H. A. Pickert; vice president, Nathaniel Reese; secretary, F. A. Becker; treasurer, C. A. Richardson; financial secretary, J. J. Reutter; conductor, Marshall Pease.

Archaeological Institute of America, Detroit Society—President, Levi L. Barbour; vice presidents, George W. Bates, Prof. M. L. D'Ooge,

Ann Arbor; secretary, Jesse B. Hornung; treasurer, Percy Ives; executive committee, Charles L. Freer, John M. Donaldson, Charles Moore, George W. Bates, Armond H. Griffith, Frank D. Taylor, Edward W. Pendleton, David E. Heineman, Clarence A. Black, Cornelius J. Reilly, Henry M. Leland, Percy Ives, Mrs. George S. Hosmer, Mrs. Grace Filer Fowler, Prof. Walter Dennison, Ann Arbor.

Arion Gesang Verein—Meets every Tuesday at Arion Hall, No. 377 Chene. President, Robert Schreck; secretary, F. Voigt, No. 1054 Forest avenue east; director, Herman Brueckner.

Arion Saenger Verein—Meets 1st Thursday in each month at Arion Hall, No. 373-377 Chene. President Robert Schreck; secretary, F. Voigt, No. 1054 Forest avenue east; director, Herman Brueckner.

Arlington Club—No. 305 Shelby Blk. President, A. J. Stocker; vice president, J. C. Woodison; secretary, J. P. Donaty, No. 482 Twelfth; treasurer, J. L. McConachie.

Armitage Club—President, Geo. Beck; secretary, Walter C. Drake, No. 47 Alexandrine avenue west; treasurer, Edgar W. Channer.

Arrimossa Club—Meets 1st Thursday of each month at No. 1495 Woodward avenue. President, Mrs. W. D. Crocker; secretary, Mrs. John A. Lotz; treasurer, Mrs. N. L. Clancy.

Arts and Crafts Society—No. 120½ Farmer street. President, George G. Booth; vice president, H. J. Caulkins; secretary, Miss Helen Plumb, No. 120½ Farmer street; treasurer, Wm. B. Stratton.

Associated Employers' Corporation—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, Edward T. Gilbert; vice president, John H. Laurie; secretary, John J. Whirl; treasurer, Albert A. Albrecht.

Ass'n of Circuit Judges of Michigan—President, R. M. Montgomery, Lansing; vice president Morse Rohnert, Detroit; secretary-treasurer, G. M. Chester, Hillsdale.

Ass'n of Collegiate Alumnae, Detroit Branch—Director, Mrs. Arthur McGraw; president, Mrs. Lena H. Doty; vice president, Miss Janet McKenzie; recording secretary, Miss Mary F. Farnsworth; corresponding secretary, Miss Maud W. McBride, No. 305 Merriek avenue; treasurer, Mrs. Annie McN. Johnson.

Ass'n of ex-Members of the Detroit Steam Fire Dept.—President, B. H. Coats; vice president, Otto Schaberg; secretary, David A. McCormick, No. 32 Clifford; treasurer, John Doemer.

Audubon Club—No. 605 Stevens Bldg. President S. O. Johnson; vice president, Geo. E. Avery; secretary-treasurer, W. H. Allison, No. 83 Fort west

Bachelors The (Inc.)—Prismatic Bldg. President, Wm. Barry; secretary, Edward Norton; treasurer, Colin L. Smith, 179 Bagley avenue.

Bankers' Club of Detroit—President, G. H. Barbour; vice president, Hamilton Dey; secretary-treasurer, John W. Staley, First National Bank.

Bay View Reading Club—No. 165 Boston boulevard east. President, J. M. Hall; secretary-treasurer, Anna B. Smale.

Belgian Dramatic Club—No. 1349 Jefferson avenue. President, Evarest Bactens; secretary, H. B. Van Slembrouck; treasurer, Wm. Westdorp; director, Alois Martens.

Bonheim Club—No. 825 St. Aubin avenue. President, Anthony M.

Treppa; recording secretary, J. W. Pilarski; treasurer, Frank Drouczkowski.

Brotherhood of St. Andrew of All Saints' Church, Senior Chapter—Director, A. G. Roberts; vice director, G. A. Courtney; secretary-treasurer, Kenneth C. Campbell. Junior Chapter—Director, Horace Edgar; vice director, Austin Cullen; secretary-treasurer, George Lewis.

Builders Ass'n of Detroit—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, J. H. Laurie; first vice president, Ernest McCleary; secretary, James Roach; treasurer, W. S. Russel; commissioner, J. J. Whirl.

Carpenter Contractors' Ass'n—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, Robt. T. Teakle; secretary, F. B. Wood; treasurer, Richard Helson.

Cass School Alumni Ass'n—President, Dr. H. B. Drake; secretary, Miss Frances Sage; treasurer, H. F. Laing.

Cathedral Reading Circle—President, Miss Catherine McNamara; vice president, Mrs. A. McLogan; recording secretary, Miss Louise Boyer; corresponding secretary, Miss Anna J. Lee; financial secretary, Miss Elizabeth Kennedy; treasurer, Miss Anna Baker.

Catholic Study Club—Meets at Century Bldg. President Miss Mary McMahon; vice president, Mrs. Julia Hughes; secretary, Miss Ella Fitzgerald; treasurer, Mrs. Edward Hickey.

Central High School Alumni Ass'n—President, W. C. Martindale; vice president, Elizabeth N. Cleveland; secretary, Philip H. Sheridan; treasurer, Murray Paterson.

Century Ass'n—Columbia and Witherell. President, Mrs. John S. Newberry; vice president, Mrs. Orrin R. Baldwin; secretary, Mrs. Jas. Arthur, No. 96 Boston boulevard; treasurer, Mrs. Stephen Baldwin.

Chamber Music Club—President, Miss J. Dyar; vice president, Mrs. F. C. Baldwin; secretary, Mrs. Geo. T. Hendrie, Grosse Pointe Farms; treasurer, Mrs. A. W. Russel.

Chinese Free Mason Club—No. 100 Congress east. Manager, Charles Buing.

Christian Industrial Exchange, Branch 355, Labor Exchange Ass'n—Office, rooms 1-3 University Bldg., 15-17 Wilcox. President, Dr. G. B. F. Clarke; vice president, J. M. Perry; accountant, H. M. McDonald.

Church Choral Society (40 mixed voices)—71 Valpey Bldg., No. 213 Woodward avenue. President, Mrs. Geo. Huntington; secretary-treasurer, H. H. Pettee; director, Fred'k Alexander.

Clio Club—President, Mrs. F. M. Calkins; vice president, Mrs. W. Brotherton; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Ernest C. Lee, Ray Apartments.

College Club of Detroit—No. 22 Witherell street. President, Mrs. Alexander K. Gage; vice president, Miss Laura Dwight; secretary-treasurer, Miss Eleanor S. Candler, 85 Putnam avenue.

Colonial Dames (Society of)—President, Mrs. R. H. Fyfe; first vice president, Mrs. C. H. Metcalf; second vice president, Mrs. A. M. Parker; recording secretary, Miss Mary A. Burton; corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. M. Wright; treasurer, Mrs. E. H. Jewett; registrar, Miss H. P. Farnsworth; historian, Mrs. E. H. Parker.

Columbia Alumni Ass'n of Michigan—President, Dr. E. T. Tappey; vice president, Dr. W. H. Longyear; secretary-treasurer, Dr. T. A. McGraw, Jr., No. 73 Cass avenue.

Committee of Fifty—1715 Ford Bldg. Chairman executive committee, Frank W. Eddy; secretary, Paul C. Renaud.

Concordia Society—No. 2-4 Catherine. President, F. W. Marschner; vice president, Otto Hohf; secretary, Chas Kunze; treasurer, Paul Neutwig.

Condon Literary Club—President Harvey Diehl; secretary, Walter Leitheiser; corresponding secretary, Frank H. Dilla.

Congregational Brotherhood of Detroit—President F. E. Bogart; vice president, S. E. Clark; secretary, F. C. Shipman, Union Trust Bldg.; treasurer, W. H. Barrons.

Consumers' League of Detroit—President, Right Rev. C. D. Williams; first vice president, Miss Frances W. Sibley; recording secretary, Mrs. Silas B. Coleman; corresponding secretary, Miss Sara Angell; treasurer, Miss Grace Blitz.

Country Club of Detroit—Club House, Grosse Pointe Farms. President, Franklin H. Walker; secretary, James Cosslett Smith, No. 1124-32 Penobscot Bldg.; treasurer, Frank G. Ryan, care Parke, Davis & Co.

Daughters of the American Revolution, Louisa St. Clair Chapter—Regent, Mrs. Chas. H. Metcalf; vice regent, Mrs. Henry B. Joy; recording secretary, Mrs. Arthur M. Parker; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Sam'l E. Pittman; treasurer, Mrs. E. W. Stoddard; registrar, Miss Ida Raymond; historian, Mrs. T. E. Wing.

Delray Club—No. 2124 W. Jefferson avenue. President, J. T. Gray; vice president, Dr. L. C. Pike; secretary, E. S. Schulz; treasurer, Walter C. Wines.

Democratic State Central Committee—Chairman, E. C. Shields, Howell; secretary, A. R. Canfield, Clare.

Detroit Architectural Club—Meets first and third Monday evenings each month. President, D. R. Wells; vice president, O. C. Gottesleben; secretary, D. J. Von Schneider; financial secretary, H. G. Muehlman; treasurer, J. H. G. Steffens.

Detroit Ass'n of Master Plumbers—No. 65 University Bldg. President, L. Morgan; secretary, C. P. Tietz; treasurer, Jos. Lee.

Detroit Ass'n of Stationary Engineers—Meets every Saturday evening at Washington Hall, corner Grand River and Washington avenues. President, John Bohnsack; financial secretary, Russell Burrows; corresponding secretary, Carl F. Babbington; treasurer, Norman Campbell; attorney, E. M. Sloman.

Detroit Athletic Club—No. 833-865 Woodward avenue. Inc. '87. President, J. C. Kelsey; vice president, W. H. Ducharme; secretary, E. A. Bresler; treasurer, C. J. Guthard.

Detroit Bar Association—President, S. T. Douglas; first vice president, F. E. Robson; second vice president, A. C. Angell; secretary, S. C. Griswold, No. 817 Hammond Bldg.; treasurer, Wade Millis.

Detroit Bar and Restaurant Ass'n—President, Henry Hines; first vice president, Louis Schneider; second vice president, Henry Moesta; secretary, F. P. Striker; treasurer, C. W. Norton.

Detroit Baptist Union—Organized May, '78. President, Jasper C. Gates; vice president, C. J. Netting; secretary, Rev. G. L. Wittet; treasurer, Willis Hough.

Detroit Baptist Young People's Union—President, J. R. Cordon; secretary, D. E. Knechtel; treasurer, Thos. Boothby.

Detroit Boat Club—Boat house on Belle Isle Park. President, C. A. Newcomb, Jr.; vice president, E. G. Wasey; secretary, Standish Backus; treasurer, C. S. Ritter.

Detroit Camera Club—President, W. B. Wilcox; vice president, C. L. Warren; secretary, C. J. Shauer, No. 82 Harper avenue; treasurer, Harold Collins.

Detroit Century Club No. 2—President John J. Steiger; vice president, H. C. Beck; secretary, John Griffin, No. 217 Michigan avenue; treasurer, John Allen.

Detroit Chess and Checker Club—No. 306 Lightner Bldg. President, W. N. Banks; vice president, J. S. Wood; secretary, N. W. Banks; treasurer, A. W. Allen.

Detroit Christian Endeavor Union—President, Rev. Egbert Hayes; vice president, H. O. Scripps; recording secretary, Paul H. Benzien; corresponding secretary, Miss Mae Fraser; treasurer, F. R. Woolfenden; junior superintendent, Mrs. C. I. Smith.

Detroit Club—Northeast cor. Cass avenue and Fort. President, G. T. Moody; first vice president, A. H. Green, Jr.; second vice president, W. S. Russell; secretary, Wm. H. Burtenshaw; treasurer, H. H. Sanger.

Detroit Collegiate Sorosis—President, Miss Maud Francois; first vice president, Mrs. Lewis C. Fletcher; second vice president, Mrs. Henry A. I. Andries; secretary-treasurer, Miss Alice H. C. Wright.

Detroit Credit Men's Ass'n—Room 500 Moffat Bldg. President, Wade Millis; vice president, Wm. A. Petzold; secretary, W. S. Campbell; treasurer, W. A. McWhinney.

Detroit Curling Club—President, Benj. F. Guiney; vice president, T. L. Backus; secretary, W. A. McWhinney, No. 191 Warren avenue east; treasurer, A. D. B. Van Zandt.

Detroit Dartmouth Alumni Ass'n—President, Rev. W. S. Sayres; vice president, Dr. N. L. Hoskins; secretary-treasurer, Dr. Nathan Jenks, 271 Woodward avenue.

Detroit Driving Club—No. 502 Bowles Bldg. President, W. W. Collier; vice presidents, G. H. Paine and A. W. Freer; secretary-treasurer, Geo. E. Avery; racing secretary, Albert H. Moone.

Detroit Equal Suffrage Ass'n—President, Mrs. H. R. Spalding; vice president, Grace P. Rice; recording secretary, Mrs. Susan M. Sellers; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mary B. Waring; treasurer, Mrs. Sarah A. Sampson.

Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs—Century Bldg. President, Mrs. G. C. Caron; recording secretary, Mrs. Geo. Seabold; corresponding secretary, Mrs. D. W. Fox; financial secretary, Mrs. F. Kennedy; treasurer, Mrs. J. A. Morse.

Detroit Fire Underwriters Ass'n—President, J. P. Goodrich; vice president, L. K. Hennes; secretary, Alfred Bunclark, No. 86 Home Bank Bldg.; treasurer, H. B. Page.

Detroit Fishing and Hunting Ass'n—President, C. W. Kotcher; first vice president, S. J. Bowling; secretary-treasurer, Theodore Luce, No. 1520 Ford Bldg.

Detroit Florist Club—Cowie Bldg. President, Chas. H. Plumb; secretary, Hugo Schroeter; treasurer, Robt. M. Rahaley.

Detroit Fortnightly Club—Meets fortnightly at Strasburg's Academy. President, Thos. E. Bullion; secretary, Harry B. Kinsel; treasurer, Dr. Clayton H. Gracey; chairman of committee, Chester B. Ryan.

Detroit Foundrymen's Ass'n—President, A. T. Waterfall; secretary, A. P. Henry, No. 144 Fort east; treasurer, E. I. Chase.

Detroit Golf Club—Culbhouse and grounds, Palmer Park and Six-Mile road. President, W. B. Lowe; vice president, J. S. Hall; secretary-treasurer, V. N. Gurney, 402 Union Trust Bldg.

Detroit Hessen Verein—Meets first and third Wednesdays of month at No. 361 Gratiot avenue. President, Justus Bryer; vice president, Geo. Young; secretary, Conrad Moeller; treasurer, Ferd Valentine.

Detroit High School Alumni Ass'n—President, Miss Helen W. McKerrow; vice president, Miss Katherine G. Hine; secretary, Phil H. Sheridan, No. 124 Larned west; treasurer, George Widman.

Detroit High School Scholarship Fund Ass'n—Chairman, Ralph Phelps, Jr.; vice chairman, Walter S. Heavenrich; secretary, Amelia May Potter, No. 50 Piquette avenue east; treasurer, W. A. Livingstone; trustees, Lillian M. Bromley, Allen H. Zacharias.

Detroit Home Makers' Club—President, Mrs. A. I. McLeod; recording secretary, Mrs. J. A. Treadwell; corresponding secretary, Mrs. J. Goschenhofer, No. 565 Sheridan avenue; treasurer, Mrs. Gilbert Malcolm.

Detroit Hotel Ass'n—No. 821 Ford Bldg. President, W. C. Swart; secretary, L. W. Tuller; treasurer, Geo. Fulwell.

Detroit Housing Commission—No. 64 Lafayette boulevard. Secretary, Rev. L. E. Lovejoy.

Detroit Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans—President, Mrs. Louis Blitz; vice president, Mrs. Rosa T. Rosenfield; recording and corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jacob F. Teichner; financial secretary, Mrs. Fred Marymont; treasurer, Mrs. Adolph Enggass.

Detroit Lawyers' Club—President, E. M. Sloman; secretary-treasurer, A. P. Cox, No. 819 Majestic Bldg.

Detroit Life Underwriters' Ass'n—Meets first Monday of each month. President, D. A. Johnson; secretary-treasurer, T. P. Diamond, No. 614 Majestic Bldg.

Detroit Light Guard Board of Directors—President, Gen. H. M. Duffield; secretary, J. H. Beddow; treasurer and manager, Capt. W. J. Laurence.

Detroit Matinee Club—No. 939 Majestic Bldg. President, Geo. E. Hutton; vice president, Frank R. Dougall; secretary, Chas. S. Cornetet; treasurer, Daniel Lyons.

Detroit Methodist Ministers' Ass'n—President, Rev. E. Moore; vice president, Rev. H. D. Deetz; secretary-treasurer, Rev. Thos. A. Greenwood, 814 Hendrie avenue.

Detroit Motor Boat Club—Club House, Water Works Park and Detroit River. Commander, W. E. Scripps; vice commander, F. R. Still; recording commander, Robt. Keller; treasurer, G. H. Kirchner; fleet

captain, Wm. Reed-Hill; fleet surgeon, Dr. W. H. Price; measurer, T. C. Taylor; quartermaster, M. H. H. Von Jasmund; secretary, G. W. Graves, No. 56 Rowland Bldg.

Detroit Motor Club—President, Jos. S. Stringham; vice president, J. S. Haggerty; secretary, R. K. Davis; treasurer, Geo. E. Lawson.

Detroit Schuetzenbund—Meets first Friday of each month at No. 133 Bates. President, Fred Rumler; vice president, Fritz Gygas; secretary, Alfred Roemer, No. 133 Bates; treasurer, Louis J. Kretzchmar.

Detroit Seminary Alumnae Ass'n—President, Mrs. Geo. P. Codd; first vice president, Mrs. Wm. E. Heames; recording secretary, Miss Margaret Sayres; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jonathan Palmer, Jr., No. 109 Theodore; treasurer, Miss Blanche Jérôme.

Detroit Society for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis—President, Mr. Samuel T. Douglas; vice president, Dr. Charles G. Jennings; secretary-treasurer, Dr. Edwin S. Sherrill, 270 Woodward avenue.

Detroit Society of Women Painters—President, Miss L. Crapo-Smith; first vice president, Miss Marian L. Candler; secretary, Miss Della Garretson; treasurer, Miss Helen Keep.

Detroit Sorosis Society—President, Mrs. John Bennett; vice president, Mrs. Alfred Johnson; recording secretary, Miss May Scrimger; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Edward Van Schick; treasurer, Mrs. L. Walker.

Detroit Teachers' Ass'n—Meets the first Monday in the second school month at 4 p. m. and bi-monthly thereafter, in Board of Education Bldg., No. 50 Broadway. President, W. A. Ellis; vice president, Katherine B. White; secretary, Mary L. Miner, Eastern High School; treasurer, Edward I. Gunn; chairman executive committee, Caswell N. Munro.

Detroit Theatrical Club—No. 98 Michigan avenue. President, Ernest Cochran, secretary-treasurer, Wm. C. Nash.

Detroit Union Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor—President, C. I. Smith; vice president, Rev. F. Gordon Hart; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Ada S. Smith, No. 203 Westminster avenue; recording secretary, Miss J. Bradford, No. 23 Brainard; treasurer, Howard Scripps; junior superintendent, Miss Mina Gutekunst.

Detroit Wheelmen Club—No. 53-55 Adams avenue east. President, A. S. Burkart; first vice president, J. W. Weitzel; second vice president, Louis Schneider; secretary, I. J. Andries; treasurer, Carl Smith.

Detroit Whist Club—Meets Monday and Saturday evenings at The Addison. President, J. W. Steiner; vice president, H. D. Allee; secretary, W. W. Ellsworth; treasurer, P. E. Slick.

Detroit Woman's Club—Meets every Monday afternoon from October to May at residences of members. President, Mrs. E. E. Leggett; first vice president, Mrs. L. S. Nichols; second vice president, Mrs. S. M. P. Skinner; recording secretary, Mrs. F. J. Hunt; corresponding secretary and auditor, Mrs. J. B. Woolfenden, No. 25 Alexandrine avenue east; treasurer, Mrs. G. E. Van Syckle; Federation secretary, Miss E. Stocking; custodian, Mrs. J. B. Woolfenden.

Detroit Woman's Press Club—President, Miss Hattie C. Sleeper; vice president, Mrs. A. E. Bartlett; recording secretary, Miss Elizabeth Stocking; corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. T. Hollands, No. 371 Lincoln avenue; treasurer, Mrs. F. A. Lemkie.

Detroit Yacht Club—Anchorage and Club House on Belle Isle. Commander, C. P. Sieder; vice commander, T. H. Owen; rear commander, Albert Reutter; fleet captain, Hugh Gunnison; fleet surgeon, P. C. Dodenhoff, M. D.; fleet measurer, Otto Barthel; secretary, Louis W. Schimmel, No. 269 Beaubien; treasurer, A. C. Kramer.

Detroit Sozialer Turnverein, 136 Sherman street. President, Conrad Pfeiffer; vice president, Charles Bovensiepe; secretary, Hermann Petzoldt, No. 270 Sherman; treasurer, Charles Budden.

Diversity Literary Club—Meets at homes of members. President, Mrs. George G. Caron; vice president, Mrs. Eugene F. Bradt; recording secretary, Mrs. James Wilkie; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Charles S. McBride; treasurer, Mrs. Wm. H. Brace; scribe, Mrs. Stephen H. Knight.

Dom Polski Ass'n—No. 873 Russell. President, Rev. J. Rzakowski; secretary, P. J. Leszczynski; treasurer, Dr. B. W. Pasternacki.

East End Civic Ass'n—No. 1024 Ford Bldg. President, E. H. Nelson; vice president, E. H. Parker; secretary-treasurer, R. G. Lathrop.

East Grand Boulevard Improvement Ass'n—President, James Inglis; vice president, P. C. Baker; secretary-treasurer, W. G. Toepel, No. 369 E. Grand Boulevard.

Echo Glee Club—President, D. Duff; vice president, Miss Euphemia Clark; secretary-treasurer, Miss Ruby Elcome.

Edgemere Yacht Club—Foot Parkview avenue. Commander, H. C. Hovey; vice commander, G. C. Spaulding; rear commander, G. E. Willebrands; captain, G. A. West; secretary, G. G. Weidner, No. 239 Jefferson avenue; treasurer, P. C. McFedries.

El Dorado Club—No. 427 Gratiot avenue. President, Otto A. Ringel; vice president, Otto Marquardt; secretary, Frank Bette, No. 427 Gratiot avenue; treasurer, Harry Keintz.

Eleventh Ward Republican Club—Schuette's hall, No. 526 Jos. Cam-pau avenue. President, H. C. Schutte; recording secretary, Charles Kersten; treasurer, Wm. J. Darbe.

Elite Athletic Club—No. 485 Baker. President, Byron H. Van Every; vice president, Charles Bruder; secretary-treasurer, Sherman Littlefield, No. 475 Baker.

Elvin Singer Operatic Club—Director, Elvin Singer, No. 270 Woodward avenue.

Employers' Ass'n of Detroit—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, John Trix; vice president, Chester M. Culver; treasurer, James T. Whitehead; secretary, John J. Whirl.

Fellowcraft Club—No. 29-31 Grand River avenue east. President, J. W. Howland; vice president, T. A. Conlon; treasurer, Conrad H. Smith; secretary, Harry Austin.

Field School Alumni Ass'n—President, Arthur P. Diegle; vice president, John M. Finlayson; secretary, Miss Louise Wicks; treasurer, Clarence H. Eisman.

Fifteenth Ward Republican Club—President, O. H. Dandell; secretary, G. A. Perry, No. 22 Kercheval avenue.

Fine Arts Society—President, Mrs. Charles F. Hammond; first vice president, Mrs. Charles P. Larned; second vice president, Mrs. Ida F.

Norton; secretary, Mrs. Hedley V. Richardson; treasurer, Mrs. Henry B. Joy.

Fort Street Epworth Club—No. 725 Fort west. Vice president, Edward McLean.

Fourth Ward Republican Club—No. 256 Merrick avenue. President, J. T. Havill; secretary-treasurer, W. H. Mygatt, No. 28 Reed place; treasurer, Harry Hurst.

Franklin Club—No. 3121 W. Jefferson avenue, R. R. Meets first and third Tuesday of each month. President Charles Witt; secretary, Jeremiah O'Leary; treasurer, T. J. Sanders.

Fresh Air Society—Hanah Schloss Memorial Bldg. President, Ida V. Kopple; first vice president Edna Selling; second vice president, Mrs. Manfred E. Goldsone; secretary-treasurer, Lillian A. Wertheimer.

Frohsinn Singing Society—Drew's Hall, Rivard cor. Catherine. President, Ernst Deiss; secretary, Gottfried Kraft, No. 1207 Bellevue avenue; treasurer, Wm. Kraft; director, John Vonier, No. 358 Monroe avenue.

Galt, Ont., Old Boys' Ass'n—Honorable president, Thos. G. Craig; President, James Havil; vice president, Geo. C. Bradish; secretary, R. D. Kay, No. 140 Woodward avenue; treasurer, Arthur Pickering.

German Salesmen's Ass'n—Hall, No. 87-89 Monroe avenue. Meets every Friday evening. President, Kajetan Kreibich; vice president, Henry Koester; recording secretary, J. F. Drolshagen; corresponding secretary, E. J. Reichle; treasurer, Frank Winecker.

Harmonia Singing Society (Polish)—Polonia Hall, cor. Hastings and Willis avenue. President, Albert Maday; vice president, Micozyslaw Wagner; treasurer, Stefan Beger; secretary, Frank Kwiatkowski; financial secretary, Anthony Janowski; teacher, Frank Gorzelniaski.

Harmonie Damenverein—President, Mrs. Wm. Wuesthoff, No. 212 Russell; secretary, Mrs. H. Dietz; treasurer, Mrs. C. Wagner.

Harmonie Society—Hall, n. e. cor. Wilcox and Center. Board of directors meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month. Male chorus meets Wednesday for rehearsal. President, August Marxhausen; vice president, G. F. Behr; secretary, Geo. Osius; financial secretary, Geo. Gagel; treasurer, Carl Reese; musical director, Hermann Brueckner.

Harper Hospital Nurses' Club—No. 210 Hancock avenue east.

Harvard Club in Michigan—President, Prof. A. H. Lloyd, Ann Arbor; vice president, J. W. Dyar; secretary-treasurer, Dr. C. S. Oakman, No. 602 Fine Arts Building.

Haste Fishing and Shooting Club—Meets on call at No. 355 Grand River avenue. President, Wm. Haste; secretary, P. Bingham; treasurer, James Rule.

Highland Park Club—No. 217-218 Hammond Bldg. President, Geo. M. Hendrie; secretary, Walter O. Parmer.

Holcomb Athletic and Social Club—President, C. A. Althoff; recording secretary, H. B. Van Slembrouck; financial secretary, August W. Troy; treasurer, George W. Gomond, No. 37 Lorman.

Holmes Literary Society—Meets at homes of members every Monday evening. President, Howard Snedcor; vice president, Scott Finn; sec-

retary, Ralph Eaton, No. 101 Bethune avenue east; treasurer, Howard Seward.

Holcomb Athletic and Social Club—President, Hervie R. Pierce; recording secretary, Henry B. Van Slembrouck, No. 456 Holcomb avenue; financial secretary, Charles W. Pell; treasurer, George W. Gomond.

Holmes Literary Society—Meets at homes of members every Monday evening. President, James Partridge; vice president, Harold Orr; secretary, Levi Eaton, No. 50 Atkinson avenue; treasurer, Edward Grace.

Home Study Club—President, Mrs. S. E. Clark; vice president, Mrs. W. N. Worcester; secretary, Mrs. Chas. U. Bear; treasurer, Mrs. F. M. Thompson.

Hospital Ass'n of the Teachers of the Public Schools of Detroit—President, Wales C. Martindale; vice president, Miss Marion Fairbarn; secretary, Miss Florella Lowry, No. 114 Josephine; treasurer, Emil Albrecht.

Humane Society for Prevention of Cruelty—No. 405 Breitmeyer Bldg. Honorary president, Hon. T. W. Palmer; president, J. M. Hall; secretary, A. G. Ovenshire; treasurer, H. R. Burns; superintendent and attorney, J. F. Hill.

Hypatia Club—President, Mrs. F. J. Miller; vice president, Mrs. S. W. Jackson; recording secretary, Mrs. W. S. Brownell; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Thos. D. Bennett; treasurer, Mrs. C. M. Beach.

Independent Retail Liquor Dealers Ass'n—President, C. J. Gomond; vice president, Reinhold Ritter; secretary, Edward Barnett; treasurer, O. Koch.

Ingersoll and Oxford County, Ont., Old Boys' Ass'n—President, James F. Hill; vice president, Wm. Monroe; secretary, J. J. Sandick, 155 Henry; treasurer, Andrew C. Patterson.

International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons, City Union—Honorary chairman, Mrs. B. C. Whitney; chairman, Mrs. S. E. Diltz; corresponding secretary, Mrs. R. A. Dalka; recording secretary, Miss L. Gregory; treasurer, Mrs. C. S. Smith.

Iroquois Club (Col'd)—No. 291 St. Antoine. President, R. C. Owens; secretary, G. M. Smith, No. 171 Brady; treasurer and manager, Michael Park.

Jewish Women's Club—President, Miss Belle Goldman; first vice president, Mrs. C. C. Simons; second vice president, Mrs. Henry Krolik; recording secretary, Miss M. Buchhalter, No. 115 Adelaide; corresponding secretary, Mrs. J. Lowenthal; treasurer, Mrs. Adolph Schlesinger.

Jewish Woman's Club Juniors—President, Helen Goldsmith; recording secretary, Sadie Keidan; corresponding secretary, Sylvia Simons; treasurer, Mina Bing.

Junior Fortnightly Club—Headquarters, Clark Academy of Dancing, No. 56 Adams avenue east. Board of Directors: Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Peirce, Mrs. J. E. King, Mrs. S. A. Smith, Geo. W. Clark.

Ladies of the Zoar Society—President, Mrs. C. Reutter; vice president, Mrs. Walter Wagner; secretary, Mrs. Henry Sievers, No. 615 Jefferson avenue; treasurer, Mrs. Jacob Guthard.

Lafayette Society—No. 220 Russell. President, I. Roy; recording secretary, Achille Kiekens, No. 535 Clinton avenue; financial secretary, Edward E. Chartier; treasurer, Joseph Aubry.

Lake Carriers Ass'n—No. 507 Moffat Bldg. President, Wm. Livingstone; secretary, G. A. Marr, Cleveland, O.; treasurer, G. P. McKay, Cleveland, O.

League of Michigan Municipalities—President L. T. Hemans, Mason; vice president, C. E. Cartier, Ludington; secretary-treasurer, E. R. Schreiter, Jr., City Hall, Detroit.

Les Filles de Charite—President, Miss Winifred Curran; vice president, Josephine Steinmetz; recording secretary, Miss Maytie Hanrahan; financial secretary, Miss H. Andries; treasurer, Miss Clara Barkume.

Libri, The—President, Miss C. Angstman; secretary, Miss Maria Holmes, No. 277 Putnam avenue; treasurer, Miss Hattie Elliott.

Lyrick Club—No. 14 Lewis Blk. President, C. T. Hungerford; vice president, Orren Gillespie; secretary-treasurer, R. R. Cook.

Marble Tile and Mosaic Contractors' Ass'n—Seventh floor Stevens Bldg. President, C. C. McClosky; vice president, Peter Pellerin; secretary-treasurer, Thos. E. Beck.

Mason Contractors' Ass'n—Seventh floor Stevens Bldg. President, A. A. Albrecht; secretary, Herman Clasehn; treasurer, G. Jay Vinton.

Master Painters and Decorators' Ass'n—Seventh floor Stevens Bldg. President, J. C. Brede; secretary, P. N. Winterich; treasurer, J. A. Pip.

Men Principals' Ass'n of the Detroit Public Schools—President, C. N. Munro; vice president, J. F. Thomas; secretary, John Morse; treasurer, T. D. Cooke.

Men's Club of the Cass Avenue M. E. Church—President, E. G. Wasey; vice president, C. E. Turner; secretary-treasurer, David Meinnity.

Men's Club of the First Presbyterian Church—President, R. M. Zug; vice president, Thomas Forman; secretary, L. C. Hanmer; treasurer, George W. Bates.

Men's Club of St. Peter's Episcopal Church—President, E. H. Moreton; vice president, H. Otis; secretary, S. Shand; corresponding secretary, L. C. Havens, No. 179 Lovett avenue; treasurer, G. A. Watts.

Metal Work and Roofing Contractors' Ass'n—Seventh floor Stevens Building. President F. A. Heese; secretary-treasurer, Wm. J. Burton.

Methodist Union of Detroit—President, J. L. Hudson; first vice president, Rev. F. S. Rowland; second vice president, F. F. Fitchett; secretary, W. G. Seely, Jr., No. 31 Longfellow avenue; treasurer, Rev. C. J. Akin.

Michigan Anti-Saloon League—No. 1020-1023 Chamber of Commerce. President, vacant; vice president, J. L. Hudson; secretary, Rev. J. C. Pinkerton; treasurer, Frank H. West; superintendent, G. W. Morrow; attorney, P. W. Marsh.

Michigan Association of Certified Public Accountants—President, W. D. Gridley, Detroit; vice president, N. A. Hawkins, Detroit; secretary, F. T. Gies, No. 318 Majestic Bldg., Detroit; treasurer, H. C. Beck, Detroit.

Michigan Ass'n of Local Fire Insurance Agents—Office No. 33 Fort west. President, H. H. Wright, Port Huron; vice president, Mark Geer, Saginaw; secretary-treasurer, W. A. Eldridge, Detroit.

Michigan Society of Colonial Wars—Governor, Theo. H. Eaton; dep-

uty governor, Clarence A. Lightner; secretary, Edwin H. Nelson; treasurer, Dudley W. Smith; registrar and historian, Clarence M. Burton; Chaplain, Rev. Rufus W. Clark, D. D.

Michigan Society of the Dames of the Loyal Legion—Meets monthly. President, Mrs. S. E. Pittman, Sr.; vice president, Mrs. Charles L. Williams; treasurer, Miss Josephine Reaney; registrar, Miss Frances E. Curtiss; recorder, Mrs. F. W. Swift; historian, Mrs. Sylvester Larned.

Michigan Society of the Mayflower Descendants—Governor, Dr. C. W. Hitchcock; deputy governor, B. S. Colburn; secretary, Jessie Clara Chase, No. 31 Edmund place; treasurer, Mrs. Austin Yates Ladue; historian, Bessie Mitchell West.

Michigan Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals—No. 57 Fort west. President, Thomas W. Palmer; agent, A. G. McMillan.

Michigan Society Sons of the American Revolution—Headquarters, No. 606 Wayne County Savings Bank Bldg. National Society organized April 3, 1899. Michigan Society formed January 18, 1890. President, F. D. Taylor; vice president, A. H. Henry; secretary, W. C. Harris, No. 610 Wayne County Savings Bank Bldg; treasurer, Enoch Smith; registrar, R. E. Van Syckle; historian, C. M. Burton; Chaplain, Rev. Lee S. McCollester.

Michigan State Agricultural Society—President, Fred Postal, Detroit; vice president, L. Whitney Watkins, Manchester; secretary, I. H. Butterfield, No. 919-920-921 Majestic Bldg., Detroit; treasurer, John McKay, Romeo; general superintendent, A. J. Doherty, Clare; assistant general superintendent, Jas. Slocum, Detroit.

Michigan State Ass'n of Builders—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, Edwin Owen, Grand Rapids; first vice president, John M. Feiner, Ann Arbor; second vice president, J. P. Miller, Bay City; third vice president, M. McQuigg, Kalamazoo; treasurer, Albert A. Albrecht, Detroit; secretary, John J. Whirl, Stevens Bldg., Detroit.

Michigan State Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis—President, C. J. Jennings, M. D., Detroit; secretary, S. A. Warthing, M. D., Ann Arbor; treasurer, H. J. Hartz, M. D., Detroit.

Michigan State Bar Ass'n—President, H. A. Lockwood, Detroit; secretary, W. J. Landman, Grand Rapids; treasurer, W. E. Brown, Lapeer.

Michigan State Brewers' Ass'n—No. 1002-1004 Ford Bldg.

Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs—President, Mrs. Florence G. Mills, Kalamazoo; first vice president, Mrs. Lucy Williams, Lapeer; recording secretary, Mrs. Charles T. Williams, Grand Rapids; corresponding secretary, Miss Kate Carlyle, Saginaw.

Michigan State Firemen's Ass'n—President, H. R. Delfs, Lansing; first vice president, Thos. Scott, Manistee; secretary-treasurer, A. P. Lane, Ithaca.

Michigan State Hotel Ass'n—President, J. Boyd Pantlind, Grand Rapids; vice president, Phil Eichhorn, Port Huron; secretary, Elmer L. Allor, Ford Bldg., Detroit; treasurer, Wm. C. Swart, Hotel Cadillac, Detroit.

Michigan State Humane Society—President, W. E. Tallmadge, Grand Rapids; secretary, J. F. Hill, No. 606 Breitmeyer Bldg., Detroit.

Michigan State Nurses' Ass'n—President, Mrs. G. O. Switzer, Lud-

ington; first vice president, Mrs. E. I. Parker, Lansing; recording secretary, Miss Irene Van Pelt, Kalamazoo; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Ralph Apted, Grand Rapids; treasurer, Miss Agnes Dean, Detroit.

Michigan State Poultry Ass'n—President, W. E. Macklem, Detroit; secretary, J. H. Tomlinson, No. 210 Jefferson avenue, Detroit; treasurer, W. J. H. Goetz, Detroit.

Michigan State Society of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America—President, Mrs. B. C. Whitney, No. 427 Woodward avenue, Detroit; vice president, Mrs. K. Rainey, Detroit; secretary, Mrs. J. B. Brayton, Grand Rapids; treasurer, Mrs. H. B. Joy, Detroit.

Michigan Women's Press Ass'n—President, Mrs. G. G. Browne, Harbor Beach; first vice president, Miss Jennie Buell, Ann Arbor; second vice president, Miss Clara Bates, Traverse City; corresponding secretary, Miss Edith M. Lenon (Times), Ann Arbor; recording secretary, Mrs. Sarah J. La Tour, Detroit; treasurer, Dr. Emma E. Bower, Port Huron.

Milk Fund Ass'n—President, Mrs. Louis Kamper; vice president, Mrs. Morse Rohnert; secretary, Miss Delia Webber; treasurer, Mrs. August Goebel.

Modern Authors' Club—No. 55 Pasadena avenue. Meets first and third Wednesday evenings each month. President, Emily H. Butterfield; secretary-treasurer, Myrtle Garrett.

More Daylight Club—No. 302 Fine Arts Bldg. President, Dr. Geo L. Renaud; vice presidents, C. M. Hayes, Lem W. Bowen; secretary, John F. Smith, No. 132 Field avenue; treasurer, Richard P. Joy.

Mount Vernon Society of Detroit—President, Mrs. Geo. S. Hosmer; vice presidents, Mrs. James N. Wright, Mrs. David D. Cady; recording secretary, Miss Maud Van Syckle; corresponding secretary, Miss J. P. Lyon, No. 54 Forest avenue east; treasurer, Mrs. O. B. Taylor.

Mutual Club (Inc.)—President, Benj. Jacobson; secretary, M. E. Finklestone; treasurer M. H. Fechheimer.

National Founders' Ass'n—No. 914-918 Hammond Bldg. President, Henry A. Carpenter, Providence, R. I.; secretary, F. W. Hutchings, Detroit; treasurer, Peoples State Bank, Detroit.

New Century Club—President, Mrs. S. F. Burgess; first vice president, Mrs. C. E. Kilburn; recording secretary, Mrs. Wm. H. Sullivan; corresponding secretary, Mrs. M. B. Brownell; treasurer, Mrs. F. H. Haskell.

New England Society—President, E. W. Pendleton; secretary, Edwin W. Gibson; treasurer, Charles A. Warren.

New York Society of Detroit—President, Arthur D. Maguire; first vice president, Henry K. White; second vice president, Dr. E. L. Shurly; secretary, Wm. B. Wood; treasurer, H. J. Underhill.

North Channel Club—Annual meeting first Wednesday in April. President, E. St. Elmo Lewis; vice president, John J. Speed; secretary-treasurer, W. G. Fitzpatrick, No. 305 Whitney Bldg.

North End Republican Club—Diebel's Hall, cor. Hastings and Milwaukee avenue. President, Wm. Butterfield; secretary, P. J. Rachel, No. 226 Milwaukee avenue east.

North Woodward Residents' Ass'n—President, E. E. Andrews; secretary, C. Billington, No. 104 Woodland avenue; treasurer, R. E. Smith.

North Woodward Woman's Club—President, Mrs. H. H. Markham, No. 75 Englewood avenue; recording secretary, Mrs. Wm. Pitts; corresponding secretary, Mrs. L. McColl; treasurer, Mrs. W. H. Riddle.

Northwestern Research Club—President, W. S. Clapp; vice president, L. H. Parker; secretary-treasurer, C. L. Powers, No. 243 Wreford avenue.

Nurses' Club—No. 612 Cass avenue.

Ohio Society of Detroit—Meets on call of Board of Governors. President, Harry Skillman; vice president, Harry Taylor; secretary, John J. Gaffill, Jr., Wayne County Savings Bank Bldg.; treasurer, A. A. Hare.

Old Club—St. Clair Flats. President, Richard P. Joy; vice president, Wm. P. Holliday; secretary, Standish Backus, No. 80 Griswold; treasurer, Hamilton Dey.

Oratorical Ass'n of the Detroit College of Law—President, W. S. Sayres, Jr., No. 163 Willis avenue west; corresponding secretary, Woolfred Woodruff, No. 330 E. Grand Boulevard.

Orpheus Club (18 male voices)—No. 71 Valpey Bldg., No. 213 Woodward avenue. President H. V. Richardson; vice president, W. A. Kerr; secretary, A. L. C. Henry; treasurer, E. N. Higgins; director, Frederick Alexander.

Outing Club—President, George Barnes; secretary-treasurer, J. E. Henderson.

Park Hill Residents' Ass'n—President, Frederick H. Holt; vice president, Walter C. Hartman; secretary-treasurer, J. W. T. Knox, care of F. Stearns & Co.

Parmenas Club—Meets at homes of members. President, Mrs. Levi F. Eaton, No. 50 Atkinson avenue; recording secretary, Mrs. C. L. Rider; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Marion Ward Huber; Treasurer, Mrs. C. R. Wardell.

Pastors' Union of Detroit—Meets second Monday each month except June, July, August and September at Y. M. C. A. President, Rev. C. W. Baldwin; vice president, Rev. G. L. Wittett; secretary-treasurer, Rev. J. D. MacDonald, 20 Cortland avenue, H. P.

Philomathic Debating Club—No. 47 Division. Speaker, H. Z. Gordon; clerk, Geo. Taylor, No. 253 Eliot; assistant clerk, S. Gordon; sergeant-at-laws, J. Blumrosen.

Phoenix Club—Meets every Thursday at Phoenix Hall.

Plastering Contractors' Ass'n—Top floor Stevens Bldg. President, John H. Laurie; secretary, Randall H. Mitchell; treasurer, Albert R. Schneider.

Plattdeutscher Unterstuetzungs Verein—Schiller Hall. President, Henry W. Blohm; vice president, Fred W. Krapp; secretary, Gustav Mertens; treasurer, John F. Behlow.

Police Chiefs, Sheriffs and Prosecuting Attorneys Society of Michigan—President, A. L. Campbell, Kalamazoo; vice president, H. J. Kinney, Bay City; secretary-treasurer, Geo. V. Weimer, Kalamazoo.

Polish Young Women's Gymnastic Society—Polonia Hall, cor. Hastings and Willis avenue. President, Miss Frances Melin; secretary, Miss K. Wilczynska; treasurer, Miss Mary Pietrowicz.

Presbyterian Alliance of Detroit—President, Richard Owen; vice

president, Rev. J. D. MacDonald; secretary, N. W. Cary, No. 214 Lincoln avenue; treasurer, E. W. Snyder.

Presbyterian Brotherhood of Detroit—President, A. E. Johnson; secretary, Jos. Grindley, No. 59 Parsons; treasurer, W. A. Hall.

Presbyterian Young People's Union of the Detroit Presbytery—President, E. B. Chaffee; vice president, R. M. Tate; recording secretary, H. A. Lichtwardt, No. 545 Baldwin avenue; treasurer, F. S. Sibley.

Prismatic Club—Elks' Temple. President, Levi L. Barbour; vice president, Herbert Bowen; secretary, Walter C. Boynton, No. 301 Owen Bldg.; treasurer, James S. Holden.

Quo Vadis Club—No. 680 Twenty-third. President, Frank Sobczynski; vice president, Alphonse Koscinski; secretary, Walter Bednarek, No. 680 Twenty-third; treasurer, Leonard L. Szymanski.

Railroad Young Men's Christian Ass'n of West Detroit—Cor. Livernois and Southern avenues. President, D. S. Sutherland; vice president, M. B. Muir; general secretary, I. G. Jenkins; assistant secretary, W. R. McKay; treasurer, J. E. Griffiths.

Railway Clerks' Club—President, J. G. McPherson; secretary, G. R. O'Neill, Pere Marquette R. R.; treasurer, J. T. McKay.

Reginald Club—Meets last Thursday of month at No. 1495 Woodward avenue. President, Rev. F. J. Van Antwerp; secretary, Mrs. Jos. O'Reilly; treasurer, Miss Adele Fischer.

Retail Grocers and General Merchants' Ass'n of Michigan—President, M. L. De Bats, Bay City; first vice president, Charles Christensen, Saginaw; second vice president, G. E. Denise, Grand Rapids; secretary, J. T. Percival, Port Huron; treasurer, G. E. Lewis, Jackson.

Retailer Jewelers' Club—President, C. W. Warren; vice president, John Kay; secretary, Robt. Traub; treasurer, Hugh Connolly.

River Rouge Athletic Club—President, Jerry O'Leary; vice president, Chas. Drouillard; secretary-treasurer, Louis Laginess.

Riverside Club—No. 180 Woodbridge east. President, Arthur Look; secretary, R. J. Geddes; treasurer, Miss J. S. Hendrie.

St. Andrew's Society—No. 109-111 Congress east. President, Robert Gerrie; first vice president, John Smith; second vice president, John Henry; recording secretary, D. T. Rodger; financial secretary, G. A. L. Watson; treasurer, Alex. Watson.

St. Andrew's Society Drill Corps—President, Ronald S. Kellie; vice president, Richard Lindsey; secretary-treasurer, W. H. Walker. Military officers: Chief, Robert Schram; first chieftain, John J. Ferguson; second chief, C. N. Preston.

St. Antonius Leibesbund—President, Alex. Roosen; vice president, John Weber; recording secretary, Edward J. Kramer; financial secretary, Anthony Kramer; treasurer, Jacob Wagner.

St. Clair Flats Protective Ass'n—President, Lou Burt; vice president, James Roach; secretary, Geo. F. Monaghan; treasurer, C. W. Kotcher.

St. Johannes Verein of Detroit—Cor. Russell and Chestnut. President, Gustav Schreiter; corresponding secretary, Geo. A. Reuter, No. 351 Parker avenue; financial secretary, A. B. Franke; treasurer, Wm. Ludwig.

St. Joseph's College Alumni Ass'n—Honorary president, Rev. B. Aus-

tin, F. S. C.; president, F. A. Weber; recording secretary, W. C. Huetter, No. 1073 Field avenue; corresponding secretary, C. N. Reichling; treasurer, E. A. Klein.

Wayne Club—Fifth floor Bamlet Bldg. President, C. H. Haberkorn; secretary-treasurer, F. M. Jerome.



Y. W. C. A. BUILDING

Wayne County Bible Society—Meets at Y. M. C. A. Bldg. President, Geo. M. Lane; vice president, Rev. Wm. H. Clark; secretary-treasurer, R. A. Bissell; depository, No. 21 Adams avenue east.

Wayne County Democratic Club—President, G. W. Moore; secretary, C. S. Hampton; treasurer, John Naylor.

Wayne County Federation of Catholic Societies—No. 702 Majestic Bldg. President, Geo. Webber; vice president, M. Sheahan; secretary, Church Smith, No. 367 Third avenue; treasurer Mrs. M. Bolger.

Wayne County Graduate Nurses' Ass'n—No. 247 Farnsworth. President, Miss C. P. Vanderwater; secretary, Miss Bessie Severance; treasurer, Miss Margaret Blue.

Wayne County Prohibition Committee—No. 58 Griswold. Chairman, M. J. Wyley; financial agent, R. L. Herrick.

Wayne County Sunday School Ass'n—No. 213 Woodward avenue. President, Dr. W. J. Wilson; vice president, J. P. Main; secretary, Mrs. G. O. Pratt, No. 26 Bagg; treasurer, J. F. Giffin.

Wayne County Teachers' Ass'n—President, T. O. Sweatland, Wayne; vice president, B. J. Rivett; secretary, Miss Edith Clawson.

Wednesday Study Club—President, Mrs. H. A. Kaercher; secretary, Mrs. C. S. Boggs, No. 32 Euclid avenue; treasurer, Mrs. S. L. Welsh.

Weekly Study Club—President, Mrs. J. A. Grow, No. 293 Putnam avenue; vice president, Mrs. John Grindley; secretary, Mrs. F. A. Gowan; treasurer, Mrs. F. B. Fitch.

West Warren Avenue Improvement Ass'n—President, F. P. Aldrich; secretary, Leon J. Burns; treasurer, R. B. Ransom.

Westminster League—Cor. Fort and Third avenue. Honorary president, Rev. E. H. Pence, D. D.; president, D. C. Kressler; secretary, Miss Eva Whitmore; treasurer, Wm. Watson.

Westphalia Shooting Club—Shooting Park n. s. Gratiot avenue nr. Taylor road. President, Joseph Goeddeke; corresponding secretary, Joseph Goedde; financial secretary and treasurer, F. J. Spielmann, No. 489 Gratiot avenue.

Wimodaughsis Club—Meets Wednesday afternoon at homes of members. President, Mrs. Henry A. Lewis; vice president, Mrs. E. H. Nelson; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. W. P. Holliday.

Witenagemate Club—Burns Bldg. Executive committee, George Hosmer, Samuel Douglas, Frank G. Ryan.

Woman's Guild of the Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church—President, Mrs. Wm. M. Donald; first vice president, Mrs. H. E. C. Daniels; second vice president, Miss Annie D. Russel; third vice president, Mrs. H. B. Joy; secretary, Miss Madeline King; treasurer, Mrs. John M. Francis.

Woman's Historical Club—No. 56 Alexandrine avenue west. President, Mrs. T. T. Leete, Jr.; vice president, Miss I. Hull; recording secretary, Miss Jeanette Davis; assistant recording secretary, Mrs. L. R. Rumsey; treasurer, Mrs. Wm. Morgan.

Woman's Home Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church—No. 21 Adams avenue east. General superintendent Deaconess work, Miss Henrietta A. Bancroft; secretary, Miss Fannie L. Cummings.

Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Synod of Michigan—President, Mrs. J. K. Mitchell, Detroit; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alex. Urquhart, Wyandotte; recording secretary, Mrs. Fred'k D. Johnson, Lapeer.

Woman's Home Missionary Union of the Congregational Churches of Michigan—President, Mrs. C. R. Wilson, Detroit; corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. L. Wilson, Detroit; recording secretary, Mrs. C. M. Wagner, Ann Arbor.

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Detroit Pres-

bytery—President, Mrs. J. M. Barkley; recording secretary, Miss C. W. Cowie; corresponding secretary, Mrs. W. M. Dwight, No. 781 Jefferson avenue; treasurer, Mrs. H. L. O'Brien.

Woman's Independent Voters Ass'n—President, Mrs. Carrie Oostdyke; recording secretary, Mrs. W. R. Rutson, No. 1285 Jefferson avenue; treasurer, Mrs. K. Hargraves.

Woman's Indoor Athletic Club—No. 33 Adams avenue east. President, Mrs. R. A. Alger; vice president, Mrs. S. Hendrie; secretary, Miss Estelle Armstrong; treasurer, Mrs. H. B. Joy.

Woman's Research Club—President, Mrs. George I. Berridge; vice president, Mrs. Oliver J. Trollope; recording secretary, Mrs. Wm. Diebel; treasurer, Mrs. T. D. McKinney, 106 Hazelwood avenue.

Yondotega Club—No. 302 Jefferson avenue. Chairman, Charles L. Freer; registrar, Philip M. McMillan, Union Trust Bldg.; Bursar, Henry Ledyard.

Young Men's Christian Ass'n—Y. M. C. A. Bldg., cor Witherell and Adams avenue east. Open from 8:30 a. m. to 10:30 p. m. daily; Sundays, from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. President R. M. Zug; vice presidents, G. Jay Vinton and J. S. Smart; recording secretary, J. E. Howard; corresponding secretary, J. B. Howarth; treasurer, Robert B. Tannahill; general secretary, A. G. Studer.

Y. M. C. A. Swimming Club—President, H. H. Lichtwardt; secretary, J. C. Spaulding; treasurer, C. Bittings.

Young Men's Hebrew Ass'n—President, Samuel Sarashon; first vice president, Morris Friedberg; secretary Hyman Keidan; treasurer, Joel E. Grossman.

Young Men's Institute—President, W. H. Gallagher; recording secretary, Leo J. Crane; corresponding secretary, J. C. Dilworth, No. 36 Leicester court; financial secretary, F. J. Hartge; treasurer, James Cummins.

Young Men's Republican Club—President, Marvin A. Smith; secretary, A. F. Marschner, No. 602 Majestic Bldg.; treasurer, George S. Withee.

Young Men's Republican League—Chairman, F. E. Searle; secretary, C. A. Richardson.

Young People's Society of Temple Beth El, Senior Branch—Temple Beth El. President, E. G. Frank; secretary, Irma Sloman; treasurer, Jennie Koploy. Junior Branch—President, Leon Hamberger; secretary, Gerald May.

Young Women's Christian Ass'n—Washington avenue, cor. Clifford. General Secretary, Miss Anna V. Rice. Open daily from 8:30 a. m. to 9:30 p. m.

Zenda Club—Club Rooms No. 171, Eighteenth. Telephone West 1175-J. President, Daniel A. Sutton; vice president and secretary, Wm. H. Hassard; assistant secretary, Clyde T. Kent; auditor, E. A. Drewyour.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FINANCIAL—THE BANKS OF THE CITY, THEIR GREAT GROWTH AND PRESENT INFLUENCE IN THE PROGRESS OF THE CITY—AMALGAMATIONS MADE NECESSARY THROUGH THE WIDENING SPHERE OF INDUSTRIAL DETROIT—CONSERVATISM RULES—DETROIT PASSES THROUGH FINANCIAL CRISIS UNSCATHED—PRESENT STANDING OF THE BANKS AND TRUST COMPANIES.

Three of the greatest factors in the progress of this great city are the press, transportation facilities and the banking institutions of the metropolis. Co-operative in their functions, each has had a large share in the development of Detroit.

From the beginning, and by this is meant the period when sound financiering took the place of the wild-cat banks of the old days, and the general banking law of the state became operative, conservatism has been the watchword; conservatism, however, of such a character as to not interfere with the legitimate progress of commerce and manufacture. Throughout the stress of panics, Detroit has stood forth triumphant. The remarkably few failures recorded were due to a betrayal of trust upon the part of certain officers of the failed institutions. Each suspension had its lesson from which the remaining banks have profited, with the result that today Detroit is looked upon as one of the soundest financial cities in the country.

During the period of territorial government in Michigan the bank of Michigan which has been noticed in the general history was incorporated without the consent of congress and was run without due regard to financial principles. Its career was anything but creditable and did much to impair the credit of the territory.

As Emory Wendell in his "History of Banks and Banking in Michigan" says: "During the early part of the period when the territory was under the anomalous rule of the Governor and Judges, who combined legislative, judicial and executive functions in one body, visionary ideas of the rapid growth of the territory and the town prevailed. It was under these conditions that Judge Woodward's magnificent spider web plan for the laying out of the city was conceived. It was under these conditions also, that the first great bank scheme was projected. Just how this scheme struck one of the plain citizens of Detroit, John Gentle, a practical man, is best told in his own words.

"In 1805, a few days after Governor Hull and Judge Woodward arrived, the writer accidentally stepped into the legislative board while

the honorable members were deliberating on the situation and the conditions of the territory, and the measures necessary for its future elevation. Judge Woodward said: 'For my part I have always considered these territorial establishments, at best a most wretched system of government. And the measures hitherto pursued by former territorial authorities have proven exceedingly defective. We will, therefore, adopt a system for the government of this new territory that shall be entirely novel.' Governor Hull and Judge Bates gave their consent by a gentle inclination of the head, and the audience stood amazed at the wisdom of their words, and the majesty of their demeanor. Governor Hull then observed; 'Before I left Boston I had but a very imperfect idea of this country; but since I arrived I am delighted with it. Gentlemen this is the finest, the richest country in the world. But from its remoteness, it is subject to many inconveniences which it behooves us to remove, and as speedily as possible. And the first object which merits the attention of this honorable board is the establishment of a bank. Yes, gentlemen, a bank of discount and deposit will be a fine thing for this new territory. Before I left Boston I spoke to several of my friends on this subject, and they even made me promise to be connected with it. "A bank?" said I to myself, "a bank of discount and deposit in Detroit? To discount what? Cabbages and turnips? pumpkins and potatoes?" Thinks I to myself, these folks must be either very wise men, very great fools, or very great rogues. A bank in Detroit, where the trade is all traffic, and the bills all payable in produce. A bank in the bosom of the deserts of Michigan. That would be a novelty indeed.' "

But the idea that the small town needed a big bank was not original with either the Governor or the Judge. Before they left Boston, Russell Sturges and five other promoters laid plans for the great bank scheme in the west and carefully instilled into the mind of Hull and Woodward the feasibility of carrying it out. One of the first things the governor and judges did, after planning to rebuild the town, which had been recently burned down, was to inaugurate a series of four lotteries, the profits of which were to go "toward the encouragement of literature and the development of Detroit." One of the next was to pass a bill for the incorporation of a bank with a capital stock not to exceed one million dollars, and with a charter to run one hundred and one years.

The governor was authorized to subscribe for stock for the territory without limit as to the amount, but he only ventured ten shares, and the Boston parties took ninety-five per cent of the rest. A lot was purchased for \$475, and a building was constructed, costing, with furniture and fixtures, \$8,000. It was the most costly building in the town at the time. These preliminaries having been attended to, the Governor and Judge Woodward went to Washington and returned by the way of Boston, bringing to Detroit with them \$19,000 in guineas to pay the first instalment of two per cent on the Boston subscriptions to the stock. They also brought additional appurtenances for the bank, the vault doors, iron bars for the windows, a cashier, two financiers, and a large amount of unsigned bills. Judge Woodward was chosen president, and W. Flannigan, cashier. They opened business by sign-

ing \$165,000 worth of bills which the Boston financiers speedily started eastward. These bills read: "The Bank of Detroit, and its stockholders jointly and severally guarantee the payment at their office at Detroit \$——."

The Boston financiers sold these in the eastern and northern states, at from ten to twenty-five per cent discount, and soon afterward sold their stock. Redemption of the first five dollar bill presented at the bank was refused and five hundred dollars presented at a later date met with the same fate. After a few days, however, the cashier concluded to pay them. There is nothing to show that any notes were ever redeemed, nor that any deposits were made, nor any notes discounted, nor any return made for the bills issued. After the first Boston stockholders sold out, their successor, a Mr. Dexter of the same city, arrived at Detroit, elected a new president and started east with a new lot of bills. In all it is said that more than a million and a half of bills were issued, of which twelve thousand dollars were circulated in Michigan, the rest being taken east. In the meantime most of the two per cent paid in for the first instalment on the stock disappeared and no more payments were made.

In December, 1807, the authorities at Washington learned that something irregular was going on at Detroit, and ordered Judge Withere'll to investigate. Congress, upon the return of Judge Withere'll's report, refused to sanction the scheme. This was equivalent to a notice to all that the charter was of no force. The bank was kept open, however, for its original purpose of issuing notes, until September, 1808, when the absence of Judge Woodward from the territory broke the tie which often prevented the transaction of business in the territorial board, called the governing council of the territory. Governor Hull and Judge Withere'll, being a majority of the quorum of three, passed an act providing for a severe penalty for unauthorized banking. The bank officers petitioned for an exemption from these penalties, but the petition was denied and the first bank ever organized in Michigan closed its inglorious and useless career.

Historians say that the passage of the penal banking act made Judge Woodward very angry and caused an estrangement between him and the governor which lasted throughout their official careers.

Judge Woodward, at a subsequent meeting of the governing council, secured a repeal of the punitive act and all other acts passed in his absence, but at a still later meeting the council again passed a penal banking statute adapted from a law upon the statute books of the state of New York, and its main provision was as follows: "No person unauthorized by law shall subscribe to, or become a member of any association, institution or company, or proprietor of any bank or fund for the purpose of issuing notes, receiving deposits, making discounts, or transacting any other business which incorporated banks may do or transact, by virtue of their incorporation, and if any person unauthorized by law as aforesaid, shall hereafter subscribe or become proprietor as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay for each offense the sum of one thousand dollars to be recovered by any person who shall sue for the same in an action of debt, one half thereof, to his own use, and the

other half to the people of this territory; and all notes and sureties for the payment of money, or the delivery of property, made or given to any such association shall be null and void."

The experience of the people with this fraudulent institution naturally prejudiced them against banking, and it was not until 1817 that another attempt was made to establish a bank. On December 19th of that year the legislative council passed an act incorporating the Bank of Michigan. The following incorporators and directors were named in the act: Solomon Sibley, Stephen Mack, Henry L. Hunt, Abraham Edwards, John R. Williams, Philip Lecuyer and William Brown. Ten per cent of the \$100,000 capital was paid into the bank in specie before the doors were opened for business, under the terms of the special act, the remainder of the capital to be paid in when called for by the directors.

This institution was organized along right lines, and had behind it the very best people of the city and territory. It had a long, memorable and honorable career, and, during the period of reckless banking which followed and the scattering broadcast of unsecured, wild-cat currency, "The Old Bank of Michigan" stood for everything that was conservative, sound and honorable. It was a bright spot in the history of finance. It was organized in June, 1818, with a paid-in capital of \$10,000 and commenced business in a small way. General John R. Williams was chosen president and James McCloskey cashier. In 1824 the bank was sold to Edmund Dwight and six other Boston capitalists who increased the capital stock to \$60,000 and elected E. P. Hastings as president. Emory Wendell says in his "History of Banking in Michigan" that "in a careful examination of the affairs of the bank, Mr. Hastings discovered a deficiency in the accounts of Cashier McCloskey, who was forthwith discharged, and Charles C. Trowbridge was appointed in his place, thus commencing a long career of usefulness in connection with Detroit public institutions."

The charter of the bank was extended for twenty-five years on February 25, 1831, and in 1834 an act was passed permitting it to establish a branch at Kalamazoo. During the latter year the capital was increased to \$350,000. In 1836 Mr. Trowbridge resigned as cashier, and was succeeded by H. K. Sanger. In that year the capital was increased to \$500,000 and the bank began the construction of the first stone building in the city. This historic structure was situated at the southwest corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street. It was a most imposing building at the time and is at present occupied by the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company.

The financial crisis of 1837 and 1838 was the first stroke of adversity suffered by the bank. Its losses during that period of stress were very heavy and strained its resources to the uttermost. With the aid of \$300,000 advanced by its eastern owners, it remained solvent, being one of very few financial institutions in the west that did so. When the smoke of the panic cleared, many of the loans made by the bank could not be collected, much of the real estate mortgaged as security had to be taken over by the bank, which further impoverished it as to ready cash. It was finally decided to wind up the affairs of the bank,

and in 1842 trustees were appointed for that purpose. All claims were settled upon as equitable a basis as possible. Where cash was not available real estate was turned over to the creditors. While they at that time deemed themselves unfortunate, the growth of the city caused such sharp advances in realty that several handsome fortunes were made.

On April 2, 1827, an act was passed incorporating the Merchants and Mechanics Bank of Michigan, which was to have had its headquarters at Detroit and a capital of \$200,000. The terms of the act were never complied with and no bank was ever organized under it.

On November 5, 1829, the Farmers and Mechanics Bank was organized under a special act placing the capital at \$100,000 and naming the following gentlemen as directors and incorporators: John R. Williams, Levi Cook, Orville Cook, Henry V. Disbrow, John Hale, Eliot Gray, Tunis S. Wendell, Daniel Thurston and Henry Sanderson. It began business in 1830, with John Biddle as president and H. H. Sizer as cashier. In 1834 the capital was increased to \$400,000, and the bank was quite prosperous until the crisis of 1837. It paid large dividends, but after the cyclone of the panic found much of its paper uncollectable. It worried along until 1839 when it suspended. In 1845 it attempted to resume business, but was deterred by an injunction from the attorney general. It had obtained sufficient good money to redeem its bills, and, with improved times, entered upon a successful career. In 1849, its charter was extended for twenty years, at the end of which time it wound up its affairs with all its debts paid and with fair returns to its stockholders.

In those days banking was not the sanely guarded and careful business it is now and the charter of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank not only allowed it to do an insurance business, but directed it to become a stockholder in a mill. In addition to this, the bank opened up for business on a strictly financial basis but, finding its powers circumscribed, dropped back to the original idea of banking.

On March 26, 1835, an act was approved incorporating the Michigan State Bank, with John R. Williams, John Hale, Robert McMillen, Edward C. Matthews, Elias Doty, Barnabus Campau, Abraham F. Schoolcraft, Cullen Brown and John Truax as incorporators and trustees. The bank started with a capital stock of \$200,000 and great expectations. F. H. Stevens was appointed president and John Norton, Jr., cashier. The bank was appointed fiscal agent of the state, and its great expectations came to naught. The \$5,000,000 improvement loan proved an impediment, and the small proportion assumed by the bank was a dead loss to that institution which was compelled to suspend and wind up its affairs in 1839.

In 1845 a combination of business men bought the old bank, liquidated its debts and paid a fair dividend on the stock. In 1841 its outstanding notes were redeemed. The remainder of its indebtedness was paid by the assignee in 1842.

In 1845, as before mentioned, a combination of business men bought out the bank. All its notes were redeemed and the bank again started business with C. C. Trowbridge as president, A. H. Adams, cashier

and the following directors: Henry P. Baldwin, James F. Joy, Henry B. Ledyard, Frederick Buhl, George F. Porter, Zachariah Chandler and Christian H. Buhl, most of whom were still later associated in the organization of the Second National Bank.

Then injected itself into the banking interest of Michigan, the Railroad State Bank. This gave rise, during the next session of the legislature, to a heated controversy, and probably changed the railroad map of this portion of the United States. The early antipathy of the citizens of Michigan to monopolistic practices found vent in the legislature, which incontinently turned down all applications for incorporation or franchises of independent state banks. The private banks of the state at once assumed the position that banking legislation was going to the "deminition bow-wows." The writer was assailed for daring to insinuate that all of the "private banks" in the commonwealth were not conducted according to the best methods of finance—in other words, they did not play a square game. Consistent effort and an intelligent campaign of publicity, however, soon convinced the country banks of the advisability of coming into the fold through incorporation, under the general banking law of the state. Most of those who did business on the square were thus enticed into the incorporated ranks.

It was a hard fight in which the Detroit banks stood absolutely neutral. They had to; but a sense of decency and conservatism, pre-saged by the reading of the handwriting on the wall, brought most of the private banks in Michigan into line, and made them come under cover by incorporating under the general banking laws of the state. One result of this is that there is not a private bank in Detroit.

Through the gradations of progress, the successive steps of which are too numerous to mention here, the banks of the city have arisen to the emergency, and, through combination and acquisition, have succeeded in placing Detroit in the front ranks of financial centers.

When Detroit was a city of 225,000 inhabitants, her financiers had no idea that they would be called upon to finance industrial schemes to such mammoth proportions as those now offered for consideration. With the development of the industrial possibilities of the city, however, the bankers awoke to the possibilities of the situation, and, in order to corral the business for Detroit, started a campaign of amalgamation and acquisition, which would furnish to Detroit the financial backing to which its industrial development entitled it. The first of these steps of financial progress was taken by the State Savings Bank, of which George H. Russel was president, which acquired, through purchase, a controlling interest in the People's Savings bank, with a result that the banks amalgamated under the title of the People's State Bank, and that institution is now one of the greatest financial powers in the middle west.

During the crisis of 1907, the People's State Bank acknowledged to be one of the soundest institutions in the city, was compelled to take advantage of the ninety-day deposit law. Rumors were rife as to the condition of the bank; the public did not understand conditions and there was a threatened run on the bank.

The conditions which made this possible were the greed and fear of New York and Chicago bankers. Vice president Harry Potter, jr., visited my office at the *Free Press*, where I was financial editor. Mr. Potter said: "Mr. Leake there will be a run on the bank tomorrow."

"No there wont! Have you your automobile here?"

Upon his answer in the affirmative, we got in the machine and visited Father Mueller of the Polish church. I explained to him, and, through him to the editor of the Polish paper, that the People's State Bank had two millions in cash tied up at New York and one million in cash at Chicago; that the bank was carrying heavy payrolls, receiving checks from the Great Lakes Engineering Company, the Russel Wheel & Foundry Company and the Detroit United Railway. I explained that all of these companies deposited checks and drew out cash for payrolls and that, in the natural course of events, the cash reserve would soon be exhausted as it was accepting checks which were not accepted by eastern and western banks, except for collection. I showed where the People's State Bank had \$3,000,000,000 cash tied up.

The same explanation was made to the German papers, and there was no run on the bank.

The next combination of capital and brains took place when the First National absorbed the Commercial National Bank, making a combined capital of \$2,000,000,000. This at that time, represented the strongest aggregation of banking capital in the city and formed another strong bank of original resources.

The old Detroit National, of which James McPherson is president, keeping pace with the progress of the city, did not seek to increase its capital and resources through the acquisition of other banks, but built up its business on a legitimate basis and has come to the front as one of the greatest banks in Michigan.

The National Bank of Commerce of Detroit, was founded in the spring of 1907 and its formation was promoted by its present vice president and cashier, Henry H. Sanger.

Mr. Sanger, for nine years with the First National Bank and for four years with the Commercial National Bank as assistant cashier, was convinced, when those two institutions voted to consolidate, that there was a splendid field in Detroit for a new national bank whose stock should be held by active and successful young business men, from whom should be chosen a representative board of directors, whose names should stand for integrity, ability and success in business.

At the first meeting of the committee on organization it was decided to capitalize for \$500,000. This amount was quickly and largely over-subscribed and it was then decided to capitalize for \$750,000, selling the stock at \$120 per share, which would give the bank a paid in surplus of \$150,000.

The board of directors elected Richard P. Joy, at that time comptroller of the city of Detroit, as president of the new institution. Mr. Joy had made an enviable record as comptroller, was well known as a public spirited citizen of Detroit and a conservative and successful business man. He resigned the comptrollership to accept the presidency and the choice proved to be a most fortunate one. William P. Hamilton,

president of the Clinton Woolen Manufacturing Company, resigned as a director of the Commercial National Bank to accept a directorship and the vice presidency of the new institution. Henry H. Sanger, who had resigned as assistant cashier of the Commercial National Bank was elected cashier and Charles R. Talbot resigned from the old Detroit National Bank to accept the position of assistant cashier. Samuel R. Kingston was elected auditor.

The National Bank of Commerce opened for business on Saturday, June 1, 1907. The first banking offices were on the second floor of the Union Trust building, but on January 1, 1910, moved its headquarters to the ground floor of the same building, and on March 1, 1911, occupied its present convenient offices on the southeast corner of the Union Trust block.

The increase in the business of the National Bank of Commerce is indicated by the following figures: On June 1, 1907, its capital was \$750,000, surplus \$150,000 and deposits \$837,504.41; on June 1, 1911, capital unchanged, surplus \$250,000, undivided profits \$77,504.51 and deposits \$7,761,883.16.

Its present officers are as follows: Richard P. Joy, president; Henry H. Sanger, vice president and cashier; William P. Hamilton, vice president; Charles R. Talbot and Samuel R. Kingston, assistant cashiers.

In 1900 the total resources of the national banks of Detroit were \$5,048,138, and on June 7, 1911, the resources of the national banks were \$58,413,937.77.

The total resources of the state and savings banks are as follows: \$141,879,108.75, an increase of more than \$83,000,000 in ten years.

Of this increase in resources and deposits, the state and savings banks take more than 42 per cent.

Along the lines of progress and in order to further meet the demands of commercial and industrial clients, the Dime Savings Bank, of which William Livingstone is president, acquired by purchase the capital stock of the Marine Savings Bank, and shortly afterward absorbed the Union National Bank, thus placing the Dime Savings in the big class. The Central Savings Bank, a small institution, spread its wings and boldly secured the ground corner of the Majestic building. Cashier Harry J. Fox and his president, W. P. Holliday of the Holliday Box Company, were criticised for thus branching out, but the results justified their judgment. In the first six months of the bank's existence in the new quarters, the increase in business more than paid the extra rent, and during the past two years substantial additions have been made to undivided profits, in addition to the substantial dividends paid by the bank.

The United States Bank, a graduate from a private institution known as the bank of McClellan & Anderson, and a well managed, conservative institution, was absorbed by the People's State Bank, which further strengthened the latter.

Shortly after this, the First National completed a deal which had been in the air for years and bought the American Exchange National.

The National Bank of Commerce, a comparatively new institution having for its president Richard P. Joy, and for its cashier, Harry P.

Sanger, started in a modest way on the second floor of the Union Trust Company's building, has evolved into one of the strongest financial concerns in the city. It has transferred its headquarters to the ground floor and is doing a flourishing business. While young at the time of the crisis of 1907, it weathered that gale and came out with flying colors.

The Peninsula Savings Bank under the guidance of John H. Johnson, former cashier and now president, has made an enviable record, has torn down its old building, and is constructing new banking quarters which will be equal to anything in the middle west.

The Wayne County Savings Bank, is essentially a savings institution, modeled largely on the lines of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York. It has a capital stock of \$1,000,000 and total resources of \$15,962,379.18.

Among the developments along financial lines, due to the great growth of Detroit, was the affiliation with certain banks of the trust companies of the city.

The Union Trust Company was the pioneer, not only in Detroit, but in the state, and celebrated its twenty-first birthday on October 1, 1911. The stockholding interests were heavily interested, and prominently identified with the People's State Bank, this naturally made an advantageous connection, as, under the state law, a trust company cannot do a banking business, except as a receiver. It was in the latter case that the Union Trust Company made an enviable record. The City Savings Bank, of which Frank C. Andrews was president, was an apparently prosperous concern and stood high in the estimation of the business public. Mr. Andrews was a financier of somewhat daring proclivities, and got in wrong on Amalgamated Copper; he plunged on a tip given by a New York banker, in the confidence of H. H. Rogers and the Standard Oil crowd. Incidentally, the same banker gave the same tip at private dinners and at clubs in Chicago and Cincinnati. Andrews got into the game at several hundred thousand dollars and pulled the bank down with him. He was tried and convicted of a betrayal of his trust, as president of the City Savings Bank, and was sentenced to fifteen years in states prison. He was paroled after two terms in Jackson prison. The Union Trust Company was appointed receiver and after disposing of a lot of poor securities, by order of the court, wound up the affairs of the City Savings Bank, and distributed among the depositors sixty-five per cent of the total deposits.

The Detroit Trust Company was the next to be organized. The capital behind it was heavily interested in the Old Detroit National Bank, and Alexander McPherson, president of the Old Detroit National, was made president of the Detroit Trust Company.

Business so quickly arose along trust company lines that within a year after the formation of the Detroit Trust Company, the Security Trust Company was formed. Most of the banks were interested in this enterprise, being represented upon the board of directors, but the Security Trust Company came to be strongly affiliated with the First National Bank, whose directors represent some of the wealthiest and most influential men of the city.

All of these companies have been successful from the start, and are thoroughly sound.

At the bank call of June 7, 1911, the condition of the banks, both national and state, and of the trust companies was as follows:

STATE BANKS

	March 7, 1911	June 7, 1911
Savings Deposits	\$65,689,227.63	\$67,870,659.97
Commercial Deposits	19,549,773.82	23,575,248.59
Due Banks and Bankers	6,803,496.53	6,991,056.24
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$92,042,497.98	\$98,436,964.80

NATIONAL BANKS

Commercial Deposits	\$28,113,717.20	\$31,670,856.18
Due Banks and Bankers	16,329,605.80	16,852,462.74
U. S. Deposits	443,905.63	451,275.79
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$44,887,228.63	\$48,974,594.71

CENTRAL SAVINGS BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:

Commercial department	\$ 498,331.56
Savings department	576,954.50

Bonds, mortgages & securities, viz:

Commercial department	73,000.00
Savings department	2,014,117.40
Overdrafts	1,280.39
Banking houses	34,963.77
Furniture and fixtures	18,000.00
Other real estate	38,827.64
Items in transit	13,188.08

Reserve (Commercial):

Due from banks in reserve cities	186,631.81
Exchanges for clearing house	60,396.07
U. S. and National bank currency	20,000.00
Silver coin	11,217.00
Nickels and cents	349.67

Reserve (Savings):

Due from banks in reserve cities	458,442.45
U. S. and National bank currency	92,632.00
Gold coin	21,957.50
Checks and other cash items	525.85

Total	<hr/>	\$ 4,120,815.69
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Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 100,000.00
Surplus fund	100,000.00
Undivided profits, net	33,283.97
Commercial deposits (subject to check)	700,368.23
Certified checks	15,120.82
Cashier's checks outstanding	7,938.82
Savings deposits (book accounts)	2,999,279.13
Savings certificates of deposit	164,824.72
Total	<u>\$ 4,120,815.69</u>

DETROIT SAVINGS BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:	
Commercial department	\$1,067,529.18
Savings department	743,737.32
Bonds, mortgages & securities, viz:	
Commercial department	145,447.00
Savings department	6,587,770.79
Premium account	1,397.50
Overdrafts	603.42
Branch banking houses	95,871.52
Other real estate on hand unsold	103,593.11
Contracts for real estate sold	226,618.32
Items in Transit	6,064.70
Reserve (Commercial):	
Due from banks in reserve cities	191,462.08
Exchanges for clearing house	104,991.60
U. S. National bank and Canadian currency	160,945.00
Gold coin	12,800.00
Silver coin	24,632.45
Nickels and cents	2,071.41
Reserve (Savings):	
U. S. bonds	200,000.00
Due from banks in reserve cities	907,814.79
U. S., National Bank and Canadian currency	300,000.00
Gold coin	278,290.00
Checks and other cash items	21,910.77
Total	<u>\$11,183,550.96</u>

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 400,000.00
Surplus fund	400,000.00

Undivided profits, net	\$381,636.80
Commercial deposits, subject to check	962,885.89
Commercial certificates of deposit	168,044.56
Certified checks	3,096.09
Cashier's checks outstanding	4,857.00
Due to banks and bankers	65,896.16
Savings deposits (book accounts)	8,690,206.82
Savings certificates of deposit	106,927.64
Total	\$11,183,550.96

DETROIT UNITED BANK

Resources

Bonds, Mortgages and Securities, \$2,517,561.74, viz:

Premium account	\$ 2,682.44
Due from other banks and bankers	103,189.34

Reserve (Savings) :

Due from banks in reserve cities	500,171.04
Exchanges for clearing house	4,636.73
U. S. and National bank currency	28,868.00
Gold coin	115,012.50
Silver coin	159.80
Nickels and cents	125.73

Total	\$ 3,272,407.32
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Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 250,000.00
Surplus fund	75,000.00
Undivided profits, net	7,836.57
Savings deposits (books accounts)	2,493,490.80
Savings certificates of deposit	446,079.95
Total	\$ 3,272,407.32

DIME SAVINGS BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:

Commercial department	\$ 2,439,367.55
Savings department	1,778,527.33

Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:

Commercial department	473,429.25
Savings department	3,253,476.92
Premium account	10,725.66

Overdrafts	\$ 2,022.49
Banking house	310,991.29
Furniture and fixtures	5,000.00
Other real estate	76,284.75
Due from other banks and bankers	93,512.43
Items in transit	65,214.13
Reserve (Commercial) :	
Due from banks in reserve cities	\$ 1,128,049.75
Exchanges for clearing house	194,212.72
U. S. and National bank currency	237,420.00
Silver coin	14,436.75
Nickels and cents	1,264.27
Savings:	
Due from banks in reserve cities	313,288.98
U. S. and National Bank currency	89,546.00
Gold coin	191,201.00
Nickels and cents	4.63
Checks and other cash items	443.73
Total	<hr/> \$10,679,419.63

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 500,000.00
Surplus fund	350,000.00
Undivided profits, net	66,785.44
Dividends unpaid	180.00
Commercial deposits subject to check	3,696,958.32
Certified checks	23,412.38
Cashier's checks outstanding	30,343.93
Due to banks and bankers	364,032.35
Savings deposits (book accounts)	5,322,337.43
Savings certificates of deposit	305,141.90
Reserve for taxes, interest, etc.	20,227.88
Total	<hr/> \$10,679,419.63

THE FAIRVIEW SAVINGS BANK.

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:	
Commercial department	\$117,399.01
Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:	
Commercial department	5,000.00
Savings department	255,812.62
Premium account	1,923.25
Furniture and fixtures	4,672.89

Reserve (Commercial) :

Due from banks in reserve cities	\$ 23,167.48
U. S. and National bank currency	11,138.00
Gold coin	1,600.00
Silver coin	1,500.00
Nickles and cents	42.70

Reserve (Savings) :

Due from banks in reserve cities	29,624.42
U. S. and National bank currency	16,658.00
Gold coin	170.00
Silver coin	880.00
Nickels and cents	46.78
Checks and other cash items	30.39

Total	\$ 469,665.54
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Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 20,000.00
Surplus fund	1,000.00
Undivided profits, net	3,364.47
Commercial deposits subject to check	129,357.03
Certified checks	2,041.25
Cashiers' checks outstanding	5,710.97
State monies on deposit	5,000.00
Savings deposits (book accounts)	271,617.54
Savings certificates of deposit	31,574.28

Total	\$ 469,665.54
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GERMAN-AMERICAN BANK.

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz :

Commercial department	\$ 1,055,847.75
Savings department	466,266.30

Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz :

Savings department	866,003.13
Overdrafts	690.51
Furniture and fixtures	11,000.00
Items in transit	9,635.05

Reserve (Commercial) :

Due from banks in reserve cities	193,530.92
Exchanges for clearing house	71,280.71
U. S. and National bank currency	41,339.00
Gold coin	10,175.00
Silver coin	17,432.70
Nickels and cents	2,771.62

Reserve (Savings):

Due from banks in reserve cities	\$ 285,000.00
U. S. and National bank currency	62,000.00
Gold Coin	50,000.00
Silver coin	320.00
Nickels and cents .....	.46
Checks and other cash items	8,385.28
Total	\$ 3,151,678.43

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 250,000.00
Surplus fund	50,000.00
Undivided profits, net	33,653.68
Dividends unpaid	3,750.00
Commercial deposits, subject to check	949,566.07
Commercial certificate of deposit	2,400.00
Certified checks	8,506.33
Cashier's checks outstanding	40,285.46
Due to banks and bankers	83,927.00
Savings deposits (book accounts)	1,583,634.33
Savings certificates of deposit	145,955.56
Total	\$ 3,151,678.43

HOME SAVINGS BANK.

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:

Commercial Department	\$ 2,144,133.16
Savings Department	1,893,490.92

Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:

Savings Department	3,914,006.89
Overdrafts	1,240.52
Banking house branches	48,000.00
Other real estate	15,740.00
Due from other banks and bankers	8,354.99

Reserve (Commercial):

Due from banks in reserve cities	458,235.16
Exchanges for clearing house	62,414.99
U. S. and National bank currency	153,147.00
Silver coin	4,448.00
Nickels and cents	419.86

Savings:

Due from banks in reserve cities	1,000,837.19
U. S. and National bank currency	207,508.00

Gold coin	\$ 202,487.50
Checks and other cash items	1,772.29
Total	\$10,116,236.47

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 400,000.00
Surplus fund	450,000.00
Undivided profits, net	83,690.99
Commercial deposits subject to check	1,689,965.33
Commercial certificates of deposit	81,426.48
Certified checks	34,437.57
Cashier's checks outstanding	12,863.28
Due to banks and bankers	145,522.32
Savings deposits (book accounts)	6,900,535.43
Savings certificates of deposit	317,795.07
Total	\$10,116,236.47

METROPOLITAN STATE BANK*

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:	
Commercial Department	\$ 182,724.68
Savings Department	8,025.83
Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:	
Savings Department	7,150.00
Expenses, interest and taxes paid exceeding earnings	6,517.51
Banking house investment	500.00
Furniture and fixtures	5,000.00
Due from other banks and bankers	1,500.00
Items in transit	700.00
Reserve (Commercial):	
Due from banks in reserve cities	85,064.35
Exchanges for clearing house	1,595.50
U. S. and National bank currency	4,470.00
Gold coin	107.50
Silver coin	1,663.80
Nickels and cents	77.03
Reserve (Savings):	
Due from banks in reserve cities	18,915.71
U. S. and National bank currency	5,000.00
Gold coin	1,000.00
Total	\$ 330,011.91

* This is a new bank less than one year old.

Liabilities

Capital stock subscribed, \$250,000.00.	
Capital stock paid in (balance payable monthly)	\$ 215,175.00
Surplus fund	15,690.00
Commercial deposits subject to check	53,501.47
Certified checks	1,357.91
Cashier's checks outstanding	1,633.96
Due to banks and bankers	2,562.03
Savings deposits (book accounts)	17,781.61
Savings certificates	22,309.93
Total	\$ 330,011.91

MICHIGAN SAVINGS BANK†

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:	
Commercial department	\$ 1,114,747.16
Savings department	548,949.58
Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:	
Commercial department	302,215.00
Savings Department	1,723,440.75
Premium account	1,470.00
Overdrafts	405.80
Banking house	48,319.89
Furniture and fixtures	6,449.50
Reserve (Commercial):	
Due from banks in reserve cities	309,326.53
Exchanges for clearing house	76,171.39
U. S. and National bank currency	23,311.00
Gold coin	12,317.50
Silver coin .....	.....
Nickels and cents	832.46
Reserve (Savings):	
Due from banks in reserve cities	280,000.00
U. S. and National bank currency	87,000.00
Gold coin	50,000.00
Silver coin	10,131.75
Nickels and cents	205.72
Cash and other items	6,567.87
Total	\$ 4,601,861.96

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 250,000.00
Surplus fund	150,000.00

† The Michigan Savings Bank is owned by the Security Trust Company.

Undivided profits, net	\$ 78,836.08
Commercial deposits subject to check	1,389,789.33
Commercial certificates of deposit	2,205.82
Certified checks	7,979.24
Cashiers' checks outstanding	5,846.19
Due to banks and bankers	27,609.25
Savings deposits (book accounts)	2,490,072.56
Savings certificates of deposit	199,523.49
Total	\$ 4,601,861.96

PENINSULAR SAVINGS BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:

Commercial department	\$ 2,792,461.53
Savings department	595,978.37

Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:

Commercial department	264,700.00
Savings department	2,996,499.87
Overdrafts	2,414.77
Banking house	200,000.00
Furniture and fixtures	10,000.00
Other real estate	99,870.16
Due from other banks and bankers	46,265.77
Items in transit	182,770.01

Reserve (Commercial):

Due from banks in reserve cities	1,061,264.35
Exchanges for clearing house	156,329.54
U. S. and National bank currency	311,824.00
Gold coin	22,177.50
Silver coin	18,063.00
Nickels and cents	1,807.91

Reserve (Savings):

Due from banks in reserve cities	518,676.90
Exchanges for clearing house	26,389.05
U. S. and National bank currency	225,343.00
Gold Coin	60,577.50
Silver Coin	5,249.25
Nickels and cents	2,032.29
Checks and other cash items	13,468.47

Total	\$ 9,614,163.24
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Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 500,000.00
Surplus fund	250,000.00

Undivided profits, net	\$ 26,222.26
Dividends, unpaid	12.00
Commercial deposits subject to check	2,887,608.57
Commercial Certificates of deposit	90,630.57
Certified checks	63,315.46
Due to banks and bankers	1,355,312.87
Savings deposits (book accounts)	4,116,673.00
Savings certificates of deposit	324,388.51
Total	\$ 9,614,163.24

THE PEOPLES STATE BANK.

Resources

Loans and discounts, viz:

Commercial department	\$11,293,437.53
Savings department	3,806,411.43

Bonds, mortgages and securities, viz:

Commercial department	1,135,898.46
Savings department	10,698,561.82
Overdrafts	4,253.10
Banking house and branch buildings	758,985.62
Furniture and fixtures	47,263.31
Other real estate	251,109.99
Due from other banks and bankers	27,987.04
Items in transit	615,321.47

Reserve (Commercial):

Due from banks in reserve cities	3,046,000.91
Exchanges for clearing house	444,462.18
U. S. and National bank currency	1,109,061.00
Gold coin	13,389.30
Silver coin	82,849.83
Nickels and cents	5,203.56

Reserve (Savings):

Due from banks in reserve cities	1,690,428.56
Gold coin	1,101,368.00
Checks and other cash items	15,263.54

Total	\$36,197,256.65
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Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 1,500,000.00
Surplus fund	1,500,000.00
Undivided profits, net	426,233.62
Dividends unpaid	18.00
Commercial deposits subject to check	10,127,315.75
Commercial certificates of deposit	809.06

Certified checks	\$ 41,665.94
Cashier's checks outstanding	136,323.39
State monies on deposit	190,080.12
Due to banks and bankers	4,946,282.88
Savings deposits (book accounts)	16,093,116.46
Savings certificates of deposit	1,203,653.35
Reserved for taxes, interest, etc.	31,758.08
Total	<u>\$36,197,256.65</u>

WAYNE COUNTY SAVINGS BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts	\$ 3,420,045.64
Bonds, mortgages and securities	9,317,917.02
Premium account U. S. bonds	30,000.00
Banking house	125,000.00
Other real estate	2,541.10
Reserve:	
U. S. bonds	225,000.00
Due from banks in reserve cities	2,128,247.97
Exchanges for clearing house	22,026.76
U. S. and National bank currency	325,766.00
Gold coin	355,900.00
Silver coin	7,498.05
Nickels and cents	2,406.64
Checks and other cash items	30.00
Total	<u>\$15,962,379.18</u>

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 1,000,000.00
Surplus fund	1,000,000.00
Undivided profits, net	305,753.66
Savings deposits (book accounts)	12,645,153.64
Savings certificates of deposit	978,586.82
Reserve for taxes, interest, etc.	32,885.06
Total	<u>\$15,962,379.18</u>

DETROIT TRUST COMPANY.

Resources

Collateral loans, time	\$ 1,501,785.77
Collateral loans, demand	798,199.07
Loans on real estate, mortgages in office	606,913.40
Loans on real estate, mortgages with State Treasurer	189,550.00
Bonds in office	<u>1,215,842.60</u>

HISTORY OF DETROIT

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Bonds with State Treasurer	\$ 15,000.00
Advances to trusts	5,413.91
Premiums paid	1,513.00
Due from other banks and bankers	49,609.86
Due from approved reserve agents	1,405,528.37
Nickels and cents	1.06
Silver coin	34.70
Gold coin	5,000.00
U. S. and National bank notes	10,090.00
Cash Items	828.39
Total	<u>\$ 5,805,310.13</u>

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 500,000.00
Surplus fund	1,000,000.00
Undivided profits, net	313,010.78
Trust deposits	3,954,410.85
Reserved for dividends	10,000.00
Accrued interest and taxes	27,888.50
Total	<u>\$ 5,805,310.13</u>

SECURITY TRUST COMPANY

Resources

Collateral loans, time	\$ 1,101,839.59
Collateral loans, demand	192,870.98
Loans on real estate, mortgages, in office	221,290.14
Loans on real estate, mortgages, with state treasurer	174,100.00
Bonds, in office	1,018,128.51
Bonds, with state treasurer	26,000.00
Advances to trusts	32,042.33
Vaults, Furniture and fixtures	20,222.75
Due from other banks and bankers	6,139.90
Due from approved reserve agents	539,686.93
Nickels and cents	6.09
Silver coin	46.30
Gold coin	5,210.00
U. S. and National bank notes	7,417.00
Cash items and checks for clearing house	1,093.80
Total	<u>\$ 3,346,094.32</u>

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 500,000.00
Surplus fund	500,000.00
Undivided profits, net	243,805.49

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Trust deposits	\$ 2,064,796.47
Accrued interest and taxes	37,492.36
Total	\$ 3,346,094.32

UNION TRUST COMPANY

Resources

Collateral loans, time in office	\$ 822,348.33
Collateral loans, demand	146,712.43
Loans on real estate mortgages, in office.....	300,171.63
With State Treasurer	215,333.06
With Collateral Deposit Company, Ltd.	185,339.31
Bonds in office.....	754,661.21
Stocks	314,365.42
Other investments	189,654.12
Advances to trusts	104,021.94
Furniture and fixtures	10,817.33
Due from approved reserve agents	723,032.47
U. S. and National bank notes	11,681.00
Gold coin	660.00
Silver coin	129.75
Nickels and cents	4.43
Checks and cash items	4,564.28
Accounts receivable	1,512.19
Total	\$ 3,785,009.40

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 500,000.00
Surplus fund earned	300,000.00
Undivided profits, net	104,846.75
First mortgage trust gold bonds	163,400.00
Trust deposits	2,716,762.65
Total	\$ 3,785,009.40

FIRST NATIONAL BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts	\$13,471,646.97
Overdrafts, secured and unsecured	11,076.55
U. S. bonds to secure circulation	1,000,000.00
U. S. bonds to secure U. S. deposits	330,000.00
Bonds, securities, etc.	2,425,821.58
Banking house, furniture and fixtures	127,684.19
Safe deposit vaults	63,946.13
Due from National banks (not reserve agents)	1,538,940.27
Due from state and private banks and bankers, trust companies and savings banks	944,319.70

Due from approved reserve agents	\$ 2,721,561.07
Checks and other cash items	23,390.71
Exchanges for clearing house	301,387.60
Notes of other National banks	137,624.00
Fractional paper currency, nickels and cents	2,280.03
Lawful money reserve in bank, viz:	
Specie	1,413,485.00
Legal tender notes	1,453,718.00
Redemption fund with U. S. Treasurer (5 per cent. of circulation)	50,000.00
Due from U. S. Treasurer	120,000.00
Total	\$26,136,881.80

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 2,000,000.00
Surplus fund	1,000,000.00
Undivided profits, less expenses and taxes paid	321,435.28
National bank notes outstanding	934,400.00
Due to other National banks	3,161,811.06
Due to state and private banks and bankers	4,044,014.26
Due to trust companies and savings banks	1,494,116.45
Due to approved reserve agents	41,262.29
Dividends unpaid	28.04
Individual deposits subject to check	10,199,765.17
Deposits Treasurer State of Michigan	235,073.97
Demand certificates of deposit	2,229,980.62
Certified checks	16,891.59
Cashier's checks outstanding	75,184.36
United States deposits	185,410.30
Deposits of U. S. disbursing officers	164,865.49
Reserved for taxes	32,642.92
Total	\$26,136,881.80

NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

Resources

Loans and discounts	\$ 4,886,945.83
Overdrafts secured and unsecured	63.57
U. S. Bonds to secure circulation	399,000.00
U. S. Bonds to secure U. S. Deposits	1,000.00
Bonds, securities, etc.	737,995.81
Due from National banks (not reserve agents)	130,683.09
Due from state and private banks and bankers, trust companies and savings banks	589,172.71
Due from approved reserve agents	1,793,012.17
Checks and other cash items	559.98
Exchanges for clearing house	140,179.98

Notes of other National banks	\$ 52,165.00
Fractional paper currency, nickels and cents.....	401.32
Lawful money reserve in bank, viz:	
Specie	463,348.00
Legal-tender notes	318,250.00
Redemption fund with U. S. treasurer (5 per cent of circulation)	19,950.00
Due from U. S. Treasurer	4,000.00
Total	\$ 9,536,727.46

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 750,000.00
Surplus fund	250,000.00
Undivided profits, less expenses and taxes paid	84,869.32
National bank notes outstanding	394,200.00
Due to other National banks	504,645.86
Due to state and private banks and bankers	750,370.30
Due to trust companies and savings banks	578,622.80
Dividends unpaid	180.00
Individual deposits subject to check	5,364,829.37
Demand certificates of deposit	818,222.56
Certified checks	2,533.25
Cashier's checks outstanding	11,613.37
United States deposits	1,000.00
Reserved for taxes	17,000.00
Reserved for accrued interest	8,640.63
Total	\$ 9,536,727.46

OLD DETROIT NATIONAL BANK

Resources

Loans and discounts	\$12,928,411.66
Overdrafts, secured and unsecured	6,396.87
U. S. bonds to secure circulation	500,000.00
U. S. bonds to secure U. S. deposits	100,000.00
U. S. bonds on hand	508,320.00
Bonds, securities, etc.	1,208,897.50
Due from National banks (not reserve agents)	1,838,275.86
Due from state and private banks and bankers, trust companies and savings banks	506,163.69
Due from approved reserve agents	2,531,175.20
Checks and other cash items	28,417.20
Exchanges for clearing house	218,641.67
Notes of other National banks	276,964.00
Fractional paper currency, nickels and cents.....	7,997.36

Lawful money reserve in bank, viz:

Specie	\$ 817,372.50
Legal-tender notes	1,220,795.00
Redemption fund with U. S. Treasurer (5 per cent. of circulation)	25,000.00
Due from U. S. Treasurer	17,500.00
Total	<u>\$22,740,328.51</u>

Liabilities

Capital stock paid in	\$ 2,000,000.00
Surplus fund	500,000.00
Undivided profits, less expenses and taxes paid	495,826.87
National bank notes outstanding	500,000.00
Due to other National banks	1,393,224.69
Due to State and private banks and bankers	1,665,041.08
Due to trust companies and savings banks	3,219,353.95
Dividends unpaid	120.00
Individual deposits subject to check	10,443,443.69
Due treasurer State of Michigan	264,593.05
Demand certificates of deposit	1,826,945.17
Certified checks	124,896.98
Cashier's checks outstanding	6,883.03
United States deposits	100,000.00
Bonds borrowed	200,000.00
Total	<u>\$22,740,328.51</u>

CHAPTER XXXV

TRANSPORTATION—THE EFFECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAKE BUSINESS ON THE PROSPERITY OF DETROIT—THIS CITY A CENTER OF SHIP-BUILDING AND SHIP-OWNING INTERESTS—A FITTING-OUT POINT FROM WHICH THE MERCHANTS DERIVE GREAT BENEFIT—THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SCHOONER AND BRIGANTINE, AND THE LATER WOODEN STEAMERS WITH THEIR TOW BARGES—EVOLUTION OF THE FREIGHTER INTO MAMMOTH STEEL AFFAIRS OF GREAT CARRYING CAPACITY AND SPEED.

As in all new countries, Detroit followed the line of least resistance in matters of transportation—the lakes and navigable streams—through and by which all the early explorations were made, save when the hunter or trapper invaded the wilds in search of game. The birch bark canoe up to the time LaSalle startled the natives with his then mammoth ship the “Griffin,” was the mode of conveyance. These were made in varying sizes, but always conforming to the graceful and practical lines adopted by the Indian. Lightness was a requisite quality, for the reason that in the streams connecting the lakes, and those running into the interior there were many rapids, around which the canoes and their loads had to be carried. Portages, these are called. The canoes of the voyageurs adapted for the carrying of freight—the latter consisting of goods to trade with the Indians and packs of furs in return—were so constructed that they would carry in still waters from 6,000 to 8,000 pounds. These were superseded by the Mackinaw bateau, made on canoe model from red cedar trees and hewed out with an ax. These were much more serviceable, as they were able to stand the rough waters of the lakes and were still light enough for four men to portage when empty.

The “Griffin,” the first sailing craft on the lakes, was launched at Niagara in the spring of 1670, and was a vessel of about forty-five tons. LaSalle carried five cannon. On September 20th, on her return trip from where Chicago now stands, she was wrecked in a storm and later portions of the wreck were found among the islands at the northern end of Lake Michigan. After this experiment no more sailing vessels passed this city, or called at the port until 1673, when the trading schooners “Beaver,” “Gladwin” and “Charlotte” were built near Buffalo and made regular trips to Detroit, carrying provisions, soldiers and goods from the east to the fort and furs, troops and passengers back. The time taken for the trip depended upon the weather and was generally from six to nine days.

The shipbuilding industry was inaugurated at Detroit by the con-

struction of a schooner, square-rigged on the foremast, called the "Enterprise." In 1771 a forty-five ton schooner called the "Angelica" was built at Detroit. She was owned by Sterling & Price, and a gentleman from Schenectady, New York named Ellice. The next important addition to navigation upon the Great Lakes, Detroit was interested in was the advent of the English brig-of-war called "General Gage." This vessel made the trip from Buffalo in four days, which was then record-breaking time. Because of the Revolutionary war, none but war ships were allowed upon the lakes.

The success of the British in controlling the lakes by means of the "Gage" inspired the construction at Detroit of the following vessels of war: Schooner "Dunmore," 106 tons burden, capacity 100 men, built in 1772; schooner "Hope," 81 tons burden, 80 men, built in 1771; sloop "Angelica," 66 tons burden, 60 men; sloop "Felicity," 55 tons burden, 40 men; schooner "Faith," ten guns, 61 tons burden, built in 1774; sloop "Wyandotte," 47 tons burden, 30 men; sloop "Adventure," 34 tons burden, 30 men; and a gunboat with 11 men and one gun.

During the early part of 1783 there were lying at anchor in the river opposite Detroit four armed English government vessels—the "Chippewa" and "Ottawa," new brigs, 200 tons burden and carrying eight guns apiece; the "Dunmore," a brig of the same tonnage carrying six guns, and the sloop "Felicity," armed with two swivel cannon.

The impetus to the marine interests given by the growing trade of Detroit, and its importance as a distributing point for the upper lakes and sparsely settled interior, caused a number of private ventures to be undertaken in the vessel line; Detroit then took, and for many years held her supremacy as a marine point on the Great Lakes, and 1796 Detroiters owned twelve merchant vessels, several brigantines, and a number of schooners of from fifty to one hundred and twenty-five tons each.

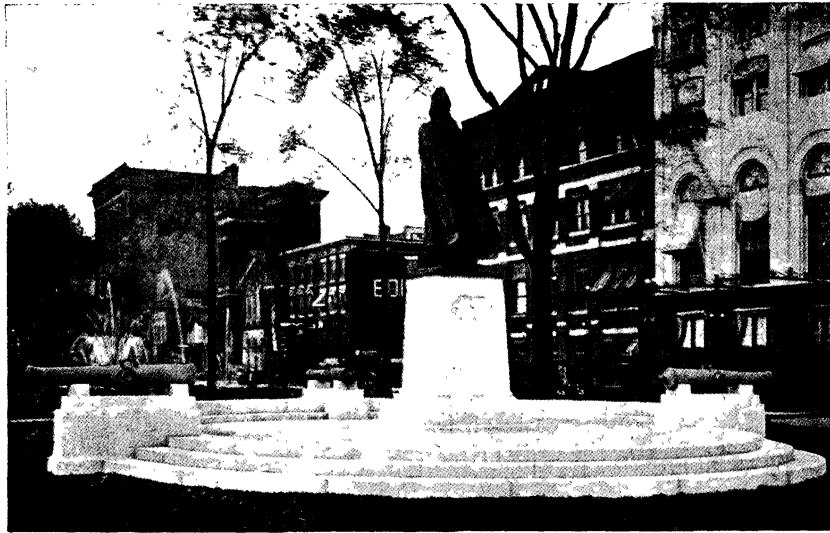
The first vessel to fly the American flag was the schooner "Swan," owned by James May. This vessel was hired to convey the American troops to Detroit after its surrender by the British. The next vessel to fly the flag of independence was the "Detroit," purchased by the United States government from the Northwest Fur Company and used as a transport for troops. The first vessel built on the lakes by the United States was the schooner "Wilkinson," a vessel of eighty tons constructed under supervision of Captain Curry of the United States navy. In 1810 the "Wilkinson" was sold by the government and remodeled. The name was changed to the "Amelia" and for a year she was engaged in peaceful pursuits. In 1812 she was repurchased by the government and became one of Commodore Perry's famous fleet on Lake Erie.

The necessity for better and more ample transport service forced itself upon the United States government, and in 1801 the brig "Adams" and the schooner "Tracy" were built at Detroit for the use of the United States government. They were used for the transportation of troops and government stores.

It was in 1803 that the first white inhabitants of Chicago sailed from Detroit on the "Tracy." They comprised a company of soldiers under Colonel J. S. Swearingen, and were dispatched to Chicago for the purpose of erecting and garrisoning a fort, Chicago then being a part of the ter-

ritory of Michigan and under its civil and military jurisdiction. Thus was Chicago colonized from Detroit, and this city has the honor of founding the great metropolis of the west.

After the War of 1812 the number of vessels owned and built at Detroit materially increased and most of them were engaged in trading and carrying passengers between Buffalo and Detroit. The cost of the transportation of freight was very high and a trip upon the water then was expensive, costing fifteen dollars between the two ports and occupying from twelve to thirteen days, as against two dollars and a half now, exclusive of staterooms, and a consumption of less than twelve hours. It must be remembered, however, that at that period steam as a propelling power was unknown.



MACOMB MONUMENT

The natives, the whites, the nondescripts, coureurs de bois and others were astonished—and this is expressing it mildly—when on August 27, 1818, they saw, churning its way up the Detroit river, the first steamboat ever seen on the Great Lakes, named “Walk-in-the-Water,” after a famous chieftain of the Wyandotte Indians. A long line of black smoke rolling from its funnels, left a shadowy trail behind and the entire population, or as much thereof as could get there, crowded the river bank to welcome the strange craft. It was an awkward looking boat, viewed from the present standpoint of inventive perfection, but at that time it represented a mammoth forward step in solving the problem of water transportation. The walking beam, with its see-saw regularity, was a special object of interest and represented to the beholders the acme of power.

The arrival of the phenomenal vessel was well described in the *Detroit Gazette* of August 28, 1818, as follows: “Yesterday between the hours

of ten and eleven A. M. the elegant steamboat, Walk-in-the-Water, Captain J. Fish, arrived. As she passed the public wharf and that owned by Mr. J. S. Roby, she was cheered by hundreds of the inhabitants who had collected to witness (in these waters) a truly novel and grand spectacle. She left Buffalo at half-past one on the twenty-third of August, and arrived at Dunkirk at thirty-five minutes past six the same day. On the following morning she arrived at Erie, Captain Fish having reduced her steam during the night, in order not to pass the place where she took on a supply of wood. At half past seven o'clock P. M. she left Erie, and came on to Cleveland at eleven o'clock on Tuesday; at twenty minutes past six P. M. sailed, and arrived off Sandusky bay at one o'clock on Wednesday; lay at anchor during the night and then proceeded to Venice for wood; left Venice at three P. M. and arrived at the mouth of the Detroit river, where she anchored during the night—the whole time employed in sailing this first voyage from Buffalo to Detroit being about forty-four hours and ten minutes; the wind during the whole passage being dead ahead. Not the slightest accident happened during the voyage, and her machinery worked admirably.

"Nothing could exceed the surprise of the sons of the forest on seeing the Walk-in-the-Water moving majestically and rapidly against a strong current, without the assistance of sails or oars. They lined the banks of the river above Malden and expressed their astonishment by repeated shouts of 'Ta-i-yah-nichee,' the red man's exclamation. A report had been circulated among them that a big canoe would soon come from the 'noisy waters' which, by order of the great father of the 'Che-mo-ke-mous' (the Long Knives of the Yankees) would be drawn through the river by sturgeon. Of the truth of the report they are now perfectly satisfied.

"The cabins of this boat are fitted up in a neat, convenient, and elegant style; and the manner in which she is found (?) does honor to her proprietors and her commander. A passage between this place and Buffalo is now, not merely tolerable, but pleasant.

"Today she will make the trip to Lake St. Clair, with a large party of ladies and gentlemen on board. She will leave this place for Buffalo tomorrow and may be expected to visit us again next week."

After the first voyage, the "Walk-in-the-Water" made the trip between Buffalo and Detroit once in two weeks, bringing on each trip more than a hundred passengers. This advance had much to do with the prosperity, of Detroit, bringing this then frontier post closer to the centers of civilization. A then remarkable feat was performed by this first steamboat on the lakes. It went in 1819 from Detroit to Mackinaw and Green Bay and back in fourteen days. The last voyage of the "Walk-in-the-Water" was in 1821, when the vessel left Buffalo October 21st, under command of Captain Rogers. It encountered a storm as it entered the lake and was pounded to pieces.

A steamer named the "Superior" was built and took the place of the "Walk-in-the-Water," on the lake run between Buffalo and Detroit. The new vessel made its first appearance at Detroit May 25, 1822, and until 1825 the "Superior" was the only steam vessel on the lakes. From that on, however, the demand for quicker transportation grew so rapidly that the steamers increased rapidly, and it was no longer a novelty to see the streams of smoke from the funnels.

In 1826, in addition to the "Superior," the steamers "William Penn," "Niagara," "William Peacock," "Enterprise," and "Henry Clay" were in the regular trade between Detroit and Buffalo, and in 1831 steamboats made daily trips between the City of the Straits and the Bison City.

The profits of the business were large and charges for carrying freight and passengers exorbitant. This resulted in the building of more steamers, and competition soon regulated the rates of fare and charges on freight until they became within reason, and still left a fair profit. Boat builders, besides being numerous, were ambitious, and had enlarged ideas as to the size and character of the craft that should ply the Great Lakes, with the result that from that time on the size of the lake steamers, both in passenger and freight trades, have yearly increased until they are as large, and in many instances larger, than those that ply the oceans.

The most ambitious early attempt was the building and launching of the "Michigan," on April 27, 1833. The vessel was built by Oliver Newberry, and was one of the first steamers built at Detroit, the "Argo" being her only predecessor. The "Michigan" was 150 feet over all, 29 feet beam, 53 feet breadth, and 11 feet depth of hold. Aft the engines the "Michigan" has thirty berths in the gentlemen's dining room and six staterooms forward. The ladies' cabin on deck contained forty-four berths. The intermediate space between the engines formed the dining room and was richly trimmed in white and gilt. The "Michigan" had two low pressure walking-beam engines, cylinders 7 feet 6 inch stroke and 40 inches in diameter. The boat from stem to stern was made in Detroit and her engines were constructed by the Detroit Iron Company.

From 1833 the steamer trade between Detroit and Buffalo was extremely brisk and in May of that year there arrived at Detroit ninety-six steamers, all well loaded with passengers for Michigan and the west. It might be said that this was when the territory really entered upon the era of prosperity which has since developed into one of the finest states of the union, and Detroit, then, as it is now, being the head center of financial, commercial and industrial activity, shared in the upward and onward march of progress.

In 1837 there were thirty-seven steamers plying the lakes, seventeen of which were owned in Detroit and the majority of which were built at Detroit shipyards. Three steamers arrived at Detroit daily from Buffalo and newspapers and mail were distributed from this point all over the territory. Compliments were showered on the owners and officers of the boats which had drawn Detroit from an isolated frontier settlement to a city of importance, a position it has since maintained.

As a result of competition, in 1846 the price of a first-class cabin passage from Detroit to Buffalo was seven dollars. The competition was so keen that racing between the boats was resorted to and many exciting contests of speed were waged. The shipbuilding industry in Detroit grew apace. The competition led to foolish attempts to start navigation too early with the result that wrecks were frequent.

The "Mayflower," built for the Michigan Central, had a short career. She was launched on November 16, 1848, and went to the bottom on December 11, 1851, on her way from Buffalo to Detroit.

The increase in business due to the settlement of the country border-

ing on the Great Lakes caused a separation of the freight and passenger business and boats were designed for carrying freight only. The discovery and development of the copper mines of Michigan injected a new factor into the transportation problem and wooden steamers were built to carry coal to the mines and ore back to the eastern markets. The old brigs and schooners were adapted to the changed conditions and were converted into tow barges, sometimes, two or three being taken care of by one steamer. Then followed an invention of Captain McDougall, the construction of a cigar-shaped craft, which from its form was dubbed a whaleback. The decks were clear and the theory was that heavily laden, in the storms on the lakes, they would not roll, and the heavy seas would break over the partially submerged rounding hull. The experiment appeared to be so successful that many steamers of this type were built, and a number of tow barges on the same plan.

The development of the iron mines of Michigan and Minnesota demanded a new type of craft, large and sea-worthy ore carriers.

With the increase in the size of vessels, and in their number, came demands upon the national government for deeper channels and aids to navigation on the Great Lakes. These demands have been met in almost every instance, so that today the navigation of the lakes is rendered comparatively simple, the course being blazed at night by lights, and by day with buoys and landmarks.

Tragedies of the great inland seas are not wanting, and, like the restless ocean, the yearly toll of life is demanded by the mysterious deeps, the like of which exist nowhere else in the world. Especially is this true when the winter approaches, and the prudent marine insurance companies withdraw the protection of insurance. Then hardy owners and daring officers and crews, taking their lives in their hands for large rewards in the shape of rates, take chances with the elements, and, gambling with death, strive to bring their belated cargoes to their destinations.

From the first position as a shipbuilding center, Detroit at one time retrograded. There was a period, about twenty-six years ago, when more cargoes of wheat were chartered out of Detroit than any point on the Great Lakes except Chicago, which Detroit founded. In the course of evolution, Detroit lost her prestige as a grain center, and when, in the panic of 1857, Detroit found it impossible to carry her upper peninsula customers for as long a time as they desired, the trade of that now rich territory drifted to Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The extent to which the commerce of the Great Lakes has grown can be appreciated from the well-authenticated statement that more tonnage passes Detroit than goes into Liverpool and through the Suez Canal combined.

I am indebted to Mr. William Livingstone, president of the Lake Carriers' Association, for many interesting statistics concerning the navigation of the Great Lakes.

The great increase in lake traffic caused the formation of the Lake Carriers' Association. This organization is not for the purpose of regulating rates, but for the general betterment of conditions in the inland seas. It has wielded a great influence in improving the rivers and harbors and its advice is listened to with respect by congress.

The Lime Kiln Crossing, a spot south of Detroit at the mouth of the Detroit river, has for all time been a thorn in the side of lake navigators. The United States government has spent many hundreds of thousands of dollars dredging out the channel and blasting the rock, so the heavily laden freighters could in safety pass on down into Lake Erie. It was then demanded that an entirely new channel be dredged on the American side of the river (the Lime Kiln is in Canadian waters). This was started and called the Livingstone channel, in honor of the respected president of the Lake Carriers' Association.

In speaking of this project, Mr. Livingstone in his last annual report said: "The delays which have interrupted the progress of the work upon Livingstone channel are of an annoying character. Every day emphasizes the need of an additional channel at this point. This fact was pertinently brought home by the sinking of the steamer 'C. W. Kotcher' at the Limekiln crossing on November 2d. She was caught by the wind and cross current and thrown on the west channel bank, blocking navigation completely at night and making the assistance of two tugs necessary for ships to pass her in the daytime. This particular stretch is the most congested bit of waterway in the world, bearing traffic that averages 225 tons for every minute of the twenty-four hours during the whole season of navigation." The undertaking was a colossal task, as for several miles the channel was coffer-dammed and thousands of tons of rock blasted out.

The following figures comparing the ore movements of 1909 and 1910, tell the tale of this tonnage passing Detroit:

Month.	1909	1910
April	55,794	1,520,305
May	3,253,275	6,081,358
June	5,393,255	7,316,592
July	6,693,025	6,945,289
August	7,193,199	6,964,381
September	7,050,985	6,273,832
October	6,625,801	4,877,441
November	4,899,220	2,641,886
December and to close of season	519,525	.....

Some idea as to how the navigation of the lakes, in which Detroit is vitally interested, can be formed from the fact that during the season from April 15 to December 5, 1910, covering 235 days, 25,578 boats passed Detroit. This includes all except the tugs engaged in lower river improvements, and was an average of one vessel during every thirteen and one-fourth minutes during the entire period mentioned. The greatest number passing in any one day was on June 26th when the record was 260 vessels. Approximating, the tonnage through the Detroit river was 75,000,000 tons, and it will therefore be seen that the traffic past Detroit was 219 tons for every minute of the twenty-four hours every day during the season of navigation.

One of the oldest of the steamboat companies with which Detroit

has been constantly identified is the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company. This line was originally established by Captain Arthur Edwards in 1850 and operated by him until 1852, running two boats, the "Southerner" and the "Baltimore" between Detroit and Cleveland; these steamers covered the route in 1850-1 and were succeeded in 1852 by the "Forest City" completed that year for John Owen and his associates, and run jointly with the steamers "St. Louis" and "Sam Ward" owned by E. B. Ward & Company. In 1853 the steamers "May Queen" built that year and the "City of Cleveland" built the year previous displaced the former vessels on the route; in 1855 the steamer "Ocean" was added with the view of operating day and night lines which arrangement continued during the season of 1855 and a portion of 1856 when the "Queen" was laid up; the seasons 1857-61 inclusive, the route was covered by the "May Queen" and the "Ocean;" in 1862 the "Morning Star" was completed and displaced the "Ocean" and during the latter part of the season the "City of Cleveland" took the place of the "May Queen" which remained on the route from 1863-6; in 1867 the "R. N. Rice" was completed and displaced the "City of Cleveland."

In 1868 the company was incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan, with a capital stock of \$300,000 under the title of the Detroit & Cleveland Steam Navigation Company, the vessels at that time being the "R. N. Rice" and "Morning Star;" the latter steamer was lost in a collision June 20, 1868, and her place on the route was filled by the "Northwest" which, with the "R. N. Rice," ran continuously until the close of navigation in 1876; in 1877 the "Northwest" was rebuilt at an expense of \$80,000 and in the same year, the "R. N. Rice" was partially destroyed by fire while at her dock, the "Saginaw" taking her place on the route during the balance of the season. The first steamer built for the present company was the "City of Detroit" which came out in 1878, being a composite steamer costing \$170,000 and she, with the "Northwest," took care of the traffic on the Cleveland route until 1883; the new iron steamer "City of Cleveland No. 1" came out in 1880, a duplicate as to size and cost of the "City of Detroit," the former boat running on a route to Houghton, Michigan, for two years when she was placed on the Mackinac route, and was displaced in 1883 by the new iron steamer "City of Mackinac No. 1" costing \$180,000; this steamer in connection with the steamer "City of Cleveland" whose name had been changed to the "City of Alpena No. 1" continued on the route until 1886; the capital stock was increased in 1883 to \$450,000; these two steamers remained on the Mackinac route until 1892 when they were sold; they were supplanted on the route by two new steamers bearing the same names, the two new vessels being sister ships and costing \$300,000 each, which boats are running on the route at the present time.

In 1886, another new steamer "City of Cleveland No. 2" was built at a cost of \$300,000 for the Cleveland division and displaced the steamer "Northwest"; in 1889 another steel steamer named the "City of Detroit No. 2" was completed at a cost of \$350,000 and took the place of the boat of the same name operating on the Cleveland division; the

name of the old "City of Detroit" was changed to the "City of the Straits" and has since plied between Cleveland and Put-in-Bay. In 1906 contracts were let for the construction of the eighth vessel to be built for the company and to be ready for the season of 1907. The hull of this vessel was laid in 1906; her upper works were practically completed and a large portion of her machinery installed, when on May 13, 1907, she was burned to her steel framework. Rebuilding started at once and she came out in June 1908, the largest and finest side wheel steamer ("City of Cleveland No. 3") in America, costing \$1,250,000. This new steamer was placed on the route between Detroit and Cleveland supplanting the boat of the same name which had been changed to the "City of St. Ignace"; it is 444 feet long, 96 feet 6 inches wide, has a passenger capacity of 4,500 persons and a freight capacity of 10,000 tons. Some of the features of this new steamer are five hundred staterooms, twenty private parlors with bath, hot and cold running water in each room; telephone in every stateroom, passenger elevator, fire place, convention hall, Venetian garden, luxurious dining room and costly furnishings; in fact, all modern conveniences such as are to be found in our first class hotels. Contracts have been let for a new steamer, "City of Detroit No. 3" to be ready for service in 1912 and to cost \$1,500,000, which will be 470 feet long and surpass the "City of Cleveland" in beauty, etc.

In 1909 the Detroit & Buffalo Steamboat Company's steamers "Eastern States" and "Western States," 387 feet long and costing \$650,000 each, were purchased by the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company and added to their already excellent fleet, which acquisition makes one of the largest and best steamboat companies on fresh water.

In 1898 the company was re-incorporated for \$1,500,000 and the name changed to the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company since which time the following changes in the capitalization have been made; 1903, \$2,000,000; 1907, \$2,500,000; 1909, \$4,000,000.

During its life of forty-three years, the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company has had the following executive chiefs: John Owen, president; David Carter, general manager. Mr. Owen was its first president and at his death was succeeded by Senator James McMillan, who, upon his death in 1903, was succeeded by his son, William C. McMillan; at the death of the latter, in 1907, his brother, Philip H. McMillan, was elected president and Arnold A. Schantz, general manager, the latter having become connected with the company in 1878 as an employe in the baggage room, and who, by sheer ability and indefatigable effort, has been advanced through the various departments of importance to his present high office. The personnel of the company at this time is as follows: Philip H. McMillan, president; George Hendrie, vice president; A. A. Schantz, general manager; J. T. McMillan, general superintendent; G. M. Black, secretary and treasurer.

The routes covered by this company during the season of navigation are as follows: Daily service between Detroit and Buffalo, and Detroit and Cleveland; special day trips between the latter points during July and August in addition to the nightly trips; four trips weekly between Toledo, Detroit, Mackinac island and way ports; two trips

weekly between Cleveland, Detroit and Mackinac island, stopping only at Detroit each trip, and Goderich, Ontario, every other trip, and daily service between Cleveland, Toledo and Put-in-Bay.

The Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company's steamers are among the finest passenger vessels on our western waters, and are surpassed but by few in the world. In their design and construction they embrace all the modern improvements known to marine art and science—in fact, everything that experience and money can provide for safety, comfort and speed—and the thousands who annually travel on them are living evidences of the wide spread popularity of this great line.

The following steamers are now operated by this company: "City of Cleveland III," "City of Detroit II," "City of St. Ignace," "City of Mackinac," "City of Alpena," "Eastern States," "Western States," "State of New York," "State of Ohio" and "City of the Straits."

Another of the pioneers in passenger traffic is the White Star Line. Successor to the Star Line and Red Star Line, and a combination of Star-Cole-Red and White Star Lines, it was organized April 4, 1896, by A. A. Parker, John Pridgeon, Jr., Byron W. Parker, Chas. F. Bielman, Jas. W. Miller, Geo. M. Black and A. A. Parker, trustees. The original capital stock was \$85,000 and first officers as follows: Aaron A. Parker, president; John Pridgeon, Jr., vice president; Byron W. Parker, treasurer; Chas. F. Bielman, secretary and Jas. W. Miller, manager. Its first steamer was the "City of Toledo," purchased from the Toledo and Island Steamboat Company. This boat first operated on the route between Toledo, Detroit and Port Huron, in conjunction with the Star Line, Red Star Line and Darius Cole Transportation Company. At a special meeting of the directors November 11, 1898, the following resignations were accepted: J. W. Miller, manager; John Pridgeon, Jr., vice president; and B. W. Parker, treasurer. The following elections were then made: J. W. Miller, vice president; John Pridgeon, Jr., treasurer; and B. W. Parker, general manager. On October 2, 1899, the property of the Red Star Line and Tashmoo Park was purchased and the capital stock of the company increased to \$200,000. In November, 1901, the new steel steamer "Grayhound" was contracted for, and the capital stock of the company increased to \$500,000. In the winter of 1899-1900 the new steel steamer "Tashmoo" was built and added to the line. In November, 1902, the steel steamer "Owara" was purchased from the Erie and Buffalo Steamboat Company and added to the line. On October 7, 1905, Sugar Island Park was purchased from the John P. Clark estate and has since been greatly improved and used as the company's downriver resort. In November, 1906, the wharves, buildings and warehouses at the foot of Griswold street, Detroit, and the wharf and buildings at the foot of Butler street, Port Huron, were purchased and the capital stock of the company increased to \$750,000.

The company now owns and operates on the route between Toledo, Detroit, St. Clair Flats and all points on the St. Clair river to Port Huron, five steel passenger steamers, two picnic or excursion parks, and the terminals or wharves at Toledo, Detroit, South Park and Port Huron. The number of passengers carried, during the season of 1910,

exceeded 700,000, besides a large volume of package freight. The company's business has steadily increased each year since its inception. The present officers are: L. C. Waldo, president; B. W. Parker, vice president and general manager; John Pridgeon, Jr., treasurer; C. F. Bielman secretary and traffic manager; Geo. E. Phillips, assistant traffic manager; additional directors, A. A. Schantz, George M. Black, George Peck, Robert T. Gray and W. Howie Muir.

The Detroit, Windsor & Belle Isle Ferry Company and the Detroit & Walkerville Ferry Company operate steamers between the American and Canadian sides of the river, the former running a line of boats to Belle Isle, the city's great park and to Bois Blanc, an island in the lower end of the Detroit river, and during the season many thousands daily seek these pleasure grounds.

A line of steamers run by Ashley & Dustin between Detroit and Put-in-Bay makes that resort a popular outing place for Detroiters, and Commodore Perry's memory is thus ever kept green with the present generation.

CHAPTER XXXVI

TRANSPORTATION CONTINUED—THE INFLUENCE OF THE RAILWAYS ON THE GROWTH OF DETROIT—THE RISE OF THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL, AND PERE MARQUETTE ROADS—THE WABASH, LAKE SHORE & MICHIGAN SOUTHERN, AND OTHER LINES ENTERING AND CENTERING IN DETROIT.

The present extensive business of the ferries between Detroit and Windsor is the natural outcome of steady growth. It was not until March 5, 1802, that any regulation of traffic was made. Then a license was given Gabriel Godfroy to run a ferry from his house to the opposite shore. On December 21, 1803, a similar license was granted to James May and on July 14th to Jacob Visger. In 1806 a ferry house was built just west of Woodward avenue, between Woodbridge and Atwater streets, the river at that time coming up nearly to Woodbridge street. In 1820 a law was passed regulating the rate of fare, and specifying that the ferry should be in operation from the rising of the sun until ten o'clock at night, and that at all times when it was possible it was to transport the mail and public express. The fare was set at 12½ cents for each person; 50 cents for each horse; for a single carriage and single person, \$1; for each additional person 12½ cents and for each additional horse 25 cents; for each head of horned cattle 37½ cents and for each sheep or hog, 6¼ cents. Up to 1824 the ferries were principally sail boats, but in the latter year a "horse boat" was built at Cleveland. It was operated by two Canadian ponies. In 1827 John Burtis built the steam ferry "Argo." Its hull consisted of two whitewood logs and its power was derived from a four horse-power engine. The "Argo" plied between lake ports when first built and it was not until her place was taken on the lakes by the steamer "General Gratiot" that the "Argo" was leased to Louis Davenport and placed upon the ferry route. In 1834 there was a ferry steamer the "Lady of the Lake," and in July, 1836, Louis Davenport's new steam ferry "United States" went into commission. During the following year the common council reported in favor of allowing Louis Davenport, Charles H. Matthews and Matthew Moon to maintain ferries at the foot of Griswold street for \$150, at the foot of Wayne for \$100, and at the foot of Therese alley for \$50 per annum.

The "Mohawk" and "Argo" were the ferries in 1855; the "Gem" came in 1856, and the "Essex" was added in 1859. The "Detroit," which was built in 1864, ran until 1875, and the "Hope" was built for

George N. Brady in 1870. Now the five ferries plying between Detroit and Windsor, and the two between Detroit and Walkerville from the foot of Joseph Campau avenue, each pay to the city \$250 a year.

Following Governor Cass's campaign for the building of roads, and right on the heels thereof, came the necessity for better means of inland transportation. Michigan settlements were no longer confined to the banks of her lakes and streams. They were being carved out of the wilderness, and, as Detroit was the great distributing center, roads to reach the interior were absolutely necessary. In 1830, on July 31st, the Pontiac & Detroit Railroad, the first ever organized in the northwest received its charter. Five years were allowed for the completion of this line, which was to follow the Detroit and Pontiac highway. Failing to carry out their plans, the Detroit & Pontiac Railroad Company, a new corporation, was given a charter on March 7, 1834, and on March 26, 1835, the company was authorized to start the bank of Pontiac to enable the concern to finance the enterprise. The bank was capitalized at \$100,000, and the stock of the company was to be liable for its debts. The soil was of a treacherous character and "sink holes" not only took the roadbed, but many acres of land as well. The line, when completed, consisted of wooden rails, and the cars were operated by horses. Although authorized to purchase the road during the "Internal Improvement" fever, the state did not obtain possession of it, but did, in 1838, advance a loan of \$100,000 to the road to complete it, secured by mortgage. The line was officially opened on May 19, 1838, and its receipts were eighty dollars per day. On July 21st it was opened to Royal Oak and on August 16th as far as Birmingham. A locomotive was obtained from Philadelphia named the "Sherman Stevens." This engine was in service as late as 1858. Passenger coaches were divided into three rooms, with benches for seats ranged around the sides. The entrances were made from the sides. White ash springs were used on the four-wheeled freight cars, and one historian says they were actually in use for ten years.

The introduction of the locomotive made a change of rail necessary and the wooden rails gave way to those of strap iron, spiked flat upon the wooden rail. It was not until 1843 that the road was completed to Pontiac. The trains stopped anywhere and everywhere to take on and let off passengers, and the speed was necessarily very slow. The company entered the city by way of Dequindre street and laid its rails to Jefferson avenue where the station was built. In 1842 the line was extended down Gratiot avenue to Farmer street. The road was so poorly constructed that the property owners petitioned the council to have it removed, as the thoroughfare was impassable after a rain storm. This action was taken and the city marshal was instructed to remove the tracks, which were condemned as a public nuisance. Minor repairs were made and no attempt to remove the tracks was made until in September, 1847, when the council was again petitioned to do so. No attention was paid to the requests of the people at first, but the demand became so insistent that the council ordered the railroad company to remove the tracks within six months. Another year went by and the people determined to take the law into their own hands. On the even-

ing of December 12, 1849, a number of men armed with crow-bars proceeded to a locality near the head of Beaubien street and tore up several rods of the track. When the train arrived from Pontiac there was no place to turn the engine and it had to back up to Royal Oak. Twelve men were arrested, but public sympathy was with them and they were released, as it was conclusively proven that road was a nuisance and that, in the destruction of the road, the aggressors were merely carrying out the will of the council as publicly expressed. For a long time the cars stopped at Dequindre street. The old track was however, relaid. On February 11, 1850, two days afterward the track was again torn up from Randolph street east. In July of that year the company asked permission of the council to again have the use of Gratiot avenue and a resolution to that effect was passed. Following this authority, the road was extended down through the Campus Martius and the depot was where the Detroit Opera House now stands. On May 27, 1851, the company secured permission to extend its tracks across Jefferson avenue to property it had purchased at the foot of Brush street. Early in 1852 trains began running in and out of the Brush street depot, and the old strap iron rails gave way to T rails.

The mortgage given the state to secure the loan of \$100,000, and the bonds given as an additional security, were sold to White & Davis of Syracuse, N. Y., who leased the line to Alfred Williams for \$10,000 a year. He operated the road until 1849 when, at a total cost of about \$80,000 cash, H. N. Walker, Dean Richmond, Alfred Williams and Horace Thurber became the proprietors of the line. In 1848 the Oakland & Ottawa Railroad Company was given a charter to build a line from Pontiac to Lake Michigan. Under a special act, this company and the Pontiac & Detroit were authorized to consolidate, which they did under the name of the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad. This occurred on April 19, 1855. The construction of the new line was rapidly pushed toward Grand Haven and was opened to Fentonville October 2, 1855, Grand Rapids July 4, 1858, and to Grand Haven August 30, 1858. The Detroit & Milwaukee failed to pay the interest on its bonds and upon a loan secured from the Great Western which foreclosed and bought in the road subject to the prior liens. The company was reorganized. Later proceedings were taken to foreclose two mortgages—one for \$2,000,000 and one for \$1,000,000—and on April 11, 1875, the road was placed in the hands of C. C. Trowbridge as receiver. Under a decree of the court the Great Western became the purchaser of the Detroit & Milwaukee for \$1,850,000. On November 8, 1878, the road was reorganized under the name of the Detroit, Grand Haven, & Milwaukee Railway Company.

In 1830 the line that is now the Michigan Central was planned but was not chartered until June, 1832. It was surveyed by the war department, on the ground that the line would be a public benefit, and thus the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad Company was born. It was to be built on subscription, and the work of soliciting funds began in 1855. The shares were placed at two dollars each. They were rapidly taken and at Ypsilanti nearly \$9,000 was raised in one day. An

act approved August 25, 1855, authorized the company to establish a bank at Ypsilanti with a capital of \$100,000. The officers of the road were: John Biddle, president; D. G. Jones, O. Newberry, E. A. Brush, B. B. Kercheval, E. P. Hastings, J. Burdick, Mark Norris, David Page and S. W. Dexter, directors.

Up to December 18, 1835, \$55,000 had been subscribed for the road at Detroit. On December 20th a meeting was held at Detroit and further subscriptions were solicited and received. At a subsequent meeting on January 2, 1836, \$25,000 more was raised, making the investment of Detroit citizens in the new road more than \$100,000. The city council on August 5, 1836, authorized the mayor to subscribe, on behalf of the city, for \$10,000 worth of the stock of the new company, and on August 11th, after receiving the resolutions adopted at a monster public meeting the evening before, the council authorized the mayor to subscribe to the amount of \$40,000.

Ten miles of the road had been graded and the right-of-way had been grubbed by November 20, 1836. The "Internal Improvement" fever had seized the governing powers of the territory, and a movement was on foot to secure the famous "five million dollar loan." One of the duties of the new Improvement Board was the construction and operation of all railroads in the state. The purchase of the Detroit & St. Joseph by the territory was authorized by an act approved March 20, 1837. Accordingly, the territory then took over the road, after some \$117,000 had been expended, and changed its name to the Michigan Central; although it now forms a part of the New York Central system, the name is still retained.

The construction of the road was pushed ahead as rapidly as possible, and was in operation as far as Dearborn in January, 1838. When the road was opened to Ypsilanti February 3, 1838, it was a gala day for both Detroit and the Normal City. John G. Hays, of Detroit, in anticipation of the event, built a new car, the "Governor Mason," which had a seating capacity of thirty-six persons. Upon this initial trip the state and city officers, the Brady Guards and a number of distinguished citizens, went over the line. A public dinner was served at Ypsilanti, at which General Van Fossen was the principal speaker. On the return trip the engine balked at Dearborn and horses were secured to draw the train to Detroit.

The road was opened as far as Ann Arbor October 17, 1839. As was the case with Ypsilanti, the city officers, about seven hundred and fifty citizens and the Brady Guards took the initial trip, leaving Detroit at 9 a. m. and returning at 3 p. m. The train was received with a salute from cannon and the visitors were entertained at a public dinner. During the year 1839 and part of 1840 fifty-four persons were employed in operating the road, of which T. G. Cole was superintendent and A. H. Adams weighmaster. The line was opened to Dexter June 30, 1840, and to Jackson December 29, 1841. Two new locomotives were landed at Detroit by a schooner October 21, 1842, and a new passenger car called the "Kalamazoo" was secured.

The *Detroit Gazette* of May 22, 1843, contains the following notice regarding the reduction of fare to Jackson: "For the purpose of meet-

ing the wishes of travelers and increasing the revenues of the road, the Michigan Central has reduced the fare to Jackson to \$2.50, and for way-passengers in proportion. The road is in excellent order, the engines and cars are of the best description, and they are run with great regularity. Regular lines of stages leave Jackson for Chicago on the arrival of the cars. Travelers taking this route reach Chicago in two days less time than taking the route around the lakes."

The state on November 25, 1845, completed the line to Battle Creek, and on February 2, 1846, to Kalamazoo. The fare from Detroit to Chicago was \$6.50, including 55 miles of staging to New Buffalo and 96 miles of steamboating to Chicago.

It soon became apparent that the political party in power was building a machine out of the patronage of the state-owned-and-operated railroad, and a strong public sentiment against participation by the commonwealth in enterprises of this character made itself manifest. An open letter from Marshall dated October 6, 1845, said: "There is a great defect in the arrangements of the Central Railroad of this state. It is disgraceful that so important a work should be so slovenly managed. In the first place it was shabbily built at an enormous expense, and is conducted in all its departments by mere partisans. They were appointed because they were noisy politicians."

The wretched financing of the "five million dollar" loan, the panic of 1837 and heavy expenditures by the state, caused the state officers to realize they had a white elephant on their hands in the Michigan Central and the desire to unload it became as strong as the wish to possess it had been before. Attorney General H. N. Walker was empowered to go to New York and negotiate a sale of the property. One of the first steps taken by Mr. Walker was to see Erastus Corning at Albany, N. Y. This gentleman held a large amount of the bonds of the state of Michigan which he had purchased for about thirty cents on the dollar. J. W. Brooks, who was then superintending a line between Rochester and Syracuse was called into the conference. The draft of a charter for a new company was made. It was agreed that Mr. Brooks was to go to Detroit in January, 1846, and that Mr. Walker should endeavor to have the charter passed by the legislature. The terms of the deal were ten per cent above the cost of the road in cash, and the remainder of the purchase price in bonds and other outstanding obligations of the state.

On March 28, 1846, an act was passed providing for the incorporation of the Michigan Central Railroad Company, and for the sale by the state to the new corporation of the Michigan Central property for \$2,000,000. A number of those who promised they would go into the new company as incorporators backed out and, at the request of Governor Barry and the leading men of Detroit, Mr. Walker and George F. Porter went to New York and Boston, organized a company under the terms of the new charter, and on September 23, 1846, the road finally passed out of the possession of the state and became the property of private interests.

Up to the date of the transfer of the property, the state had expended \$1,954,308.28. There were four passenger depots along the line and not one of them at Detroit.

The charter granted the new Michigan Central Company was liberal in its provisions. It relieved the road of all taxation, except one-half of one per cent on its capital stock up to July 1, 1851, after which this amount was to be increased to three-quarters of one per cent. It also provided that no railroad built within five miles west of Detroit should approach within five miles of the Michigan Central without the consent of that company; that no other road should approach within twenty miles of Detroit, or run to Lake Michigan or the southern boundary of the state, which was, on an average, within a distance of twenty miles from the Michigan Central. A provision was also inserted that, did it so will, the state could buy the road at any time after 1867. Up to the early part of 1867, the road entered Detroit over Michigan avenue and the depot occupied the site where the present city hall now stands. Extending from the depot, tracks were laid on Woodward avenue to Atwater street and for a thousand feet on the latter thoroughfare each way, east and west.

Permission was granted the Michigan Central, in 1838, to erect a car house on Michigan avenue back of where the city hall now stands. This was bitterly opposed, however, and the project was given up. Merchants with warehouses were given permission to lay tracks on the streets to connect with the tracks on Woodward avenue and on Atwater street. The thoroughfares named were occupied with the tracks until 1844. The labor and expense of hauling the cars up the hill was so great and the job was so expensive, that in 1847 grounds were purchased for a depot west of Third street. It was not until the summer of 1848, however, that passenger cars ran into the new depot, and for more than a year the old buildings on the Campus Martius remained standing, when they were torn down by order of the common council. In 1851 the company purchased a large tract of land on the river front, reaching from Third street west, upon which large freight houses were erected. Continued purchases bought up the holdings of the company in 1879, to more than fifty acres on the river front, ten acres for stockyards at Twentieth street and one hundred and forty acres at the Junction. The road was completed to New Buffalo April 23, 1849, and steamers from there took the passengers to Chicago. The charter of the company did not permit it to extend its line beyond the limits of the state, so the road succeeded in gaining an entrance to Chicago through the acquisition of stock interest in other companies.

More than thirty years ago, the Vanderbilts acquired a controlling interest in the company and Henry B. Ledyard was installed as president. The road was at that time, in places, two streaks of rust, and the track was in such poor condition that Mr. Ledyard was compelled to promise not to allow the trains to run more than six miles an hour. Then, at the suggestion of Mr. Ledyard, was adopted the financial policy which has developed the Michigan Central into one of the finest railroad properties in the United States—the use of earnings for betterments and the paying of a moderate dividend. For years the dividend rate was maintained at four per cent. the remainder of the earnings going into the improvement of the property and thus enhancing its

investment value. Gradually the road was built up, its roadbed improved, heavier rails installed, equipment added to and improved, until the name Michigan Central became synonymous with all that was most desirable in railroading. It gained the reputation of being one of the most conservatively managed and safest roads on which to travel in the country.

In speaking of the financial policy of the company Mr. Ledyard said to the writer, in an interview which was widely copied by financial papers: "Betterments—it is indeed difficult to tell where they begin and where they end. We have pursued the policy of giving the stockholders a moderate return on their investment and at the same time protecting their property, believing that the more valuable one makes the property under one's charge, the greater service one is doing for those who employ him. I will give you an instance of what I mean. Mr. Newman, then president of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, discovered the fact that doubling the carrying capacity of a freight car did not double the dead weight on the trucks. This revolutionized the carrying of freight. It meant that we must have larger cars; this meant larger locomotives. Larger locomotives and the additional weight on the tracks meant heavier rails, better roadbeds and the elimination of curves and reduction of grades. Where we ran trains ten, or twenty years ago, of twenty to thirty cars of 25,000 pounds capacity, we now run trains of more than one hundred cars of from 75,000 to 80,000 pounds capacity. As one result of this, we had to tear out every steel bridge between Buffalo and Chicago, bridges good for twenty-five years as far as the wear and tear is concerned, and replace them with heavier structures, in order to take care of the strain imposed by modern railroad traffic. Suppose the steel bridges thus replaced had been built on bonds, would we not now be paying for a dead horse? No; every mother's son of those original steel bridges were built out of the earnings of the road, and the stockholders received their four per cent dividends in fat years and in lean."

In addition to this sound financial policy, the Michigan Central secured possession of terminals in Detroit and has, by acquisition and construction, covered the city with a net-work of industrial tracks which did much toward the development of industrial Detroit. The stockyards at Twentieth street became too close to the center of the city and property was secured at the western end of the metropolis, then well out of the city limits, but now within the bounds. There were constructed large stock yards. In all things the Michigan Central has been progressive, and Detroit business interests owe much to the initial assistance given them through the provision of side-track and transportation facilities.

One of the great railroad transportation companies that has added great wealth to the city of Detroit is the Pere Marquette Railroad Company. This corporation was created through a consolidation of several independent railroads that were built when two-thirds of the Lower Peninsula was covered with pine forest. They were promoted by Michigan men and constituted the great force that has converted most of

that territory into what we see today. There was no mistake in their policy and Detroit has reaped and acquired great wealth through the lumber industries which these railroads served. Much of the capital that was produced through that source has been the foundation of a great deal of the industrial development of this city.

To comprehend the great value of this railroad corporation to the prosperity of the city, a glance at the map will show in what direction the arteries lead and the magnificent territory this railroad serves, bringing to this city the wealth of more than half of the state.

One of the initial lines forming the present corporation was known as the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad. This railroad is a development of the far-sighted sagacity and vision of Governor H. C. Crapo. Associated with him was Captain E. B. Ward of Detroit, Hon. W. W. Crapo of Massachusetts and Jesse Hoyt of New York, who obtained the charter for a railroad from Flint to Lake Michigan. After its construction to the Saginaw valley, in 1862, it absorbed the little railroad that was built by Governor Crapo between Flint and Holly. Afterwards was formed the Holly, Wayne & Monroe, which constructed from Holly to Monroe, and the consolidation of these three formed the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad. It was completed to Ludington and became the principal transportation factor in the development of the Saginaw valley. The policy of that company and its relations with the public left its impression throughout the territory it served, which remains to the present day.

As the years went on and the timber interests began to wane, it was necessary to acquire greater strength by controlling more territory, and the company absorbed what was known as the Port Huron & Western Railroad, a narrow gauge system controlled by Port Huron capitalists which was serving the Thumb of Michigan. This was afterwards reorganized and made a standard gauge railroad. During the lifetime of Jesse Hoyt a railroad was constructed from Saginaw to Bad Axe to serve that particular territory. This little road was taken into the Pere Marquette organization in 1901.

The next railroad of importance forming the present corporation was the Detroit, Lansing & Northern Railroad, which was promoted and built by the Hon. James F. Joy, of Detroit, and his associates. Its lines traverse a very large and attractive territory from Detroit to Grand Rapids, with a branch from Grand Ledge to Howard City. In its early days it tapped a valuable timber district that was connected with this city, and the products sustained lumber yards for many years. This entire territory is now industrial and agricultural in all its products, and has the further advantage of connecting the capital and second city of the state with the greater interests of Detroit.

The other railroad forming this corporation was the Chicago & West Michigan Railway Company. This grew out of a railroad that was constructed from Allegan to Muskegon, and in its development it reached out both north and south. Its northerly extension was to tap the hardwood forests and the magnificent resort territory of the state, and in a southerly direction toward the great city of Chicago. It now is one of the main arteries of the railroad, for subsequent years have

seen the marked development of the fruit belt of Michigan, extending from the lower end of Lake Michigan nearly to the Straits of Mackinac, into a belt of territory unmatched in physical beauty and ideal climatic conditions. This district is now attracting much attention because of its horticultural possibilities and the variety of attractions sought for by the summer tourists.

The Pere Marquette Railroad has over 1,800 miles of productive railroad within the borders of the state. Its trunk lines center in Detroit, and as the years pass this railroad becomes a greater factor owing to the rapid development of the territory it serves and increased prosperity of the cities and towns it reaches, extending a larger opportunity for the business interests of Detroit by affording prosperous consuming territory.

The title given to this railroad of "Pere Marquette" is associated with the life of the great traveler, whose footsteps traversed much of the territory of western Michigan that is now served by the road itself. It is a striking name, easily pronounced and of poetical beauty, and, as such, is closely associated with the evolution of the Lower Peninsula from primeval forest to the magnificent, agricultural, horticultural and industrial domain that exists today.

Many plans were made to facilitate communication between Detroit and the Canadian shore. A tunnel was projected and partly built, running from the foot of the Dequindre street to Windsor, but quicksand was struck and after a few lives were lost in the attempted construction of the sub-aqueous passage, the project was given up. The next thing was an agitation for an international bridge of the suspension style of construction, but the vessel interests bitterly opposed the scheme, declaring the center pier would be an obstruction to navigation and dangerous to vessels. Finally, the tunnel then being constructed under the North or Hudson river at New York, was in such a fair way of being a success that the New York Central interests investigated the tunnel possibility at Detroit. Test holes were sunk and, upon the report of the engineers that such a means of transportation under the Detroit river would be perfectly feasible, bids were sought and plans drawn. W. S. Kinnear, then chief engineer of the Michigan Central, a man of extraordinary engineering ability, was appointed one of a board of construction and gave ear to what was then considered a most daring plan of construction. There was no precedent to follow. The idea was entirely new. It was the open trench idea, now brought to a successful conclusion. The plans as submitted by Butler Brothers, Hoff and Company, contemplated the digging of an open trench in the river bottom, deep enough to allow the top of the tunnel to be slightly below the river bed. The plan as outlined, and finally adopted, was to dig a V shaped trench in the bottom of the river, twenty-five feet at its base and wide enough at the top to embrace a two-bore tunnel. The bottom of the trench was to be lined with rubble and cement. Twin tubes were constructed at the St. Clair shipyards of the Great Lakes Engineering Company. They were 260 feet long and 22 feet in the clear, in the inside. These tubes were built upon the ways as if they were ships, and were connected with iron bolts. At a distance of

every eleven feet, there were placed steel diaphragms sloping from the top to the bottom, so as to conform to the shape of the trench in the bottom of the river. Outside of the diaphragms was placed a sheathing of plank, which served as a buoy which would float the tubes when launched. The tubes were bulkheaded up and when launched were towed from St. Clair to Detroit, where they were placed in position in the trench by means of tugs and divers. So close was the calculation that there was not an error of more than an eighth of an inch in the entire tunnel. Preparatory to the sinking of the tubes, what were called gridiron saddles, of steel, projecting about four feet above the bottom of the trench, were so placed that the end of each tube would occupy one-half of each saddle. The projecting diaphragms planked as stated, formed pockets without bottoms into which was forced under hydraulic pressure, concrete which not only filled the pockets, but was forced below and beneath the tubes when placed, and carried up and arched in each pocket overhead, in such a manner as to enclose the placed tubes in a monolithic mass. As fast as the tubes were placed in position, the flange of one fitting into the socket of the other, a rubber gasket being in position, the space between the two joining ends was filled with cement grout so that the joints were absolutely air tight. When the process of filling one pocket began it was kept up until that pocket with its arched top was complete. This was done for the reason that had not this course been pursued, there would have been a cleavage line which would have admitted a seepage which would have eventually been disastrous. These tubes were laid for 1,540 feet, the total length of the tunnel being 7,860 feet.

In the center of the river was a depression in the river bed, some 45 feet in depth which, instead of filling up, the engineers made into a reservoir, or catch basin, for the surface water and any seepage which might possibly find its way through the weak points of the tunnel. This had a storage capacity of 45,000 gallons of water and was equipped with a pump from the shore end. After the tubes had been placed in position and had become the center of the monolithic outer covering, they were lined on the inside with reinforced concrete to the depth of eighteen inches. The circular form of the tube was followed until such a height was reached as to form a bench, which served for the purpose of conduits for electric wires, and also as a walk, in case accident should stall the trains in the tunnel. This tunnel, which was formally opened for traffic October 16, 1910, cost in the neighborhood of \$10,000,000, but it is estimated that the reduction in the cost of transportation of freight and passenger trains by ferry, will more than make up the difference on the additional fixed charges of the road which will be in the neighborhood of \$400,000 per year.

The tunnel is lit throughout with electricity, and is operated with large electric locomotives of the direct contact, or third rail type. All passenger and freight trains of the Michigan Central are now sent through this underground passage, and the saving of time in transit across the river will be the means of making the Michigan Central the favorite air line from New York to Chicago. In common with this improvement, the Michigan Central is now engaged in building a union

depot at Eighteenth and Rose streets which will cost fully four million dollars. This will be along the direct line from the east to the west and will save all shunting, shuttle trains, or backing down, and will result in cutting off another half hour from the now remarkably fast time between New York and Chicago.

The Lake Shore & Michigan Southern also enters Detroit by circling the city and entering the Brush street depot. There is no doubt, however, that when the new Union depot is completed, the Michigan Central, Grand Trunk, Canadian Pacific and the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, will use the new terminal and the tunnel.

The Wabash, which now furnishes one of the principal arteries of commerce and travel between Detroit and Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and the great west and southwest, acquired the Detroit, Butler & St. Louis Railroad, a line which originally extended to Butler, Indiana, a distance of 113 miles. A bonus of \$200,000 was given by the citizens of Detroit to aid in the construction of this line; of this amount, the Board of Trade, then the most influential commercial organization of the city, contributed \$13,000. Many firms and individuals subscribed hundreds of dollars and the entire amount was subscribed by June 17, 1880, and on August 14, 1881, the first through train rolled into Detroit from St. Louis.

Then commenced an era of pronounced prosperity for Detroit. Its manufacturing products were distributed to all quarters of the globe and the continued increase of her transportation facilities caused other roads to project an entrance there. For years it was rumored that the Pennsylvania was going to build into Detroit. The wish for competitive roads was father to the thought. The Pennsylvania, mixed up with the Vanderbilts formed an offensive and defensive alliance. The interweaving of stockholding interests and directors made this not only possible but desirable. The Pennsylvania runs into Detroit, but the through Detroit cars come in over the tracks of the Vanderbilts' road.

The next to appreciate the importance of Detroit was the Canadian Pacific. This road found the trade from Detroit and from Michigan, which came through the Detroit gateway, of such magnitude as to warrant the construction of car ferries and the securing of terminal facilities. With the Pere Marquette, the Wabash and the Detroit, Toledo & Ironton, it now uses the union depot at the corner of Third avenue and Fort street—a terminal that when James F. Joy, one of the original Michigan Central managers, projected it, caused a considerable amount of ridicule. It was stated that he was building twenty years ahead of his times, but his judgment has been more than sustained, and the facilities have been more than adequate.

The same was true of the outside belt line running in a semi-circle from Connors Creek on the east to Ecorse on the east, taking in a territory then without the city limits, and opening up manufacturing sites which the skeptical said would not be occupied for twenty years. This was five years ago. The scheme was projected by P. N. Jacobsen, who had much to do with the securing of the right-of-way for the Detroit,

Monroe & Toledo Short Line between Detroit and Maumee City. Mr. Jacobsen interested the late Joseph H. Berry, of Berry Brothers, the pioneer varnish manufacturers of the United States, and who have a large central plant at Detroit. Mr. Berry interested Colonel Frank J. Hecker, than whom there is no more shrewd business man in the city, and the eastern end of the semi-circle was completed. The sudden death of Mr. Berry placed a cap upon the ambition of the promoters of the independent terminal, but the project had sufficient merit for the Michigan Central and Grand Trunk together to purchase the belt. After operating the eastern end, and thus opening up a new manufacturing district in what was known as the Fairview subdivision—on which the Chalmers Detroit Motor Company, the Hudson Motor Car Company and a dozen other going and growing concerns have located—it was found that industrial Detroit was growing so rapidly that it was necessary to carry out the original scheme of the outer semi-circle. The road was graded, steel rails were laid, and now for a distance of some eighteen miles, taking the bend into consideration, the outside belt is dotted with factories from one end of it to the other. This, however, did not furnish the independent terminal facilities, contemplated in the beginning, but served to place in the hands of the older roads a further cinch on the terminal facilities of Detroit. In passing, one thing must be said, and that is that, although the Michigan Central virtually controls the terminal facilities of Detroit, there is no extortion practiced, save in switching charges which are so adjusted that it makes it more advantageous for merchants and manufacturers along the lines of the Michigan Central belt to patronize it than to go to other roads.

"This is cold-blooded business," said Mr. Henry B. Ledyard, former president and now chairman of the Board of Directors of the Michigan Central. "It is but natural that where we have spent millions of dollars to aid the manufacturing and commercial interests of Detroit to develop their business that we should be entitled to all the business we can get. In our switching arrangements with the other roads, the shipper or consignee does not suffer, but the roads delivering the goods naturally have to pay us if they take advantage of our tracks and engines."

CHAPTER XXXVII

DETROIT REAL ESTATE—EARLY PRICES, ACCORDING TO SILAS FARMER—
COMPARISONS WITH THE PRESENT—WOODWARD AVENUE FRONTAGES—
INFLUENCES OF THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY—REAL ESTATE AND BUILD-
ING STATISTICS—HOMES OF WAGE EARNERS—THE DETROIT REAL ES-
TATE BOARD.

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The history of Detroit real estate is very much like the history of realty in most other large cities. That is, with the growth of the city came steady, certain appreciation in values, not in only one particular section of the city, but in the community in general.

Still, there is something about Detroit real estate that does distinguish it to a marked degree from that of many other large cities and that is its stability even in times of depression. It can be safely said (and Detroit has every reason to feel much pride in this assertion) that local real estate has never figured prominently in a panic to the extent that it was said afterward that many investors lost large sums of money in a "slump" in real estate values.

This was especially true of the period of widespread business and financial depression through which the country passed in 1907 and 1908, which period it still fresh in the minds of even those who had comparatively little at stake. While Detroiters were daily receiving reports of vast fortunes being lost in real estate securities in various large cities, especially in the east, local real estate values steadily climbed upward and new record prices were established in various sections of the city.

Of course, a city that grows as rapidly as has Detroit, especially in the last decade, cannot help but reflect that growth in practically every material direction, and it is but natural that real estate should participate in that favorable condition. Yet had Detroiters had less faith in the future of their city, it is quite likely that here, too, real estate would have felt the same ailment that afflicted it in many other sections. That their faith has been amply rewarded is reflected by the magnificent fortunes that have been made in Detroit realty in the past few years.

That we may more thoroughly appreciate the remarkable advances that Detroit real estate has made, let us look back to the early days of the city when this magnificent metropolis was still in the making. Of course, one could go back to the day when the present site of Detroit could have been purchased from the Indians for a few cheap trinkets, but it is nevertheless true that it is not such a remarkably great number of years ago

when some of the most valuable pieces of ground in the business section today were sold at figures reaching only into the hundreds.

I am indebted to the early history of Detroit, compiled by Silas Farmer, for some very interesting data on early real estate values. Among those figures that I deemed of most importance in this chapter are the following: "A committee appointed after the fire of 1805 reported that the lots of the then village were worth these prices: 27 x 54 feet, \$123.50; 161 x 175 feet, \$614.50. The total value of the lots owned by the sixty-nine proprietors then in the village was \$14,205.50.

"On March 6, 1807, forty-one park lots, containing five and ten acres



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each sold at auction for from \$12.55 to about \$57.00 per lot. As late as 1817 park lots were valued at only \$15.00 per acre.

"In 1815 Governor Cass purchased the Cass farm for \$12,000.00.

"In 1861 the southwest corner of Jefferson and Woodward sold for \$2,010. In November, 1816, the northwest corner of Griswold and Woodbridge, 40 x 80 feet, sold for \$11.90. In 1817 the northwest corner of Bates and Larned sold for \$80.00, the lot being 80 x 120.

"In 1819, by action of the governor and judges, many lots in the vicinity of the city hall were sold. Among the purchasers were Judge Sibley. After the sale Major Rowland said to C. C. Trowbridge: 'A

fool and his money are soon parted. Sibley has been buying about twenty lots at \$7 each, and I would not give him 70 cents each.'

"June 10, 1835, the *Journal and Courier* said: 'Buying and selling is the order of the day. Our city is filled with speculators, who are all on tiptoe. Several snug fortunes of from ten to twenty thousand dollars have already been made. Governor Cass has disposed of the front of his farm, as far back as Larned street, for \$100,000.'

"June 15, 1836, lots on Jefferson avenue, near Cass, sold at auction for from \$300 to \$450 per foot front. In January, 1843, the southeast corner of Griswold and Congress was sold by the Bank of Michigan to the county for \$1,800, and in July, 1859, was sold at auction to C. H. Buhl for \$12,550.

"In 1842 Col. Winder bought ten acres at the northeast corner of Woodward and High for \$1,500. In 1848 the ground on which the Detroit Opera House was located was bought for \$6,500 and in 1861 was sold by the executors of the estate of H. R. Andrews for \$23,500. In 1867 it was sold for \$50,000 and in 1868 Dr. E. M. Clark paid \$55,000.

"In February, 1860, the southwest corner of Griswold and Congress, 80 x 100, was sold to C. H. Buhl for \$334 per foot front. In 1863 the northwest corner of Congress and Randolph, 54 x 90, with building, was sold for \$9,000. November 11, 1863, two lots on the north side of Jefferson, near Wayne, each with twenty-five feet of frontage, sold at \$83 per foot."

Various other figures of like nature could be cited, but the transactions here credited to Silas Farmer's early work serve the purpose of bringing a better appreciation of present day figures.

For instance, the property referred to above as having been purchased by C. H. Buhl at the southwest corner of Griswold and Congress, 80 x 100 feet at \$334 per foot, is now covered by the Buhl block. What sort of bargain that was, is best appreciated by comparison with the price received for the ground directly opposite, on which the Ford building stands. In the year 1906 that ground was purchased for Edward Ford, of Toledo, for the erection of the Ford building, for approximately \$250,000.

That comparison will also serve for other land in the same vicinity, transactions in which are noted above.

Going a block farther north, the sale of the northwest corner of Fort and Griswold might well be referred to here. In 1911 the corner changed hands at a valuation of approximately \$800,000. On that site, Edward Ford, the owner of the Ford Building, is erecting the Dime Savings Bank building, a twenty-story structure—the highest building in the city.

In the early days of Detroit, the most valuable ground in the city fronted on Jefferson avenue and Griswold street. The corner of Griswold and Jefferson was in reality the heart of the entire community and what is now Grand Circus Park was a wilderness. With the growth of the city, however, and with the reconstruction under the governors' and judges' plan, Woodward avenue became the principal thoroughfare and for a considerable period, the frontage between the river and Jefferson was the most valuable in the city.

With the growth of the city northward, the section south of Jefferson depreciated in value and this depression even communicated itself to the

frontage as far north as the Campus. It was not until a comparatively few years ago, moreover, that the section between the river and the Campus again came into its own and today little or none of that frontage is in the market.

The growth in values in the central portion of the city has been little short of marvelous. When it is recalled that in the days immediately prior to the Civil war the frontage on Woodward between the Campus and Grand Circus park was practically without special value, and that today it is only a man or body of men with millions at their command that can even entertain the thought of buying any of that frontage, it is readily seen why Detroit realty is attracting the attention of practically the entire country.

The last sale of frontage on Woodward between the Campus and the Park was made in 1905, when the southwest corner of Clifford brought approximately \$3,750 per foot front.

The highest offer that has been made for Woodward frontage in the same section was for the northeast corner of Gratiot. In 1911, approximately \$12,000 per foot front was offered for a parcel of 20 feet.

It is interesting to know that all of the frontage in the section in question, Woodward avenue from the Campus to the Park, is owned by fifty-seven landlords. The entire frontage on both the east and west sides is 2,604.65 feet and it is in an interesting fact that not one single landlord occupies his own frontage. Every foot of it is under lease.

This brings me to a discussion of the value of Woodward frontage from the standpoint of leases. Lease values have had a remarkable advance in the last few years. Rentals have been on the upward trend at so wonderful a pace that this fact, combined with the growth of the city, has been the making of retail centers away from the city's main thoroughfare.

Business institutions are paying as high as \$50,000 per year for Woodward stores, and it is known that on the expiration of several present leases the rentals will greatly exceed that figure. In fact, higher rentals than that could be secured today, if certain pieces were open for the making of new leases.

It was within the past five years particularly that Detroit lost its reputation of being a "one-street town." As has been stated, high values on Woodward, coupled with the great growth of the city, created a demand for frontage off of Woodward, so that values on such thoroughfares as Monroe, Michigan, Grand River, Gratiot, Washington, Farmer, Broadway, and short stretches of thoroughfares both east and west from Woodward, increased rapidly. Those who had the foresight to grasp what the growth of the city meant in a real estate way, have substantial profits to show for their judgment and courage.

Outside of the Woodward section from the Campus to the Park, the frontage on Woodward that has attracted the most attention for business purposes is that north of the Park, running to about Sibley and Adelaide streets.

This section figured in about the nearest thing to a boom that Detroit realty has had in years. In 1909 this frontage, especially near High, Henry and Sibley, went for as high as \$1,200 per foot front, practically



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doubling in value in a period of a few months. Down near the Park, values ran as high as \$2,500 per foot front in 1910, while considerably more than that was offered for certain frontage in 1911, but was not on the market for sale.

As stated above, this advance in values was created by the demand for frontage for business purposes away from the center of the city's business section. This has since been followed by increases farther north in the residence section of Woodward avenue, but not for residence purposes.

This brings me to the influence of the automobile industry on real estate values. With the growth of the automobile industry in Detroit, a growth that has attracted the attention of the entire world, there came a demand for garages and automobile sales houses. Surely such institutions could not pay the tremendous prices demanded for central realty, so they began to invade the business districts immediately away from the central sections and the residence sections considerably removed from all business enterprises.

The result was that some of the city's most representative homes, mansions in their day, have since given away to automobile garages and sales houses, and Woodward avenue to the city limits is practically being rebuilt.

While the automobile business has also invaded other thoroughfares in their residence sections, notably Jefferson avenue, it has not done so in anywhere near the same degree as it has on Woodward avenue. And it is, furthermore, not the automobile alone that is thus encroaching, if this term might be used. Stores, factories and institutions of various other kinds, made necessary and created by the wonderful growth of the city, have completely upset realty values in residence sections that had the misfortune not to be restricted for home purposes.

It is a fact that far north sections of Woodward avenue are worth more today for business purposes than they ever were for residence purposes.

This upheaval in residence districts, combined with the growth of the city, also had the effect of creating new values in the outlying districts. What we were pleased to term the distant suburbs only a few years ago, are now the scenes of some of the most attractive residence thoroughfares in the city.

Of course, the development of the street railway facilities had more to do with outlying values than anything else. If it was impossible to reach the outlying sections it naturally follows that they would not be worth much. In this respect, too, the automobile has played a prominent part. This is particularly true of the far north end of the city and the extreme east end where is situated the famous Grosse Pointe section, one of the most beautiful residence districts in the United States.

Where, for instance, in the Grosse Pointe region, the wealthy land-owners formerly occupied their homes only for comparatively brief periods in the summer time, there are now scores of owners occupying mansions the year around, the automobile providing convenient and rapid conveyance to and from the business section of the city. Thus the auto has created still greater values in the distant sections.

In still another direction has the automobile served to advance values

of real estate. The industry demanded vast tracts of acreage. Naturally the price advanced with the demand and within the past few years it was nothing unusual to hear of transactions wherein as high as \$4,500 per acre was paid for factory sites. These factories then created a field for home subdivisions, particularly for workmen, in their immediate neighborhood, so that vast tracts of land that otherwise would have remained idle for many more years to come have since been built up with attractive cottages and dwellings.

The volume of real estate transactions recorded in Detroit in a single years has reached tremendous proportions. Although the register of deeds office records transactions for the entire county of Wayne, yet the great bulk of the business is transacted in Detroit, so the record of that office can be taken as reflecting the increase in the volume of business in this city.

In considering the figures that follow, the fact should not be lost sight of that perhaps half of the deeds recorded stipulate only "one dollar and other considerations," so the total values here recorded are only a small proportion of the actual cash value of the property. The record of the register of deeds' office for the period from 1900 to 1910 follows:

Year	No. of Deeds Recorded	Total Consideration Stipulated
1900	8,792	\$12,146,255
1901	9,530	15,215,522
1902	11,125	14,685,022
1903	11,752	13,951,447
1904	11,143	17,850,017
1905	12,838	15,107,530
1906	14,601	16,187,688
1907	15,069	14,269,250
1908	13,255	10,978,509
1909	15,301	12,876,376
1910	17,337	14,570,510

Building operations are so closely allied with real estate transactions as to actually be a part of the real estate business, and to illustrate the tremendous growth of that feature of the business I herewith present figures showing the number of permits issued for each year from 1900 to 1910, and the value of the structures erected:

Year	No. of Permits	Value of Construction
1900	1,964	\$ 4,142,400
1901	2,764	5,977,400
1902	3,038	6,052,400
1903	3,383	6,912,600
1904	3,522	7,737,100
1905	4,021	10,462,100
1906	4,705	13,275,250
1907	4,941	14,226,300
1908	3,662	10,682,170
1909	4,399	14,301,450
1910	5,498	17,415,950

The above figures compare as follows with other cities, as far as total cost of construction is concerned: In 1910, the cost of new construction in Cincinnati was \$8,074,770; Buffalo, \$9,232,000; Milwaukee, \$9,797,580; Pittsburgh, \$12,753,664.

As bearing on the increase in realty values, one might also cite the increase in the assessed valuation of the city. The figures taken from the books of the city assessor's office, for the years 1890 to 1911 inclusive (the fiscal year ends June 30th) are as follows, and indicate the assessed value of the city:

1890	.....\$123,391,610	1901	.....175,766,620
1891	.....136,026,640	1902	.....180,142,340
1892	.....149,372,700	1903	.....190,197,060
1893	.....158,051,900	1904	.....195,041,400
1894	.....161,554,510	1905	.....200,304,940
1895	.....162,554,510	1906	.....212,315,460
1896	.....164,961,160	1907	.....232,016,400
1897	.....165,836,780	1908	.....241,373,710
1898	.....169,126,260	1909	.....249,710,330
1899	.....171,343,730	1910	.....259,798,330
1900	.....174,165,440	1911	.....278,313,130

The assertion is often made, and truthfully, too, that Detroit is a city of homes. In this the real estate men of this city take considerable pride, for it is due to their efforts in a great measure that thousands of workmen and mechanics have been induced to buy homes.

Moreover, the real estate man who places a new subdivision on the market in Detroit sees to it that it is properly restricted to home purposes, and thus the home buyer knows that he will not be driven from his chosen spot by the encroachment of the business house or factory.

Real estate operators in Detroit do not experience as much difficulty in selling homes to the wage-earner as they do in many other large cities. The workman knows Detroit is a good city to live in, because here he can not only obtain employment in a varied field of industrial activity, but also because here he can enjoy life in the open more cheaply and under more wholesome circumstances than in most any other large city in the country. Moreover, the percentage of surrenders of property purchased by wage-earners in Detroit is remarkably small.

An important factor in the real estate business in Detroit is the Detroit Real Estate Board, reorganized in 1900 after several years of rather ineffective operations. Before the advent of this the business was in a demoralized state. There was no uniform scale of commission nor was there any definite code of ethics observed. The Real Estate Board not only organized the business of real estate, but it also taught the men engaged in the profession to know each other better, to know their business better and to extend to the buyer and seller of real estate such advice and counsel as would make for a better realty market and a better community as a whole.

As a matter of history, I deem it worth while to here accord the commissions and charges adopted by the Detroit Real Estate Board, which plays so important a part in the real estate history of the city:

“(1) Improved: Three per cent shall be charged for the sale of all improved property. The minimum charge shall be \$50.

“(2) Unimproved: On all sales of unimproved property five per cent shall be charged. The minimum charge shall be \$25.

“(3) Subdivision and vacant property: Five per cent for selling lots where the owner does the advertising and pays such general expenses as may be necessary to place the property upon the market. Where collections of contracts are left with the agent, a collection fee of five per cent shall be charged.

“(4) Exchanges: In the cases of exchanges of property a full commission of three per cent shall be paid by each party, based upon the consideration for the respective pieces of property so exchanged, the same as if a sale had been made. For selling and exchanging real estate outside of Detroit, also on western and southern lands, five per cent.

“(5) Auction sales: For the sale of real estate at auction, a commission of three per cent. On household goods, stocks and merchandise a commission of ten per cent. The owner in addition thereto to pay all expenses of advertising and attending to auction sale. Commission fee to be paid on all property at the time of sale. When property is advertised for sale at auction and is sold by the owner previous to the day of sale or thirty days thereafter, the agent shall nevertheless be entitled to his commission.

“(6) For negotiating loans: On real estate loans, two per cent of amount of loan. Minimum charge \$10, and in addition thereto attorney's fees for examination of title, recorder's fees and cost of bringing abstract down to date.

“(7) Buyer's agent: Where agent is employed to buy or exchange real estate or merchandise stocks, a commission shall be paid by the buyer, based upon the price paid for the respective pieces of property purchased, at the same rate of commission as for making a sale.

“(8) For negotiating and making leases, where rent is not collected by the agent: (a) Stores and business property: Lease not exceeding three years, charge on the total rent for the term of the lease, three per cent. Where the term exceeds three years, compute three per cent on the total rent for the first three years and one per cent for annual rent for each additional year. Where the term is less than twelve months, charge the same as if the lease had been made for one year. A lease for \$20,000 and upwards per annum, where the term shall exceed five years, the charge shall be one per cent of the total rent for the term.

“(b) Residence property: Where the term is not more than two years on total rent for term of lease, three per cent shall be charged. Where the term exceeds two years, compute three per cent on the total rent of the first two years and add one per cent of the rental for each additional year. A minimum charge in any case for leasing residence property shall be \$5.

“(c) Ground leases: On a term of fifteen years or less, three per cent on the total rent covered by the lease shall be charged. Where the property is subject to reappraisal during the life of the lease the charge shall be computed for the full term on the average annual rental for the first five years. On a forty to ninety-nine year lease, or lease which prac-

tically amounts to a sale, the commission shall be the same as for a sale. Charges for procuring tenants are to be made at the foregoing rates unless there shall have been a previous agreement with the agent that he shall collect the rents.

“(9) Where agents collect the rents: When the collection of rents on the property is not left with the agent for a full year, he is entitled to charge for any lease he may have made or renewed at the rates specified above. For renting and collecting rents on stores, offices, residences and other buildings the minimum rate shall be five per cent. When annual rent is less than \$200, ten per cent. For attending to repairs, on amount expended five per cent. In the management of property the agent shall be paid on disbursements for janitor services, coal and all expenses except insurance, taxes, interest and repairs, on amount expended five per cent. Where agent advertises for client, he shall charge him the regular advertising rates.”

I regard the future of Detroit real estate as holding out as much promise as the past has fulfilled. In this opinion I am supported by the best informed men in the profession. Detroit is bound to continue its remarkable growth and with that growth will come added value to its real estate. I can see the day in the not far distant future when we will look back on the transaction of the present period with as much interest as we today look back on those of the early days of Detroit, and perhaps many of us will wonder then why we did not take greater advantage of the opportunities of today.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY OF THE CITY OF DETROIT—THE CITY OF THE STRAITS THE PIONEER IN THE NOW GREAT INDUSTRY—THE FIRST INVENTORS WERE LOOKED UPON AS VISIONARIES—THE FIRST HORSELESS VEHICLES TO BE PUT UPON THE MARKET—PRODUCT OF DETROIT FACTORIES SPRING FROM A FEW HUNDRED DOLLARS IN 1900 TO MORE THAN \$150,000,000 IN 1911.

Probably no more dramatic feature of modern industrial progress exists than the birth and growth of the automobile industry in Detroit, which has sprung in less than twelve years from a few hundred dollars in output to a product having a market value of \$150,000,000, with the city dominating the industry in the United States and making Detroit famous all over the world; not only making the City of the Straits known throughout the universe, but also establishing a permanent prosperity within her borders that is only just beginning to be fully realized. The business done by the automobile factories in the city of Detroit is a cash one, and that cash goes to strengthen the banking institutions of the city. The wages paid an army of more than forty thousand persons employed in the industry, flow not only into the coffers of its retail merchants, but find their way into the savings bank, and then into modest but comfortable homes which the artisans are buying upon contract. The wealth of material used gives business to the railroads and the splendid structures erected by the modern men in control of the industry have always furnished work for another army of men and added to the realty value of the city. Small communities have sprung up all around these mammoth factories and the prevailing feature is the modest yet attractive homes of the bread winner.

Men who commenced at automobile making in its early stages in 1900, working in dingy one-room shops from amid almost absolute want, were called visionaries and their plans laughed at. In spite of this handicap the fires of genius burned within them and, with unbounded faith and dogged determination, they kept to their tasks and their ideals with the result that they are the fathers of the great, luxurious and necessary vehicles of today.

Ideas evolved in a musty room, with dirt-smeared window panes hardly larger than a man's hand, are now being carried out in concrete and steel structures covering many acres of ground and giving employment to many thousands. While it is not the province of a historian to become sentimental, one cannot refrain from admiring the nerve and

splendid determination of the men who started and have since guided the career of the automobile industry in Detroit.

To Roy D. Chapin, of the Hudson Motor Company, thanks are due for the first authentic history and collection of facts regarding the growth of the industry in Detroit. These were collected by Mr. Chapin solely for the purpose of presenting the astonishing facts regarding the rise of the industry in Detroit, have been prepared in a most conservative manner, and were turned over to the author for this history, never having been printed elsewhere.

The early development of the manufacturing side of the motor car industry in this country took shape more quickly in the eastern states than in Michigan. At the same time, many of the prominent men locally in the industry had been carrying on their early experiments. Up to 1901 little was heard of the gasoline car. Almost everybody was working on steam cars in the east. In this section R. E. Olds had, in the late eighties, produced a steam automobile which consisted of nothing but a vertical boiler and engine set on a running gear. He gradually turned his experiments to gasoline cars in the early nineties. Charles B. King was developing a gasoline car along about this time. In 1892, Henry Ford built his first model, a two-cylinder motor. Olds and Ford worked along until about 1898 before any serious attempt was made to manufacture. Ford had interested in his car a small syndicate which had been gotten together by Ex-Mayor William C. Maybury. A corporation was organized in 1898 called the Detroit Automobile Company, with a capitalization of \$60,000. This corporation marked the entrance into the industry from an investment standpoint of William H. Murphy, L. W. Bowen, A. E. F. White and Clarence A. Black. The Detroit Automobile Company never marketed any cars, simply carrying on the experiments that Ford was making, trying to produce a satisfactory model.

R. E. Olds was the first of the big manufacturers of the present time who developed an experimental car in this section. In the late eighties he was building steam engines and designed a motor vehicle equipped with a boiler and engine which not only ran but was the subject of considerable comment in papers like the *Scientific American*. In 1893 he built another steam machine, using the principle of the flash boiler. In 1895 he constructed his first gasoline car, trying to finish it in time for the *Times-Herald* race in Chicago, which he was unable to do. This machine had a single cylinder motor with a 4½-inch bore and 6-inch stroke, which was called 8-horse power at that time. This same size of motor was used for fifteen years by Olds in many of the models that he developed.

The Olds Motor Vehicle Company was organized in 1897, and succeeded in shipping three of this original 8 H. P. car. Ten thousand dollars in cash was paid in on a \$50,000 capitalization. In 1899 this company was reorganized into the Olds Motor Works. The latter company was capitalized at \$350,000, of which \$150,000 was paid in in cash and the balance of the stock issued to the stockholders of the Olds Gas Engine Works and the Olds Motor Vehicle Company for the property of these two corporations. Interested with Olds and furnishing the financial

backing were S. L. Smith, Henry Russel and Frederic L. Smith, all well known Detroiters.

To tide over the period of experimentation, Olds built stationary gasoline engines and marine motors. A gasoline car of phaeton type was constructed, consisting of practically a stationary engine mounted on a carriage frame. This model was not successful, so during the interval of developing another gasoline model, the Olds Motor Works brought out a line of electric vehicles. Only about five of these were sold.

In the meanwhile, Olds had reasoned out that there were an enormous number of people in America who could afford a machine selling around \$500. The resulting product was what was known as the curved dash Oldsmobile, which was finally put out at \$600. This car made the first great success scored in the American industry. It was very light in weight, and according to actual statements was so light that two men could carry it, although it would carry four people. Orders poured in from all over the country, and abroad, when this machine was announced. Coming simultaneously almost with its first introduction was a very disastrous fire, which almost entirely destroyed the Detroit factory. With what was left of the plant and the quick rebuilding of the balance of it, the Olds Company managed to turn out about 425 machines during the year 1901.

The success this year of the Oldsmobile stimulated a great amount of interest in Detroit on the part of capital. It laid the foundation for the formation of all the companies that came after it.

About 1898, Howard E. Coffin, perhaps the most famous engineer in the industry today, was building his first machine while a student in Ann Arbor. He later left Ann Arbor to join the Olds Company, as did also R. D. Chapin. Henry Ford used to be a frequent visitor at the Olds factory, driving over in a two cylinder phaeton which resembled somewhat in appearance the Packard, Winton and Stearns phaetons of that year. The Detroit Automobile Company had been reorganized into the Henry Ford Company, who were still experimenting on two cylinder gasoline cars. Ford was putting all of his savings into this work, because of his implicit confidence in the future of the industry. The writer well remembers meeting him for the first time during February, 1901. He had a small shop on what is now the site of the Cadillac factory. To-day he is the same open-minded, democratic man that he was at that time, although few men in Detroit have made as great a financial success. Ford finally sold out of the Henry Ford Company in 1901, and took a shop independently to continue his experiments.

The sudden growth of the demand for Oldsmobiles could not be met with in the limited facilities of the Olds factory. Many parts had to be obtained from the outside. This led to a contract with the Leland & Faulconer Company for motors, with Dodge Brothers for transmissions, and with Barney Everitt for upholstering and trimming, marking in each instance the initial venture into the automobile industry of these firms. The Leland & Faulconer Company had produced high class bevel gears for bicycles, and were known for the excellent quality of their

machine work. However, the demand for that type of work had become less and less, and they were glad to turn their energies to what looked like a new and growing business.

As rapidly as possible, the Olds Company enlarged its facilities sufficiently to manufacture all their own parts. This left these firms of parts makers looking for business and offered the chance for new makers of cars to get a quick start. In 1902, Messrs. Murphy, White, Bowen and Black, who had backed Henry Ford in some of his early experiments, came to the Leland & Faulconer factory with the design for an automobile for which they wished this company to make the parts. The Lelands persuaded these gentlemen to discard their design and to adopt one made by A. P. Brush, a young engineer in their employ. This car became the very successful single cylinder Cadillac, marking the second success on a big scale in Detroit. At this time, October, 1902, William E. Metzger became associated with the Cadillac Company, as general sales manager.

In the meanwhile, J. D. Maxwell, who had been with the Olds Company during their early days, had left them and gone into business for himself. After spending an eventful summer with the Olds Company in their first season, Maxwell believed it possible to duplicate the Oldsmobile in many points and improve upon it in others. He interested W. T. Barbour and G. B. Gunderson, of the Detroit Stove Works, and W. E. Metzger, in the formation of the Northern Automobile Company. The plant was erected near the Olds plant, and a similar car, with a little more power, produced at a price of \$850. The Olds Company was visibly perturbed at this new competition, and might well have been so had the price been the same or nearly so as the \$650 Oldsmobile. However, the public would not pay the extra \$200 for similar value, and this model of the Northern car was gradually eliminated and a touring car substituted.

"During the fall and winter of 1902, Henry Ford developed a two cylinder automobile, similar in appearance to the Cadillac. He interested the Dodge Brothers and A. Y. Malcolmson, and the latter brought in with him John S. Gray. Only a small sum in cash was invested in the company, and production begun upon an assembly basis. This marked the beginning of what is today the most successful of all the motor car companies. The Ford Motor Company was capitalized at \$100,000 and organized June 16, 1903. Both Ford and Malcolmson had put in about \$15,000 in cash into the early experimental work, and for this they received fifty-one per cent of the stock. In addition to this there was only about \$28,000 in actual cash put in at the time of organization. One hundred and ninety-five thousand dollars worth of product was turned out the first year. The volume of business of the Ford Motor Company for the present year is expected to mount up to \$50,000,000.

"Nineteen hundred and three saw many new companies enter the local field. Many of them are nothing but memories today, although the Wayne Company, which was organized about this time, was a later factor in an important merger. Barney Everitt had been so close to all the successes in the business up to then that he decided to enter the lists himself, and associated with him Dr. J. B. Book and Charles L. Palms, with

William Kelly as engineer, and formed the Wayne Auto Company. The Northern Company underwent a change in engineers about then, Charles B. King taking over that end of its organization. He designed a two cylinder touring car which received favorable comment and created a good sized business.

"On October 12, 1903, the Packard Motor Car Company, who had operated at Warren, Ohio, opened their new plant in Detroit. Henry B. Joy had been one of the early owners of a Packard phaeton, and his enthusiasm was so great that a company was formed and a handsome factory was built on the boulevard. An interesting commentary on how little even the men in the industry anticipated the expansion that would take place is that the Packard Company did not buy the frontage on the boulevard, but contented themselves with seven and one-half acres of ground about two hundred feet off the street, not figuring that for many years would they ever need to acquire the piece between the street and themselves. Today this company owns all the frontage on the boulevard on both sides of the street for a couple of blocks, and its property covers fifty-two and one-half acres. The Packard Company produced nothing but four cylinder cars, and was the first company in the city to make a machine with this number of cylinders. Olds had marketed the first single cylinder motor in Detroit, Ford the first two cylinder model and now Packard brought out the first four cylinder car.

"Maxwell, when he left the Northern Company, joined with Benjamin Briscoe, of Detroit, in the manufacture of a two cylinder gasoline car, no steam cars ever having been produced in Detroit. To finance this company it was necessary to go east, and Detroit lost the Maxwell-Briscoe Company because of this fact. Capital had not yet grown accustomed to the quick profits made in the industry, and to many of the more conservative business men here it was thought that the automobile was a passing fancy and in a short time all of the companies would be forced to liquidate and go out of business because of lack of demand for their rapidly expanding outputs.

"In 1904, A. Y. Malcolmson decided to sell his interest in the Ford Company to Mr. Ford and embark in a new venture. This resulted in the Aerocar Company, which built a factory on Mack avenue, almost across the street from the old Ford plant. This company, after two years of exploitation, failed, and was the first of the larger organizations to get into difficulties.

"By now, the automobile factories of Detroit were becoming so large as to cause great comment in the city, and the beginning of Detroit's fame as the automobile center was spreading about the country. The Detroit manufacturers were liberal advertisers, although at that time the dominance of this city was not so apparent as now. The Olds Company had built a large plant in Lansing in addition to its Detroit factory, which had been expanded to three times its original size; the Cadillac Company, although experiencing a fire which almost utterly destroyed its plant, had rebuilt on a much larger scale; Ford had constructed a large plant on Piquette avenue; the Dodge Brothers built a big factory in which Ford parts were made. Automobile parts manufacturers commenced to spring up all over the city, and the nucleus of the enormous plants of the parts manufacturers was started at that time."

The year 1905 saw the Olds Motor Works concentrate its business in Lansing. The Reliance Company, which had run along on a small scale for a couple of years, decided at that time to go into the truck business, and later this industry was moved to Owosso.

This year marked the beginning of the construction of the wonderful reinforced concrete plants. There are no more beautiful factories in the world than some of these Detroit plants, with their fireproof permanent construction, and walls almost entirely utilized for windows. To the automobile industry can be given much of the credit for the use of reinforced concrete for factory purposes.

No new companies were started in 1905. However, in 1906, R. D. Chapin, H. E. Coffin and F. O. Bezner, who had held important positions with the Olds Motor Works, came back to Detroit and organized with E. R. Thomas what was known as the E. R. Thomas-Detroit Company. They had a small factory in the north end of the city and produced five hundred cars the first year, known as the Thomas-Detroit. This company did over a million dollars' worth of business its first year, and for some time held the record of the largest first year's business that has ever been accomplished in the industry.

The coming year saw many expansions among the manufacturers, almost every factory doubling its capacity on account of the ever increasing demand for the Detroit-made product. The Thomas-Detroit crowd, finding more room necessary, went out Jefferson avenue to build their new factory almost to the Grosse Pointe race track, which had been the scene of making many of the world's automobile records. This marked the starting of a completely new district for automobile and parts factories, which is now one of the largest in the city.

About this time the Northern and Wayne Companies were merged into the Everitt-Metzger-Flanders Company. Both Everitt and Metzger were pioneers in the trade in the city, and Flanders had been a very successful factory manager for the Ford Company. This organization, well rounded out and well backed financially, made an immediate success on a large scale.

About this time, Messrs. Chapin, Coffin and Bezner persuaded E. R. Thomas to sell a portion of his holdings in the E. R. Thomas-Detroit Company to Hugh Chalmers, who had been prominently identified with the cash register business in Dayton, Ohio. Mr. Chalmers moved here, and these four men built up the Chalmers-Detroit Motor Company to a very strong position in the industry.

There had been a gradual transition in the type of cars built by all the companies. Gradually more cylinders were added, until practically every manufacturer found the four cylinder type the only one that would sell successfully. Henry Ford had made a four cylinder roadster at \$500, which more than any other of his products had been the stepping stone to the enormous business the Ford Company does now. Almost simultaneously, the Chalmers-Detroit Company, the Cadillac Company and the E-M-F Company produced four cylinder touring car models at prices then unheard of for such cars.

Just about this time, W. C. Anderson, who has been making car-

riages, decided to enter the electric car field and commenced turning out the Detroit Electric. He was the pioneer of the electric car builders in Detroit. The Regal Motor Car Company was also started about this time.

The Chalmers Company, feeling that there was a big market for a moderate priced four cylinder runabout, organized a separate institution known as the Hudson Motor Car Company, which took over the old Aero-car plant to produce such a model. This company became immediately successful, and shipped over four million dollars' worth of cars its first year.

About this time, Everitt and Metzger decided to sell out of the E-M-F Company, and they started a new organization known as the Metzger Motor Car Company to produce the Everitt car. R. C. Hupp also started the Hupp Motor Car Company, and speedily both these organizations were in possession of large factory facilities occasioned by the demand for their goods.

The summer of 1909 marked the beginning of the two mergers known as the General Motors and the United States Motors. The Cadillac Company was bought for four and a half millions in cash by the General Motors Company, an investment which was wiser than could ever have been predicted then. The sale of their interests in the Cadillac Company by L. W. Bowen, C. A. Black, A. E. F. White and W. H. Murphy marked the retirement of these well known men from the investing field of the automobile business. They had been the men who had backed Henry Ford in the Detroit Automobile Company, and their strong support of the Cadillac Company had done much to put the industry upon a firm footing in Detroit.

Frank Briscoe, a brother of Benjamin Briscoe, started the Brush Runabout Company about this period, and it was not long before it was necessary to build a big factory for the manufacture of the Brush car.

By this time the Hudson Motor Car Company had grown so fast that Messrs. Chapin, Coffin and Bezner decided to sell their interest in the Chalmers Company to Mr. Chalmers, and they took over the Hudson Company. A large factory was built on Jefferson avenue not far beyond where they had built the new Thomas-Detroit plant two years before.

About now, Harry Sanger, an old college mate of Harry Lozier, of the Lozier Motor Car Company, conceived the idea of bringing the Lozier Company to Detroit. After interesting Detroit capitalists, the Lozier plant moved to Detroit from New York state and a very large factory was constructed.

Detroit now numbered many companies who were each producing over a million dollars' worth of cars a year. These were the Ford, the E-M-F, the Packard, the Cadillac, the Chalmers, the Hudson, the Hupp, the Lozier, the Everitt, the Brush and the Regal. Many new companies started during the prosperous years of 1909 and 1910. Prominent among these were the Abbott-Detroit, the Warren-Detroit and the Paige-Detroit, all of whom have prospered. The men identified with the growth of these companies most of them were previously connected with other of the large manufacturing organizations here.

In 1911, R. C. Hupp left the Hupp Motor Car Company, started

production of a car known as the R. C. H., and built his factories in the Fairview district near those of the Hudson and Chalmers. He also produced an electric known as the Hupp-Yeats, which with the Detroit, are two of the best known electrics in the country.

Detroit made cars now run in every country in the world. The phrase "Detroit made" is a hall mark of quality on an automobile, and there is every indication that the control of the industry will remain in this city. Detroit's automobile factories are easily the most successful today in the field, and this surely argues that the brains that have made good so far will permanently keep the Detroit product ahead.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ART IN DETROIT—IMPRESS LEFT BY DETROIT GENIUS—FROM THE BEGINNING DETROIT ARTISTS HAVE BEEN PROMINENT—ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN ART BY THE BEST ELEMENTS OF THE CITY—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF DETROIT PAINTERS.

By Professor A. H. Griffith, Manager Detroit Art Museum.

In taking up the story of art in Michigan, naturally one seeks for the very earliest as the beginning, and, while there is no evidence of any important artist or artistic movement, like all pioneer settlements there were at different times men who had longings in that direction. Then too, there is no doubt but that there came the wandering limner, who sought to paint the faces of important men or women of the village.

The first definite movement seems to have been in the line of arts and crafts. Before the year 1800, there were skilled artisans who produced fine silverware and ornaments in gold and silver and who found ready employment in the little town. 'Tis said that the first gold pen ever made was produced in Detroit.

Randolph Rogers, the sculptor, who for many years made his home in Rome, spent his boyhood days in Ann Arbor.

As early as 1835, J. M. Stanley, the Indian painter, had a studio in Detroit and among those who received instructions at his hands were L. T. Ives and Robert Hopkins. Mr. Ives became a portrait painter and painted the portraits of many of our citizens. Mr. Hopkins won a name for his marine paintings.

After a few years Mr. Stanley left Detroit, traveling through the northwest, making studies for his Indian pictures which became famous. He returned again in 1863 and remained until his death.

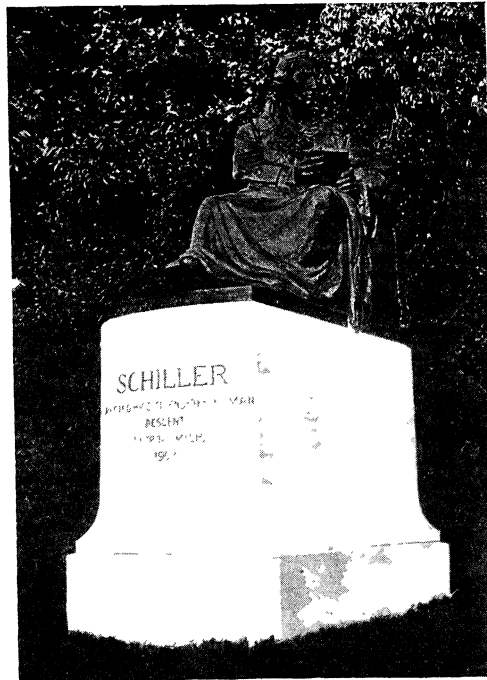
In 1837 Mr. Alvah Brodick came from the east and opened a studio. He was a portrait painter of some merit and had among his sitters some of the most noted men of the day.

T. H. O. P. Burnham—Alphabet Burnham as he was nicknamed—seems to have been an artist of considerable ability but of whom we know little, the only work left by him being the "Election Scene," of 1837.

G. V. Bond was another portrait painter, who spent some six years in the town, and there are still some portraits in existence painted by him and which show him to have been a man of ability.

Perhaps the most romantic of all the artists who have made their home in Detroit was F. E. Cohen. He seems to have been a thorough

Bohemian; at home in any company, always dressed in the extreme of the style of that day and ever ready for an adventure. He was mixed up in the Patriot war when some Americans made an attack on Windsor and were repulsed by troops under the command of Colonel Prince. Cohen seems to have enlisted with the Canadian troops, but was too erratic to make a good soldier and was placed in the Sandwich jail where he drew cartoons of the officers which remained on the walls for many years. His portrait painted by himself is in the Detroit Museum of Art.



SCHILLER MONUMENT

W. A. Raymond has left a number of carefully drawn sketches made of Detroit at that time and which stamp him as an artist of more than ordinary ability.

It is not generally known that General Macomb was an artist of no mean ability. There is in existence a small water color of Detroit as seen from Sandwich, the work of his hands.

Among others was George W. Clarke, best known for his etchings; Mortimer L. Smith, an architect, was well known by his winter scenes; William Myln and George Watson were known locally; nor must we forget William B. Conely, whose many portraits are found throughout the state. It was he who started the first art school in the city of

Detroit, though we must not forget that it was to the self-sacrificing efforts of Julius Melchers, the father of Gari Melchers, that many of the successful architects, engravers and lithographers of today owe their start. Every Sunday morning found him at the old Harmonie Hall surrounded with an earnest set of young men to whom he was the inspiration, as well as teacher.

But it is when we turn to the art of today that we find Detroit and Michigan hold an enviable position. Not only are the contemporary men known locally, but many of them have international fame.

Gari Melchers is known throughout the art world and stands in a class by himself, loaded with honors and fame, and his work commands universal attention.

Jules Rolshoven has also won his spurs and added laurels to the fame of Detroit. His many years spent abroad make him known perhaps better in foreign countries than in his own, though there are many splendid examples of his work in his home town.

Myron G. Barlow, one of the younger men, is rapidly climbing the ladder of fame, and the town of his birth exults in the many words of praise found in foreign prints, each telling of his success.

Among the men who have remained with us are Percy Ives, whose many portraits grace the walls of homes and public buildings. Joseph W. Gies is well and favorably known, not only as an art teacher, but as one who produced some fine portraits and beautiful landscapes full of poetic beauty and refinement. John P. Wicker is best known as a teacher, as he devotes almost his entire time to his classes, both winter and summer.

And last, but not least, by any means, one can point with pride to our women painters. Miss Marie Perrault has spent many years in Holland, where she seems to have caught the charm and spirit of the children of that quaint land. Miss Lettia C. Smith is among the strongest of our landscape painters, but her versatile talent has produced equally as beautiful figure compositions and portraits. The McEwing sisters show each year at exhibition some splendid portraits and miniatures, careful in drawing and beautiful in color.

But the list grows long and, as we write, other names crowd upon us, each of whom one might speak in terms of praise. All in all Detroit and Michigan have reason to be proud; very proud, one might say, of the sons and daughters who represent her in the world of art, and sometime, when the roll of honor is made up, our people will realize that they have entertained many a genius unawares whose name will appear on the scroll of fame.

The interest taken by the best citizens of Detroit in matters artistic has been one of the beacon lights of progress and has always stamped this city as one of the most cultured in the United States.

In addition to the extremely interesting information given by Professor Griffith regarding the personality of the artists, there is room in this chronicle for further particulars as to the development of art in Detroit, as exemplified by the Art Museum.

The Detroit Museum of Art had its origin in the Art Loan Exhibition of 1883, which was conceived by Mr. William H. Brearley in the

previous year. The purpose from the beginning, as was stated by Mr. Brearley in an article in the *Evening News* in the latter part of 1882, was the ultimate establishment of an art institute, should circumstances appear favorable to the same.

The first meeting held for its consideration was at the residence of Mr. James F. Joy, on December 6, 1882. At a subsequent meeting, February 27, 1883, an organization was effected by the election of an executive committee as follows: W. H. Brearley, chairman; Fred E. Farnsworth, secretary; John L. Harper, treasurer; Hon. H. P. Baldwin, Mrs. Richard Storrs Willis, Mrs. H. H. H. Crapo Smith, Mrs. Morse Stewart, Mrs. E. G. Holden, Mrs. E. C. Skinner and John L. Warren.

This committee held forty-five meetings in all.

On March 7, 1883, a bond was executed, guaranteeing the projectors against financial loss on account of the exhibition, to which the following signatures were appended: H. P. Baldwin, Thomas W. Palmer, James E. Scripps, Thorndike Nourse, D. M. Ferry, James L. Edson, E. S. Heineman, Charles C. Hodges, C. R. Mabley, James McMillan, Clarence A. Black, M. S. Smith, W. H. Brearley, Philo Parsons, Allen Shelden, Richard Storrs Willis, John S. Newberry, Richard Macaulay, James F. Joy, Mrs. C. R. Mabley, George H. Scripps, Wm. A. Butler, Edward Kanter, Wells W. Leggett, D. Whitney, Jr., E. W. Meddaugh, David Preston, Moses W. Field, Mrs. W. B. Wesson, Samuel R. Murphy, C. C. Randall, R. A. Alger, Francis Palms, Thomas S. Sprague, Robert P. Toms, Mrs. Jessie Willis Broadhead, Hugh McMillan, George V. N. Lothrop, E. Y. Swift, Wm. A. Moore, C. H. Buhl, W. B. Moran, C. A. Newcomb, E. A. Brush, James Burns, George H. Hammond, George Peck, D. C. Whitwood, W. B. Wesson, A. H. Dey, W. H. Tefft, Henry B. Brown, Simon J. Murphy, Willis E. Walker, Thomas Pitts, Wilhelm Boeing and George B. Remick.

The committee at once proceeded to lease from the Bagley estate, at a rental of \$500, the lot adjoining St. Anne's church, on Larned street, upon which, in seventy-six days, a building one hundred and thirty-five feet by one hundred and fifty-seven feet in size, containing twenty-six rooms, 21,195 feet of floor surface, and 2,000 running feet of wall space, was erected. It was completed on August 24, 1883, and the exhibition opened on September 1st. It closed on November 12th of the same year.

Five hundred and twenty-eight different persons contributed works of art and other objects for exhibition, the number and value of the exhibits being as follows:

	Number	Estimated Value
Oil Paintings	987	\$ 709,005
Water Colors	206	13,830
Prints and Drawings	455	10,797
Sculpture, Bronzes, etc	163	34,465
Miscellaneous objects	3,040	59,380
Total	4,851	\$ 827,477

An insurance of \$469,232 was carried on the property. The largest day's attendance was 6,476 persons, and the entire attendance 134,924 persons.

The receipts and expenditures of the exhibition were as follows:

Receipts

From admissions	\$33,433.65
From sale of Catalogues	5,567.15
Commissions on sales	1,873.48
Sundries	3,386.00
Total	<u>\$44,260.28</u>

Expenses

For building	\$15,322.86
Salaries	6,922.34
Insurance	4,752.71
Printing and advertising	3,132.31
Transportation	2,777.96
Cost of Catalogues	2,195.87
Sundries	6,713.85
Total	<u>\$41,817.90</u>

Through the instrumentality of Mr. Richard Storrs Willis, His Holiness Pope Leo XIII, was induced to present to the enterprise, with his blessing, a fine picture, representing the marriage of St. Catharine, by an old but unknown master. This, with a painting by F. D. Millet, "The Story of CEnone," which was purchased in part by a popular subscription in connection with the exhibition, and \$1,521.60 in cash, were turned over later to the Detroit Museum of Art, as the net results of the enterprise. It is worthy of record that this Art Loan Exhibition is believed to have excelled in magnitude and merit all previous exhibitions of the kind ever held in this country.

While the subject of the feasibility of holding the Art Loan of 1883 was still a matter of discussion, in April of that year, the following letter was received by Mr. Brearley from Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, then United States Senator from Michigan:

DETROIT, APRIL 5, 1883.

"W. H. Brearley, Detroit:

DEAR SIR—Believing that the city of Detroit has taste and wealth enough to found and maintain an art gallery which will be creditable to the culture and public spirit of her citizens, and desiring to contribute thereto, I have this day put into the hands of Honorable Wm. A. Moore securities to the amount of \$10,000, with interest from January 1, 1883, for the purpose of aiding in the purchase of a lot and the erection of an art gallery thereon.

Said securities will be turned over by Mr. Moore for that purpose when \$40,000 shall have been secured from other sources, and a corporation shall have been formed, or some practical plan shall have been adopted to accomplish the end in view, provided said conditions shall be met by July 1, 1884.

I regret very much that my business prevents my being present at the exercises to-night, and wish you and the gentlemen associated the largest success in inaugurating this movement to call forth, develop and unite for practical ends the artistic feeling in our city. I am aware the result cannot be anything but gratifying.

“Respectfully yours,
“T. W. PALMER.”

Encouraged by the success of the Art Loan Exhibition, Mr. Brearley at once took in hand the raising of the fund of \$40,000 suggested by Senator Palmer for the founding of a permanent art institute, and by January 26, 1884, the following list of citizens was completed, each of whom had agreed to contribute \$1,000 to the fund. Later on the same persons became the original incorporators of the Detroit Museum of Art: R. A. Alger, H. P. Baldwin, Joseph Black, W. H. Brearley, C. H. Buhl, James L. Edson, Charles Endicott, Fred E. Farnsworth, D. M. Ferry, George H. Hammond, *John L. Harper, *Mrs. E. G. Holden, Bela Hubbard, Collins B. Hubbard, *L. T. Ives, Geo. V. N. Lothrop, C. R. Mabley, James McMillan, George F. Moore, Wm. A. Moore, Samuel R. Mumford, C. A. Newcomb, *Thomas W. Palmer, Francis Palms, James E. Scripps, George H. Scripps, Allan Shelden, *Mrs. E. C. Skinner, *Mrs. H. H. H. Crapo Smith, M. S. Smith, Frederick Stearns, *Mrs. J. T. Sterling, *Mrs. Morse Stewart, Mrs. Robt. P. Toms, E. W. Voigt, Hiram Walker, E. Chandler Walker, Willis E. Walker, *John L. Warren, *Mrs. R. Storrs Willis.

The first meeting of the above incorporators was held on February 27, 1884, at Room No. 46, Moffat block, Detroit. There were twenty-two members present. Hon. H. P. Baldwin presided, and Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth acted as secretary. A committee on organization was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Wm. A. Moore, Chas. Endicott, W. H. Brearley, Geo. V. N. Lothrop and L. T. Ives.

On May 5th this committee reported that there was no law on the statute books authorizing incorporations for the purpose in view, and on June 28th a committee, consisting of Messrs. Geo. V. N. Lothrop, James E. Scripps and Wm. A. Moore, was appointed to draft a suitable law and procure its introduction in the legislature.

On December 17th, at a meeting at Mr. Lothrop's residence, this committee reported the draft of a bill, which was carefully considered and adopted.

This bill was duly enacted into a law at the ensuing session of the legislature, and received the governor's signature on February 16, 1885. It reads as follows:

“An Act for the formation of corporations for the cultivation of art.

“Section 1—The people of the state of Michigan enact, That any number of persons, not less than five, residents of this state, who may contribute sums of not less than one thousand dollars each for the purpose of founding a public art institute, may become a body corporate in the manner and for the purposes herein set forth.

“Section 2—Such persons shall make and sign in duplicate articles

* Named by Hon. Thos. W. Palmer under his \$10,000 contribution.

of association, which shall state: (1) The name of the corporation; (2) that the corporation is formed for the objects and purposes contemplated by this act; (3) the names and residences of the persons signing said articles, and the amount contributed by each; (4) the place where such corporation is situated; (5) the term of its existence, not to exceed thirty years. Such articles shall be duly acknowledged before some officer authorized to take acknowledgments of deeds in this state, and when so acknowledged shall be filed in the office of the secretary of state, and in the office of the clerk of the county in which such corporation is situated.

“Section 3—Such corporation shall have power to acquire and hold such real estate as is suitable for the site of such art buildings as it may erect or maintain thereon, to receive and use such gifts, contributions, devises, and bequests as may be made to it for art purposes; to receive, acquire, collect, and own paintings, sculpture, engravings, drawings, pictures, coins and other works of art, and to institute, maintain, or assist schools for the teaching of art.

“Section 4—The public exhibition of its collection of works of art shall be the duty of every such corporation, and as soon as it shall be prepared to do so, it shall, under reasonable regulations, and without any improper discriminations, open its buildings and art collection to the general public.

“Section 5—Any person who shall contribute to any such corporation, in money or property, one thousand dollars, or more, shall be a member thereof. If the total number of members, other than honorary, shall at any time fall below the number subscribing the original articles of corporation, it shall be the duty of the surviving members to elect as many new members as shall be necessary to restore such original number. It shall also be competent for the members of said corporation to elect persons meritorious for the cultivation of art, as honorary members, who shall have all the rights and privileges of regular members, but such honorary members shall not at any time exceed ten in number.

“Section 6—The affairs of said corporation shall be managed by a board of trustees, the number of which shall be regulated by by-law, but in no case shall the number be less than four, nor more than sixteen. Three-fourths of said trustees shall be elected by the members of the corporation, from their own number. The other one-fourth of such trustees shall be appointed from resident free-holders, by the board of aldermen of the city where such corporation is situated, upon the nomination of the mayor of such city. Said trustees shall hold their offices for the period of four years, and until their successors shall be elected or appointed; Provided, that the first board shall, at its first meeting, cause itself to be classified as follows: One-fourth shall hold for one year; one-fourth for two years; one-fourth for three years, and one-fourth for four years. And such classification shall be entered on the records of such corporation.

“Section 7—The time of the annual meeting of the corporation shall be fixed by by-law, and the trustees shall be elected or appointed at the time of such annual meeting, and their term shall date from that time; but in case of a failure to elect or appoint trustees, such election or appointment may be made afterwards.

"Section 8—Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the trustees; and shall be called by the trustees whenever not less than five members shall so request in writing. Not less than six days' notice shall be given of a special meeting.

"Section 9—The trustees shall choose one of their number to be president for such term as may be prescribed by the by-laws. They may appoint or employ a secretary, treasurer and such other officers, or servants, as they shall find necessary, and may prescribe their duties and fix their compensation. The president and trustees shall serve without compensation.

"Section 10—In case of a vacancy in the board of trustees, if the vacancy shall be of a trustee elected by the members the board may fill the place until the next annual meeting, when the vacancy shall be filled for the residue of the term by the members. If the vacancy shall be of a municipal trustee, the vacancy shall be filled by the board of aldermen on the nomination of the mayor.

"Section 11—Said corporation may adopt a corporate seal, and may make suitable by-laws, and revise or alter the same.

"Section 12—The trustees shall cause to be kept, faithful records of their doings, and also true books of accounts, which shall at all reasonable times be open to the inspection of any member, and also to the mayor of the city where such corporation is situated.

"Section 13—The board of trustees shall at each annual meeting make, in writing, a report of their doing for the preceding year, including a complete schedule of the art collections, and a full report of the financial condition of the corporation, and shall cause such financial report to be published in some daily newspaper of the place where such corporation is situated.

"Section 14—Each member of the corporation shall be entitled to one vote, and no more, at the meetings of the corporation. A certificate of membership, under the seal of the corporation and the hand of its president, shall be issued to each member, and such certificate shall not be transferable.

"Section 15—All gifts, devises, or bequests made to any such corporation, and all its income, shall be faithfully used for the purposes for which such corporation was organized; and no dividend in money or property shall ever be made by such corporation among its members.

"Section 16—The character and purposes of such corporation shall not be changed, nor its general art collection be sold, incumbered or disposed of, unless authorized by the Legislature of this State upon the concurrent request of said corporation, and of the mayor and board of aldermen of the city in which it is situated. But if any such corporation should ever cease, be diverted from the lawful purposes of its organization, or become unable usefully to serve such purposes, the Legislature may by law provide for the winding up of its affairs and for the conservation and disposition of its property in such way as may best promote and perpetuate, in the city where it is situated, the purposes for which such corporation was originally organized.

"Section 17—The first meeting of any such corporation may be called

by any two of its corporators by giving not less than six days' notice, printed in some newspaper of the city where such corporation is situated.

"Section 18—The property of such corporation shall be exempt from taxation.

"This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

"Approved February 16, 1885."

On March 25, 1885, the incorporators again met, when Mr. Moore, from the committee on organization, reported the following articles of incorporation, which were approved and formally executed:

I

"The undersigned, who are all residents of the city of Detroit, in the state of Michigan, and who have severally contributed the sum of one thousand dollars for the purpose of founding a public art institute in said Detroit, do hereby associate themselves together as a body corporate, by these articles of association, under the provisions of an act passed by the legislature of Michigan, entitled: 'An Act for the formation of Corporations for the cultivation of Art,' approved February 16th, 1885.

II

"The name of said corporation shall be the Detroit Museum of Art.

III

"Said corporation is formed for the objects and purposes contemplated by the Act above mentioned, to wit, for the founding of a public art institute in the city of Detroit, which may acquire and hold such real estate as may be suitable for the site of such art buildings as it may erect or maintain thereon; receive and use such gifts, contributions, devises and bequests as may be made for art purposes; receive, acquire, collect and own, paintings, sculpture, engravings, drawings, pictures, coins, and other works of art, and may do all other things authorized by said Act, and have and enjoy all the privileges and franchises given thereby.

IV

"The names and several residences of the persons signing these articles, and the amount of money contributed by each, are as follows:

V

"Said corporation is situated in the city of Detroit, Wayne county, Michigan.

VI

"The said corporation shall exist for the period of thirty years from the date of the filing of these articles.

"In witness whereof we have made and signed, in duplicate, these articles of association on this 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1885."

These articles were signed by the forty original incorporators already named and filed April 16, 1885.

On April 25, the first regular meeting under the incorporation was held, Hon. H. P. Baldwin presiding. The following code of by-laws was adopted:

I

“The board of trustees shall be eight in number. Stated monthly meetings of the board shall be held at such time and place as it may appoint. Special meetings of the board may be called by the president, or by any two trustees, or in the absence of the president by the vice-president.

II

“The board of trustees shall from time to time appoint such committees as they shall think best, and prescribe their duties.

III

“The board of trustees shall annually at their first meeting after the annual meeting elect a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. The president and vice-president shall be elected from the board of trustees, but the secretary and treasurer may be elected from the members of the corporation.

IV

“The president and vice president shall severally perform the duties usually pertaining to such offices.

V

“The secretary and treasurer may at any time be removed by the board of trustees.

VI

“Beginning in the year 1886, the annual meetings of the corporation shall be held on the first Monday of May in each year, at such hour and place as shall be ordered by the trustees. At least six days' notice of all meetings of the corporation, regular or special, shall be given by publication in at least one daily newspaper published in the city of Detroit. All annual reports required of the trustees or of any officer shall be made at the annual meeting.

VII

“The secretary shall attend all meetings of the corporation and also of the board of trustees, and shall keep faithful records in proper books of the doings at all such meetings. He shall sign all warrants drawn upon the treasurer on the order of the board of trustees, or of the finance committee, for the payment of money. He shall keep a record of all such warrants and of the vouchers therefor, and shall faithfully preserve the records, muniments and papers of the corporation, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the board of trustees.

VIII

"The treasurer shall receive all the moneys of the corporation and shall deposit the same in his name as treasurer in some bank or banks to be designated by the board of trustees. He shall keep accurate books of accounts of all his doings as treasurer. No money shall be drawn or disbursed except by warrant drawn in pursuance of the order of the board of trustees, or of the finance committee appointed by them, and countersigned by the treasurer. The treasurer shall give such bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties as may be required by the board of trustees.

IX

"The books of the secretary and of the treasurer shall be at all times open to the inspection of any trustee.

X

"No person shall be elected an honorary member of the corporation except by an affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of all the members of the corporation, and after nomination made as follows: Nominations for such election must be made in writing by the board of trustees, and filed with the secretary at least two weeks before the same shall be acted on; and the secretary shall at once give notice by mail to each member of any such nomination."

At a later meeting, Section II of these by-laws was amended to read as follows:

"The Board of Trustees shall, from time to time, appoint such special committees as they shall deem necessary, and prescribe their duties. They shall also annually arrange themselves into four standing committees to be known respectively as the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Buildings and Grounds, the Committee on Collections and Exhibitions, and the Committee on Art Schools; they may add to these committees members of the Corporation other than trustees, but the trustee members shall constitute a majority of each committee.

"The Finance Committee shall consist of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the Board of Trustees. It shall be their duty to keep themselves and the Board of Trustees acquainted with the general financial condition and prospects of the institution. They shall have access, at all times, to all books and accounts, and shall certify that all bills presented for payment are correct, and are in accordance with appropriations previously made by the Board of Trustees, before they shall be paid by the Treasurer. They shall audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer at least once a year. They shall elect a Secretary, who shall keep a record book of all the meetings of this committee, and the same shall be laid before every stated meeting of the Board of Trustees.

"The Committee on Buildings and Grounds shall consist of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the Board of Trustees. They shall have the immediate custody and care of the real estate of the Corporation, and, under the general direction of the Board of Trustees, shall expend for the purchase of land, erection of buildings, care

and ornamentation of grounds, repairs and improvements, such sums as, upon their recommendation, may have previously been appropriated for such specific purposes by the Board of Trustees. It shall be their duty to keep a strict inventory of all property in their charge, and accounts of all expenditures made by them; also, records of all their proceedings, which shall be laid before the Trustees at every stated meeting. They shall appoint their own Secretary, and hold at least one meeting each month.

"The Committee on Collections and Exhibitions shall be composed of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the Board of Trustees. They shall have entire charge and supervision of the galleries and all works of art, and other personal property belonging to the Museum. They shall prepare such catalogues as may, from time to time, be required, and shall keep a complete register of all works of art belonging to the Museum, together with all information procurable relating to the history of the same. The committee shall pass upon all works of art offered to the Museum, for purchase or as donations, and shall report their recommendations in regard to the acceptance of the same to the Board of Trustees. They shall be charged with all executive duties connected with an annual exhibition to be held in the month of May in each year, at which there shall be exhibited in competition for prizes, only works executed within the year preceding. They may reject works of insufficient merit, and direct the arrangement and display of the works offered. They shall also have the care of the awarding of prizes for the most meritorious works of art offered for exhibition, and the purchase from year to year of such as may be desirable for the permanent collection of the Museum. They shall elect their own Secretary, hold at least one meeting every month, and keep a book of records containing the minutes of their proceedings and accounts in detail of all expenditures they may make of appropriations previously authorized by the Trustees, and such minutes shall be laid before every stated meeting of the Board of Trustees.

"The Committee on Art Schools shall consist of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the Board of Trustees. They shall have the immediate direction of any schools of art established by the trustees, and until such times as the board may be prepared to establish such schools, the committee may extend to public or private schools of art already in existence, such oversight and encouragement as the Board of Trustees may, from time to time, authorize, by holding public exhibitions of the work of the pupils of such schools, and by the awarding of prizes for the greatest proficiency. They shall hold at least one meeting every month, and keep a book of records containing the minutes of their proceedings, and accounts in detail of all expenditures they may make of appropriations previously authorized by the trustees, and such minutes shall be laid before every stated meeting of the trustees.

The following gentlemen were then elected the first Board of Trustees, viz: Messrs. W. H. Brearley, George V. N. Lothrop, Wm. A. Moore, L. T. Ives, Thos. W. Palmer and James E. Scripps. Subsequently, under the provisions of the law under which the institution was incorporated,

the mayor, M. H. Chamberlain, appointed as trustees representing the city of Detroit, Messrs. Don M. Dickinson and James McMillan.

The trustees held their first meeting on June 6th, 1885, at which Hon. Thos. W. Palmer was elected president, Mr. McMillan, vice president, Fred E. Farnsworth, secretary, and Mr. Wm. A. Moore, treasurer. They also, by lot, arranged themselves into four classes with reference to order for retirement. Messrs. Moore and Dickinson were to serve for one year; Messrs. Scripps and McMillan for two; Messrs. Brearley and Lothrop for three, and Messrs. Ives and Palmer for four years.

On July 21, the trustees authorized Mr. W. H. Brearley to attempt the increasing of the \$40,000 fund, subscribed by the incorporators, to \$100,000, for the purpose of providing the means for the erection of a museum building. By an herculean amount of labor, Mr. Brearley succeeded in this, and by March 20th, 1886, the subscription was completed. It embraced 1,939 distinct pledges, ranging from one cent up to over \$10,000. Owing to deaths, failures in business, removals, and other causes, a number of the subscriptions still remain unpaid, but, on the whole, the pledges have been pretty faithfully carried out. A few have been paid by interest-bearing notes, which are still held by the treasurer.

The following is a complete list of persons who, in greater or less measure, paid in moneys to this fund: Frank Abot, Joseph Achison, Francis Adams, J. Q. Adams, Annie M. Adams, Evelyn F. Adams, Dotty Adams, Annie G. Adams, Wm. J. Aikman, Gen. Russell A. Alger, George Alderkopp, Mrs. F. R. Aldrich, A. W. Allen, Allen Brothers, Mrs. R. W. Allen, Frederick P. Anderson, George Anderson, Major Geo. M. Anderson, Mrs. Geo. Anderson, W. K. Anderson, A. M. Andrews, Dr. J. P. Andrews, George P. Andrews, M. D., Mrs. Geo. P. Andrews, Winifred P. Andrews, Mary Andrews, Henry R. Andrews, E. J. Andrus, John T. Antisdell, E. A. Armstrong, Maud Armstrong, The Argonaut Literary Society, W. C. Ashley, J. G. Atterbury, J. Howard Atterbury, Willie B. Atterbury, H. L. Atterbury, Edm. Austin and family, John H. Avery, Mrs. John H. Avery, Clara A. Avery, Mrs. Newell Avery, Harry Avery.

S. S. Babcock, Jno. Babillion, Mrs. Backus, W. D. Backus, N. P. Bacon, Adolph Bader, Geo. Bagg, Frances M. Bagley, John N. Bagley, Miss Margaret S. Bagley, Miss Olive Bagley, Miss Helen Bagley, Paul Bagley, Mrs. J. J. Bagley, John J. Bagley & Co., W. L. Baker, Mrs. W. L. Baker, Ernest M. Baker, Harold D. Baker, Herbert L. Baker, Patrick C. Baker, Daniel Baker, Henry P. Baldwin, Mrs. H. P. Baldwin, Mrs. P. B. Baldwin, Sibil F. Baldwin, Katherine J. Baldwin, Marie L. Baldwin, H. P. Baldwin 2d, Stephen Baldwin, L. Russell Baldwin, Wareham S. Baldwin, L. Ballou, Fred Bamford & Co., L. Banks, Employees of the Banner Tobacco Co., B. M. Barbour, Geo. H. Barbour, H. E. Barbour, Levi L. Barbour, Louis W. Barie, Thos. Barlum & Sons, M. W. Barnstedt, H. Barnard, B. E. Barnum, Richmond McG. Barrows, E. Llewellyn Barrows, W. F. Bartlett & Co., J. C. Batchelder, John Baumeister, Geo. F. Beasley, Charles Beattie, Beattie, Fitzsimmons & Co., Charles L. Beck, George Beck, Adele Bemart, Mrs. L. W. Benham, Sarah G. Benton, W. A. Berery, Thomas Berry, Mrs. Thos. Berry, J. P. Berschbach, Harry Binder, C. A. Black, Frank D. Black, Joseph Black, Mrs. Joseph Black, Rev. Jos. W. Blanchard, G. A. Blessed, John Blessed & Son, Louis

Blitz, Mrs. I. Blitz, Attelie H. Blitz, Alfred R. Blome, W. F. Blome, Frank Blumenthal, Nelson Boucher, Mrs. Dr. J. B. Book, Chas. H. Borgman, Will M. Borgman, E. C. Bowman, Peter Boyer, A. G. Boynton, F. G. Boynton, Gertrude K. Boynton, Frank Brady, M. Brady, M. D., Samuel Brady, Mrs. C. K. Brandon, Annie Brashma, Bennie Brearley, Joseph Brearley, Rachel Brearley, Margaret Brearley, Mrs. Lina Brearley, Harry C. Brearley, W. H. Brearley, W. H. Brace, Mrs. W. H. Brace, W. V. Brace, Mamie Brace, John Breitmeyer & Son, James Brennan, E. M. Breese, T. H. Bresnahan, C. B. Bright, E. C. Bristol, Hattie Bristow, Mrs. Thos. Bristow, Lillian M. Bromley, Julius G. Bromley, Mrs. H. W. Brooks, Mrs. Samuel Brooks, F. W. Broud, Brown Bros. and employes, C. M. Brown, Jacob Brown, H. J. Brown, Mrs. J. A. Brown, Mrs. F. W. Brown, Dr. F. W. Brown, Mrs. Francis M. Brown, H. B. Brown, Miss Nellie Bruce, Mrs. A. H. Brush, Elizabeth E. Brush, E. C. Brush, Mrs. Nellie Brush, Wm. Buckley, Wm. Buesser, Frederick Buhl, Mary C. Buhl, T. D. Buhl, C. H. Buhl, J. A. Buich, George D. Bulen, W. S. Bulk, Charles Buncher, Mrs. Charles Buncher, Myra Buncher, Jessie H. Buncher, Hattie E. Burke, J. K. Burnham & Co., J. Burkheiser, J. C. Burns, Wells Burt, Effie Burt, Elsie Burt, Mrs. Wells Burt, Sarah H. Burt, L. A. Burt, Cora B. Burt, Helen E. Burt, Lee Burt, Mrs. H. P. Butler, Magnus Butzel and J. G. Buysse.

James W. Caldwell, John Cameron, Mrs. J. Cameron, Jennie H. Cameron, Dan. J. Campau, Phil. Campau, John Campbell, John R. Campbell, Maud M. Campbell, Walter E. Campbell, Walter S. Campbell, Wm. Campbell, F. S. Campbell, Mrs. M. Campbell, John C. Carhart, E. H. Carlisle, O. B. Carney, Clarence Carpenter, John Carroll, Wm. Carson, Fannie Carson, David Carter, Mrs. David Carter, Harry T. Carver, Leland B. Case, M. Case, S. G. Caskey, R. A. Catton, Victor Cenlebroeck, Mrs. R. M. Chamberlain, Mrs. L. Chandler, Henry A. Chaney, Mrs. Z. Chandler, Chas. S. Chapman, Alex. Chapoton, Sr., A. Chapoton, Jr., Mrs. A. Chapoton, Jr., Francis J. Chapoton, Alice Chapoton, Emilie Chapoton, Marie E. Chapoton, Edward J. Chapoton, Dr. B. W. Chase, J. W. Cheney, Chas. S. Ches, W. J. Chittenden & Co., E. Chope, Frank F. Chope, N. Church, Helen Church, Mrs. N. Church, Wm. Cisgrove, City Steam Laundry, Frank H. Clark, H. C. Clark, Dr. J. E. Clark, E. R. Clarke, M. J. Clarkin, Dr. Clawson, Dr. H. Cleland, Dr. James Cleland, Gen. H. B. Clitz, Minnie P. Clough, C. H. Cobb, Mrs. M. A. Cobb, Marion Cockett, Wm. C. Colburn, Mrs. W. C. Colburn, Evelyn Colburn, Mary Colburn, Frederick Colburn, Burnie Colburn, Willie Colburn, D. G. Coleman, Mrs. M. P. Coleman, Ethel G. Collar, C. P. Collins, Wm. M. Colwell, R. Common, Mrs. Jas. S. Conklin, Thomas Connors, P. St. George Cooke, Royal R. Cooke, Chas. A. Cooke, Mrs. A. Cooke, Mary A. Cooke, Frank R. Cooke, Lucy R. Cooke, D. M. Cooper, Mrs. D. M. Cooper, A. W. Copeland, R. A. Cotton, E. W. Cottrell, Wm. M. Courtis, Coutellier & Healy, Christian W. Cowie, Emma Cowie, Wm. Cowie, Mrs. Wm. Cowie, I. T. Cowles, Mrs. Wm. K. Coyl, Jean L. Coyl, J. S. Craig, Thos. G. Craig, Wm. Craig, Mrs. L. Craine, Guy S. Crane, W. S. Crane, Thos. R. Crane, Mrs. Jerome Croul, John H. Cummings, Robt. Cunningham, C. H. Curtiss, Frank J. Curtis, L. M. Curtis, Mrs. L. M. Curtis and J. H. Cutchon.

F. O. Davenport, W. L. Davids, George S. Davis, Carrie M. Davison,

Hattie E. M. Davison, Augustus Day, Wayne De Forrest, J. De Liebinski, Edw. Deacon, Dean, Godfrey & Co., S. Dean, Patrick Dee, Deiderich & Breisnacher, Prof. Dennison, Detroit Artists, Detroit Evening Journal Employes, Detroit Free Press Co. Employes, Eleventh Grade Detroit High School, Detroit Knitting and Corset Works, Detroit Music Co., Detroit White Lead Works, Detroit Woman's Club, Maj. I. C. Dewey, F. B. Dickerson, Don M. Dickinson, Anna Dickson, W. Dike, Fred. Dink, Sidney B. Dixon, Jno. M. Donaldson, Donaldson & Meier, Franz Donat, Jas. Donovan, Mary Doty, W. S. Doty, W. W. Douglas, H. E. Downer, David Downing, Nellie Swain Drake, Fred. W. Dreher, F. E. Driggs, C. A. Ducharme, Mrs. Anthony Dudgeon, A. L. Dudley, Mrs. F. R. Dudley, James Duff, D. Bethune Duffield, Howard Duffield, Mamie Duggan, Mrs. W. C. Duncan, Frank Duncourt, George Dunlap, John A. Dunnebacke, Mrs. W. H. Dunning, M. L. Dunning, Wm. Dupont, J. Durk, M. Duxbury, E. C. Dwight, James Dwyer, John P. Dwyer, Jeremiah Dwyer, and John B. Dyar.

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Mary Fairbairn, J. W. Fales, John Fallon, J. Faltis & Son, James Farley, Fred E. Farnsworth, Mrs. Farr, R. C. Faulconer, Mrs. R. C. Faulconer, Dr. J. W. Fay and family, Herman C. Fechheimer, Emma F. Fechheimer, Elso Fechheimer, Melville H. Fechheimer, Birdie Fechheimer, E. C. Federer, Thos. Ferguson, W. J. Ferguson, D. M. Ferry, Mrs. D. M. Ferry, Edith Ferry, Blanche Ferry, D. M. Ferry, Jr., Mrs. M. E. Filden, Thos. W. Filer, M. Finch, John Finn, Seymour Finney, Mrs. Seymour Finney, A. C. Fisher, Mrs. A. C. Fisher, Charles H. Fisher, Mrs. E. D. Fisher, Jack Fitzgerald, L. Fitzpatrick, Patrick Fitzpatrick, C. F. Fletcher, Mrs. C. F. Fletcher, J. H. Fletcher, E. H. Flinn, Flinn & Durfee, Mrs. H. A. Flint, Hattie G. Fonda, Jas. A. Forbes, Francis C. Forbes, Henry A. Ford, Mrs. Kate B. Ford, Walter B. Ford, Frederick C. Ford, W. A. Forrester, Miss Jean Forsyth, Harry Foster, Ethel Foster, E. M. Fowler, Clara H. Fowler, Annie Francis, Dan Franklin, Stewart of Franklin House, Sophie Fredericke, Chas. L. Freer, Freund Bros., Freund Bros.' Employes and S. F. Fuller.

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Griggs, John Grindley, E. W. Grobbel, J. Groll, Mrs. S. B. Grummond, Fred Guenther and Frank Gweiner.

George D. Harris, George H. Hammond, A. W. Harvey, W. H. Hawley, John Hardy, De Witt C. Hart, James Hamilton, A. F. Hangsterfer, E. R. Hascall, Lizzie Hardie, Jennie A. Hamilton, Lizzie Hamilton, Capt. Wm. H. Harris, J. Hartenstein, Joseph Haigernoser, Andrew Hair, Hannah Hughes, W. W. Hannan, Isaac Hart, F. W. Hayes, Hartz & Kernaghan, Mrs. C. Hastings, Helen M. Hart, Wm. W. Hart, B. F. Haxton, Dr. J. Hawkins, Mrs. George Hadsits, Wm. Y. Hamlin, J. H. Hahn, Mrs. J. H. Hahn, Henry Haigh, Reuben H. Hall, Thomas Haney, Henry A. Haigh, John L. Harper, Lizzie E. Hall, Mrs. J. C. Hart, Laura L. Hart, Miriam J. Hart, Henry A. Harmon, Hack & Harris, W. M. Heazlett, Henry Heames, Mrs. Henry Heames, Victoria Heames, Wm. E. Heames, Albert H. Heames, Elgin A. Heames, John A. Heames, Richie Heames, Otzen Henry Heames, Mrs. C. R. Henderson, H. Heatherington, Heavenrich Bros., Peter Hendersen, H. Hersch, Patrick Healey, James Hartness, Hess & Raseman, E. H. Heineman, George W. Heigho, H. Heyn & Brother, George Hendrie, Mrs. George Hendrie, Strathearn Hendrie, K. S. Hendrie, J. S. Hendrie, G. T. Hendrie, Simon Heavenrich, Sarah Heavenrich, Hortense Heavenrich, J. C. Hemming, E. S. Heineman, Samuel Heavenrich, Rev. C. R. Henderson, Frank J. Hecker, Mrs. F. J. Hecker, F. C. Hecker, Annie Hecker, Lulu Hecker, Gracie Hecker, C. H. Hecker, Leroy J. Heath, Ed Hicks, C. Hildner, Hitchcock, Esselstyn & Co., George Hirth, A. Hinks, Thos. H. Hicks, M. D., H. Higgins, Madge E. Hickey, Horace Hitchcock, J. H. Hitchcock, F. D. Hovey, C. W. Horton, Howard & Northwood Malting Co., John Hopkins, John Hardem, Wm. Hardem, Geo. Howell, Mrs. A. Holmes, Otto Hohf, Mrs. C. A. Honk, John Holdsworth, Mrs. I. C. Hoyt, J. H. Hollister, Joseph J. Hoffman, Geo. H. Hopkins, Ira F. Holt, J. W. Howland, Mrs. Hopper, Charles C. Hodges, Mrs. C. C. Hodges, Geo. H. Hopkins, F. Holmes, A. C. Hovey, J. E. Howard, Florine I. Howard, D. C. Holbrook, C. B. Hubbard, Mr. Hull, Bela Hubbard, Collins B. Hubbard, A. R. Hunton, W. T. Hurd, J. L. Hudson, Miss Hudspith, Jennie Hudspith, Hutton Bros. & Co., Hugo & Bonninghausen, Frank J. Hunt, Mary C. Hull, Emerson C. Hull, Mrs. F. P. Hunt, Joseph Hudson, F. A. Hubel, C. M. Hubbard, Mrs. H. H. Humphrey, Mrs. M. J. Hunton, Gertrude Hunton, Chas. B. Hull, Jr., Jeanette E. Hull, Beulah F. Hull, Mattie H. Hull, Walter E. Hull, Mrs. Ruth Humphrey, Alice Hubbard and Zaidee Hubbard.

Dr. David Inglis, Mrs. R. Inglis, James Inglis, Mrs. K. Inglis, Albert Ives, Lewis T. Ives, Vallie S. Ives and Percy Ives.

Mary Jacklin, Geo. T. Jack, T. P. Jones, A. Jahn, Kate A. Jacobs, George H. Jacob, Josie James, W. F. Jarvis, R. E. Jamieson, Margaret H. James, J. Warner James, Sarah M. James, Henry H. James, John W. James, Mrs. H. H. James, A. F. Jennings, R. C. Jeffry, Wm. Jennison, Eunice A. Jennison, C. G. Jennings, H. L. Jenness, W. F. Jewell, J. Huff Jones, L. Johnston, B. J. Johnson, Mrs. T. P. Jones, Wilmot A. Johnson, Mrs. Benjamin Johnson, Bradford D. Johnson, Mrs. R. F. Johnstone and Jas. Juches.

Madge Kasson, Bessie Kasson, Annie Kasson, Minnie H. Kasson, C. Vallette Kasson, Simon C. Karrer, Augustus Kaiser, M. D., D. C.

Kay, Geo. E. Ketchum, E. J. Kernaghan, Frank Kenyon, W. E. Kelsey, P. F. Kean, Maggie Kelly, Maggie Kennedy, H. Keeves, Miss Nellie Kearns, Jas. J. Keenan, A. W. Kelley, F. A. Kelsey, Mrs. S. N. Kendrick C. Kichner, R. King, Frank E. Kirby, K. Kittredge, F. Kimball, W. E. Kingman, A. C. Kiefer, Mrs. A. C. Kiefer, Edgar S. Kiefer, John Kinsel, Herman Kiefer, M. D., L. E. Kirstein, Frank E. Kirby, Peter Kline, P. Kling & Co., Arthur J. Knox, Louis J. K. Koster, Joseph Kob, K. Kreilich, Richard Krakow, H. Krisling, Adolph Krolik, Herman Krolik, A. Kuhlman and Frank Kuenzel.

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F. H. Walker, Hiram Walker, E. Chandler Walker, Willis E. Walker, D. S. Ward, H. C. Watkins, George Wagner, Kittie Wallace, N. Waldecker, D. Wallace, J. C. Watson, W. Walsh, Julia Waselousky, A. Watt, Otto Walker, Chas. F. Wagner, Edmund Wagner, Louis J. Walmlich, Wm. Waldeyer, W. Wall, Miss Warner, Mrs. H. Wallace, Mrs. E. J. Watkins, John Ward, J. Harrington Walker, Mrs. Jas. Wallace, C. A. Warren, J. Edward Warren, John L. Warren, D. A. Waterman, Jas. Walker, John Walker, Jas. Wall, S. E. Watson, Mrs. C. D. Watson, Jared C. Warner, Mrs. J. C. Warner, F. H. Walker, W. Weatherby, H. H. Weeks, W. H. Wendt, F. J. Wells, Mrs. F. J. Wells, Mrs. Alex. M. Willis, Fred B. Wemple, E. C. Wetmore, Frank Weber, Geo. C. Wetherbee, R. E. Wendell, Weigert & Reese, John A. Weir, Mrs. J. A. Weir, W. H. Whitman, G. W. Whyte, L. C. Whitman, Thos. G. Whittaker, Herschel Whitaker, H. K. White, David Whitney, Jr., A. E. F. White, Mrs. A. E. White, Edna E. White, Jennie D. Wheeler, J. Hill Whitney, Mrs. J. F. Whitney, John Whittaker, John Williams, Geo. Wilkinson, W. H. Wells, I. Wilkinson, Wines & Worden, H. R. Winn, W. P. Willson, C. G. Willik, T. A. Wilkinson, Sarah Wilson, Ernst Wildner, W. A. Williams, Mrs. W. D. Wilkins, Williams Malt Co., Chas. F. Wilkins, Geo. W. Wilson, Wm. C. Williams, John Williamson, Mrs. J. D. Williams, E. A. Wilkinson, Ed. Wiles, Henry Williams, C. D. Widman & Co., Gen. O. B. Wilcox, Miss Wilkins, Richard Storrs Willis, Mrs. A. H. Wilkinson, Fanny H. Winger, Mrs. H. Wight, Richard C. Wilby, Mrs. R. C. Wilby, C. Warden, Elain Warden, C. H. Worcester, Edw. Woods, C. M. Woolley, Mrs. Lizzie Woodward, Russell C. Woodruff, Tremont Woodruff, Wright, Kay & Co., Chas. Wright & Co.'s Employes, D. Wright, Alfred Wright, Wm. Wreford, Mrs. V. Wreford, John Wreford, Wm. Wright, Mrs. H. M. Wright and Hal C. Wyman.

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The Zither Club.

On June 12, 1885, Mr. Lathrop, who had been appointed U. S. Minister to Russia, resigned his trusteeship, and on July 3, Mr. Dexter M. Ferry was elected to fill the vacancy.

On July 11, the Art Loan Association formally disbanded, turning over to the incorporation all their assets, estimated in value at \$5,021, including pictures, furniture, and \$1,521.60 in cash.

On July 21, Miss Clara A. Avery was elected a member of the cor-

poration to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. C. R. Mabley. In May, 1886, Mr. Farnsworth resigned as secretary, and was succeeded by Mr. Collins B. Hubbard.

On November 7, 1885, Mr. George H. Scripps presented to the museum the large well-known painting by Rembrandt Peale, known as "The Court of Death," which was duly accepted by the trustees.

At the annual meeting in May, 1886, Mr. Wm. A. Moore was re-elected trustee, and Mr. Don M. Dickinson was reappointed, in behalf of the city, by Mayor Grummond.

The first exhibition held directly under the auspices of the Museum of Art corporation was opened in Merrill Hall, in the city of Detroit, on May 29, 1886, and continued until June 24, a total of 23 days. The exhibits embraced eight pieces of statuary, 224 oil paintings, 70 water colors, one painting on porcelain, one piece of tapestry, 13 drawings, 40 old engravings, and 35 modern etchings—a total of 392 exhibits.

The total number of paid admissions was 8,987, and of free admissions 5,166. On one day the exhibition was open free to the public, which will explain the large proportion of free entries. The total receipts of the exhibition were \$2,311.59. The expenses were \$1,456.65, leaving a net profit of \$854.94.

No other exhibitions were held until the association had occupied its own building, in 1888.

The first prize awarded by the Museum of Arts was given at the close of the May exhibition to Miss Jennie D. Wheeler for the best drawing from the cast.

The net profits of the exhibition, with a small addition, were expended in the purchase of the best American picture exhibited, "The Missing Vessel," by F. K. M. Rehn, of New York.

On February 25, 1887, a small landscape by C. Morgenstern, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, was added to the Museum's collection by bequest of Hon. Walter W. Murphy, late U. S. Consul-General at Frankfort.

During the fall of 1887 Mr. George W. Balch purchased in Paris at a cost of over \$1,000, and presented to the Museum, 430 autotype reproductions of the more famous pictures by the old masters found in the principal European galleries—a most interesting and valuable collection.

During the fall of 1886, the subject of securing a site for a museum building engaged the attention of the trustees. The two principal locations considered were a tract 200x426 feet on Martin Place, near Harper Hospital, which was offered at \$43,000, and one 250 x 300 feet, on Second avenue between High and Gilman streets, which could be purchased for \$56,000. The contest between the advocates of these, respectively, was terminated on October 13, by the following offer, which was, on that date, promptly accepted by the corporation by a vote of 27 to 11, which vote was afterwards made unanimous:

"To the Detroit Museum of Art, its Incorporators and Trustees:

"The property known as 'the Brady property,' at the southwesterly corner of Jefferson avenue and Hastings street, comprising an area of 20,000 square feet, with a frontage on three streets of 400 feet, is hereby tendered to you as a suitable site for the buildings of the corporation.

"If accepted by you, a free and unincumbered title, with immediate possession, will be made to you as a gift for that purpose, without cost or expense of any kind.

"In behalf of the committee,

"HENRY B. BROWN,

"SIDNEY D. MILLER,

"WM. B. MORAN."

The property thus presented was valued at \$25,000, and the contributors for its purchase were: Detroit City Railway Co., Hon. Jas. McMillan, Geo. Hendrie, Wm. B. Moran, S. D. Miller, Francis Palms, C. C. Blodgett, D. M. Cooper, T. Ferguson, Alex. Lewis, Jno. P. Fleitz, C. H. Wetmore, E. Wendell, Morse Stewart, T. A. Parker, Geo. McMillan, O. Goldsmith, F. H. Canfield, M. W. Field, A. M. Campau, A. C. McGraw, W. B. Wesson, Berry Bros. McKinstry Estate, Thos. F. Griffin, John Pettie, S. B. Grummond, H. B. Brown, T. Schmidt, Geo. S. Davis, Wm. Wreford, J. Dwyer, Henry Russel, T. S. Anderson, J. E. Owen, Mrs. R. McClelland, H. M. Duffield, D. F. Dwight, G. B. Hill, L. S. Trowbridge, Francis E. Sibley, J. A. Wier, W. K. Muir, J. E. Pitman, Sarah A. Sibley.

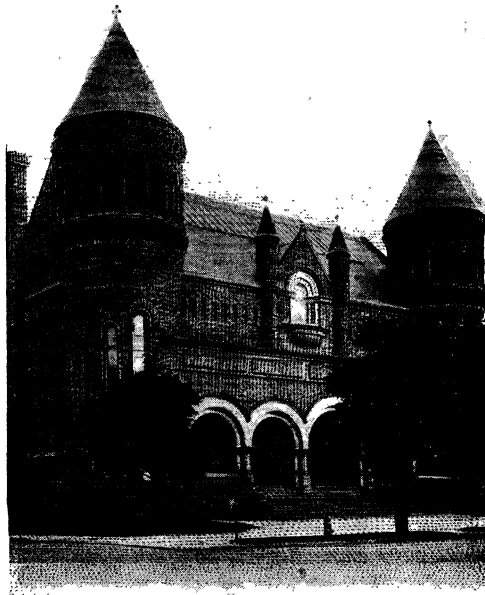
The subject of the erection of a building was next taken up, and on November 8, 1886, authority was given to the building committee to advertise for plans. On November 20, the terms of a circular inviting competitive sketches from the architects of the country were agreed to. The building was to comprehend a facade covering the Jefferson avenue frontage of the lot, to be fire-proof, and to cost about \$40,000. The architect submitting the best design was to be employed to prepare the full plans at the usual rates of compensation, while for the second and third best, prizes of \$300 and \$200 respectively were to be awarded. The result was a really creditable piece of architecture. Fifty-two designs were submitted. These being carefully examined by the trustees and submitted to three architects of this city, viz., Gordon W. Lloyd, Mortimer L. Smith and E. E. Myers, in addition to Prof. Henry S. Frieze of Ann Arbor, a majority of the trustees and experts voted for the acceptance of a design marked "Wisdom, Strength and Beauty," which proved to be the conception of Mr. James Balfour, of Hamilton, Ontario. The second and third choices respectively were the work of A. O. Elzner, of Cincinnati, and Macomb, Dull & Hannan, of Philadelphia.

The decision was reached on March 10, 1887, and on May 12 bids were opened for the erection of the structure. The lowest bid was found to be that of Messrs. Dawson & Anderson, of Toledo, at \$43,780, and a contract was accordingly closed with them. Mr. George Morhous was employed to superintend the work on behalf of the trustees, and gave his faithful attention to it throughout. The building was completed in July, 1888, in the most substantial and satisfactory manner; and its cost, including architect's fees, superintendence, the substitution of stone for wooden stairs, heating apparatus, electric wiring, stone sidewalks, etc., reached the aggregate amount of \$56,385.44.

The new building was formally opened to the public on September 1, 1888, with a fine exhibition of modern paintings, of which 100 were

loaned by Mr. George I. Seney, of New York, and were valued at \$250,000. Fifty-eight others were contributed from local collections. The cost of transportation and insurance of the pictures, and of advertising the opening, were so great, that, although in the 78 days that this exhibition continued, 24,517 visitors attended it, it resulted in a net loss of \$1,842.14.

On March 3, 1888, Miss Clara A. Avery submitted a proposition to the trustees offering to pay \$1,500 per year, for two years, towards the salary of a director for the institution, and, upon her nomination, Mr. John Ward Dunsmore was in November of the same year appointed director, with a salary of \$1,800 per year. Under his supervision a second



MUSEUM OF ART

loan exhibition was opened on January 12, 1889, and an exhibition of water colors on March 18, at which time also the collection of casts of antique statuary which has been purchased at a cost of \$2,078.85, and the first installment of the Stearns collection of Corean and Japanese curiosities, were exhibited.

On the same date, March 18, 1889, the art schools connected with the institution were first opened, with 68 pupils. A barn on the rear of the lot had been fitted up for school purposes, as had also the basement of the new building, at an aggregate cost of \$1,705.45. The corps of teachers embraced Mr. Dunsmore, teacher of the life class; Francis P. Paulus (salary \$500), teacher of advanced drawing from the antique;

Percy Ives (\$500), elementary antique; Mrs. E. G. Holden (\$350), children's classes; L. H. DeFernelmont (\$400), modeling and wood carving; H. M. Lawrence (\$900), industrial and decorative design; Dr. Hal C. Wyman (services rendered gratuitously), lecturer on anatomy. The fees established were, life classes \$25 per term of three months for day, and \$15 for night instruction; antique designing and modeling, \$15 for day, and \$10 for night; children's class, \$10. The total receipts for tuition fees for the first term were \$1,038.

An attempt was made about this time to secure an additional income of \$1,500 per annum for the institution by the issue of patrons' tickets at \$50 each and annual members' tickets at \$10 each. The scheme, however, did not prove successful, only seven persons subscribing for patrons' and forty-five for members tickets, and it was not continued beyond that year.

Three lectures were given during the years 1888-9, one by Prof. E. S. Morse and two by Frederick Villiers, the net profit on which was \$178.47.

At the annual meeting in May, 1887, James E. Scripps was re-elected, and at the same time James McMillan was re-appointed by the mayor for a second term of office. In 1888 W. H. Brearley and D. M. Ferry were re-elected.

At the annual meeting in 1889 Messrs. Thomas W. Palmer and Lewis T. Ives were re-elected trustees. The previous officers were continued, viz: President, T. W. Palmer; vice president, James McMillan; treasurer, William A. Moore; secretary, Collins B. Hubbard.

The fifth year of the institution saw the school in a prosperous condition, with an aggregate enrollment of 229 pupils and 67 in actual attendance at the close of the year. The total fees for tuition had reached \$3,306.35 (this covering a period of fourteen months). The small attendance of visitors at the galleries was a disappointment to the trustees, the paid admissions for the sixteen months to May, 1890, yielding only the sum of \$1,765, including the special exhibitions.

August 27, 1888, by the efforts of Mrs. E. C. Skinner and Mrs. H. P. Jenkins, aided by sixty-six other ladies and gentlemen, the painting known as the "Young Artist," by Ellen Baker, was purchased and presented to the Museum.

In October, 1889, the trustees accepted from Mr. James E. Scripps a collection of eighty pictures, works of old masters, which during the previous four years he had been engaged in collecting. The actual cost of the pictures to Mr. Scripps had been \$70,950.84, not reckoning expenses incurred in their collection. These incidental expenses, of which no account was kept, would probably bring the entire cost up to \$75,000. The collection includes several notable pictures, as the large work by Rubens, purchased at the Secretan sale, which alone cost \$23,520; the Immaculate Conception by Murillo, which has been valued at \$20,000; the Martyrdom of St. Andrew by the same artist, and works by Quentin Massys, Titian, Guido Reni, Cornelius DeVos, Steenwyck, Le Nain, De Vlieger, Claude Lorraine, Cuyt, Rembrandt, Teniers, Jan Steen, Wm. Van de Velde, Peter de Hoogh and Benjamin West, most of them well authenticated works.

Between November 9th and December 7th an exhibition was given of thirty-three pictures by Gari Melchers, at the close of which one of the choicest, entitled "The Vespers," which had received the Potter Palmer prize of \$500, at Chicago, was presented to the Museum by the Witenagemote Club of this city. Its value was about \$1,500.

Two exhibitions of students' work were given during the year, at the latter of which prizes of scholarships were awarded to Miss Bessie Patton in the life class, Miss Ella Knox in the antique, and Miss Mary Dufrene in the class of decorative design.

The cost of teachers and models for the art schools for this year was \$2,755.12, exclusive of Mr. Dunsmore's salary.

Six lectures and one concert were given during the year under the auspices of the Museum, including two lectures by Miss Amelia B. Edwards on Egyptology.

Among the donations of the year were a collection of architectural photographs given by Miss Avery, who also gave twenty-four etchings, representing the old Spanish missions of California; \$100 in cash by Mrs. Gilbert Hart; eight valuable architectural books by Mr. Hugh McMillan; a collection of figures representing Mexican costumes by Miss Avery, and a Turkish costume and dagger by Mr. Edward Trowbridge. Through the kindly offices of Mrs. H. H. H. Crapo Smith, Leon Escosura, the Spanish artist, painted (and framed at his own expense) a portrait sketch, which he presented to the Museum.

The treasurer's report showed actual receipts for the year from all sources of \$12,329.87; expenditures, \$14,305.07; cash in bank at close of the year, \$8,316.54.

At the annual meeting in May, 1890, Mr. Wm. A. Moore was re-elected trustee, and Collins B. Hubbard was reappointed by Mayor Pinckney as representative of the city government. The old officers were re-elected, except that Mr. S. R. Mumford replaced Mr. Wm. A. Moore as treasurer. The year opened with the resignations of Director Dunsmore and Miss Jennie M. Smith, the latter of whom had been assistant secretary from the first organization of the Museum. The place of the latter was filled by Mr. Theodore Saunders, but the directorship was temporarily left vacant, and the functions placed in the hands of an executive committee which has met weekly or oftener at the Museum building and carefully supervised every department of the work.

The standing committees have been as follows:

On Buildings and Grounds—D. M. Ferry, James McMillan, Wm. A. Moore.

On Finance—Wm. A. Moore, D. M. Ferry, Collins B. Hubbard.

On Collections and Exhibitions—James E. Scripps, L. T. Ives, Collins B. Hubbard, W. H. Brearley.

On Schools—L. T. Ives, Jas. E. Scripps, W. H. Brearley, Mrs. Crapo Smith, Mrs. J. T. Sterling.

The executive committee throughout the year consisted of Messrs. Ives and Scripps, with Messrs. C. B. Hubbard and Frederick Stearns and Mrs. H. H. H. Crapo Smith serving successively as the third member. Mr. Ives was chairman of the committee throughout. Mr. L. T. Ives and Mr. Jas. E. Scripps are entitled to particular credit for time and care be-

stowed in attending the meetings of the committee and directing the business of the Museum and school.

The executive committee, during the past year has held forty-three meetings, beginning on April 30, 1890. It has superintended all the affairs of the Museum, and under its management the school has increased largely in size, and a more perfect organization of the galleries been secured. The largest attendance of pupils in one term for this year has been 123, as against 78, the largest in any preceding term. The aggregate attendance for this year has been 349, against 229 for last year.

The board of trustees have held fourteen meetings during this year. On July 5, 1890, the board authorized the executive committee to proceed with the erection of a temporary school building at a cost not to exceed \$2,500. The work was pushed forward at once, and on September 15, 1890, the beginning of the school year, the building was ready for occupation. It is situated in the rear of the Museum grounds, and is 45 x 55 feet in size. The interior is divided into one large statuary hall, 55x 22½ feet, and two class rooms 22½ feet square. The rooms are all well lighted by north top lights, and offer accommodations for about 100 students. The cost of the building was as follows:

Mason work	\$ 650.00
Carpenter work	957.82
Skylights and roofing	418.00
Painting	80.00
Plumbing	20.76
Architects' fees and building permit.	82.00
Total	<u>\$2,208.58</u>

To meet the cost of this building, the following special subscriptions were made:

Gen. R. A. Alger	\$ 500
Hon. James McMillan	500
D. M. Ferry	500
Hon. Thomas W. Palmer	250
Wm. A. Moore	100
Col. F. J. Hecker	100
Newcomb, Endicott & Co.	100
Total	<u>\$2,050</u>

The faculty during the school year has been:

Life and Advanced Antique	Percy Ives
Primary Antique and Elementary	Jos. W. Gies
Industrial and Decorative Design	H. M. Lawrence
Modeling and Wood Carving	Heinrich Vollbracht
Architecture	Geo. W. Nettleton
Children's Classes	Mrs. E. G. Holden
Lecturer on Anatomy	Dr. Daniel La Ferté

The school fees have been much reduced from former years, a fact that has been appreciated by students, as shown by the increased attendance at the school. The scale of fees has been :

Day Classes

- Life, \$50 per year, or \$20 per term of 12 weeks.
- Antique and Elementary, \$30 per year, or \$12 per term of 12 weeks.
- Decorative Designing, \$40 per year, or \$15 per term of 12 weeks.
- Modeling and Wood Carving, \$30 per year, or \$12 per term of 12 weeks.
- Children's Wednesday and Saturday, \$20 per year, or \$8 per term of 12 weeks. Saturday only, \$12 per year, or \$5 per term of 12 weeks.
- Water Color Painting, \$50 per year, or \$20 per term of 12 weeks.
- Pen and Ink, \$20 per year, or \$8 per term of 12 weeks.

Night Classes

- Life, \$40 per year, or \$15 per term of 12 weeks.
- Antique and Elementary, \$20 per year, or \$8 per term of 12 weeks.
- Decorative Designing, \$25 per year, or \$10 per term of 12 weeks.
- Modeling and Wood Carving, \$20 per year, or \$8 per term of 12 weeks.

Architectural Drawing, \$20 per year, or \$8 per term of 12 weeks.

During the year, a prize of \$1,000, to defray the cost of two years' study abroad, was offered by Mr. J. E. Scripps, for the greatest proficiency in the life class. It is to be awarded at the end of the school year, and it is hoped will be followed up by similar prizes each year, to be contributed by other citizens of Detroit. Besides this grand prize, scholarships for one year, and three months, respectively, have been offered in each of the classes as prizes for the best work. These, too, will be awarded at the close of the year. Cash prizes of \$5 each have been given from month to month for the best work, the following being the successful competitors:

Composition—December, 1890, J. J. Walsh; January, 1891, Chas. Waltensperger; February, 1891, F. J. Leipsiger and J. J. Walsh; March, 1891, Harry Patton, and April, 1891, Miss D. Garretson.

Life Studies—November, 1890, Chas. Waltensperger and Miss D. Garretson; January, 1891, A. Murray and J. J. Walsh; April, 1891, Chas. Waltensperger and A. Murray.

Antique—April, 1891, Miss Lillie Conner.

Design—January, 1891, Miss Mary McMaster; April, 1891, Miss J. Perrin.

At the beginning of the second term, a class in watercolor painting and pen and ink drawing was started under Mr. Jos. W. Gies, and was very successful. Mr. Lawrence severed his connection with the museum in the beginning of March, and his place was taken for the balance of the school year by Miss Mary McMaster.

With the past term of the school, also, a very promising class in architectural drawing was established under the direction of Mr. Geo. W. Nettleton. The class numbered eighteen students.

On December 6, 1890, Mr. Frederick Stearns presented to the Board of Trustees a formal deed of gift of his large and valuable collection of Japanese, Korean and Indian curiosities, numbering over 10,000 objects. A portion of it was opened to the public in the same month, but a considerable part still remains unpacked, awaiting Mr. Stearns' return from California. The value of the collection is \$40,000 and it is understood to be the finest in the United States on actual exhibition. Mr. Stearns supplemented his gift with all the necessary cases for the reception of the articles, and with an elaborate descriptive catalogue in manuscript which will be invaluable to students of oriental art.

During the year there has been but one public lecture delivered at the museum. It was given May 13, 1890, under the joint auspices of the museum and the Archæological Society, by Professor Lumholtz, of Sweden, on the "Cannibals of Australia."

On the close of the last school year in June, 1890, an exhibition of students' work was held in the gallery of the museum. The work was very creditable to the school and the students. In July of the same year, 150 of the autotypes of the Balch collection were arranged for an exhibition, which continued until October 15th, 1890, when an exhibition of the work of Michigan artists was opened which lasted for a month. There were seventy-three pictures exhibited by forty artists, and the exhibit was very favorably commented on. The next exhibition was a collection of "Kakimonos," or Japanese pictures, belonging to the Stearns collection. These were about 200 in number, and attracted a great deal of attention by their novelty and quaintness. In March they were taken down and a different selection from the Balch autotypes were hung, which will remain until the next exhibition in June. The Scripps collection of old masters has continued on exhibition during the year, but will be temporarily removed to afford room for the coming June exhibition.

On January 3d, 1891, the trustees decided on holding an annual Spring Exhibition of the work of American artists, and the services of Mr. A. H. Griffith were secured for the promotion of this object. Mr. Griffith was given the title of Acting Director, and entered on his duties on January 10th. The exhibition, which is intended to be a notable one, will be held in June, and it is hoped to secure the promise from at least ten Detroit citizens to purchase a picture each. At a later meeting, March 7th, it was proposed to award gold, silver, and bronze medals, one of each class, to the exhibitors of the best pictures, and the matter of securing a die, etc., is in progress.

On January 5th or 6th, a singularly bold theft of a small picture in the Scripps collection was perpetrated. The picture was painted on a panel ten by seven inches, and was loose in its frame. No trace of it has since been found.

At a trustees' meeting, on December 6, 1890, the idea of building a permanent wing to the museum was discussed, and the matter referred to the building committee, which subsequently had plans for an extension prepared by Messrs. Malcolmson & Higginbotham.

The complete plans show a quadrangular building, covering the entire lot in the rear of the present structure, with a rectangular glass-

covered court for sculpture, in the centre. The wings, on either side of the court, will be for exhibition purposes, while the rear of the building, facing on Woodbridge street, will be devoted to the schools. It is estimated that the entire building can be erected for \$80,000, but at present it is only proposed to erect the east wing, extending back from the museum for a distance of eighty feet, at an estimated cost of \$25,000. This wing will be thirty feet wide, and will have three floors and a basement, and will thus nearly double the existing space for exhibition purposes. It is hoped that this wing will be proceeded with this season.

On February 7th, the board decided to offer scholarships to the best pupils in drawing, in the public schools, the scholarships to be competed for at the end of the school year. The matter was laid before the Board of Education, and met with their hearty approval, and it will probably be put into execution next year.

The trustees, on March 28th, of the current year, voted to recommend to the corporators the following code of by-laws to take the place of those heretofore in force, and which have proven, in many respects, cumbersome and ineffective. The most important change they involve is the securing of rotation in office by rendering a trustee ineligible for re-election till after the lapse of a year from the date of his going out of office.

I

“The Board of Trustees shall consist of twelve members, who shall serve for four years, three members retiring each year. No retiring member shall be eligible for re-election until a year from the time of the expiration of his term of office.

II

“The Board of Trustees shall annually, at their first meeting after the annual meeting, elect a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President and Vice President shall be elected from the Board of Trustees, but the Secretary and Treasurer may be elected from the members of the corporation. The duties of all these officers shall be those usually performed by such officers.

III

“The Board of Trustees shall appoint quarterly, from its own number, an executive committee, to consist of not less than three members, which committee shall be vested with such powers as the Board of Trustees may prescribe. It may also appoint such other committees as may be deemed necessary, and prescribe their duties. At least one member of the executive committee shall retire and a successor be appointed each quarter.

IV

“The Board of Trustees shall hold regular quarterly meetings at such times and places as it may itself determine. Special meetings may be called by the President or the Executive Committee, or by any two

Trustees. In case of no quorum at any of said meetings, any number of not less than three may act, and, on the approval in writing of their action by a sufficient number of Trustees to constitute a quorum, the action of said meeting shall be binding and legal.

V

“At least once in each quarter the Board of Trustees shall formally inspect the galleries and schools.

VI

“Under the direction of the Executive Committee, a book shall be kept in which all receipts and expenditures of the institution shall be faithfully recorded, and from which quarterly reports shall be made up and presented to the Board of Trustees.

VII

“Under the direction of the Executive Committee, a full report of the progress of the institution, with a balance sheet of its finances, shall be printed in April of each year, copies of which shall be supplied to the members of the Corporation, to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Detroit, to all corresponding institutions, and to such other persons as the Board of Trustees may direct.

VIII

“There shall be instituted a roll of sustaining members, who shall contribute each \$10 annually to the funds of the institution, and such sustaining members shall at all times have for themselves, their families and friends introduced by them, free entrance to the galleries, including all special exhibitions and one ticket to all lectures. The members of the corporation shall possess the same privileges.

IX

“The annual meetings of the corporation shall be held on the first Monday of May in each year, at such hour and place as shall be ordered by the trustees; due notice thereof shall be given in writing to every member, or by publication in at least one daily newspaper published in the city of Detroit. All reports required of the trustees, or of any officers, shall be made at the annual meeting.

X

“The Secretary and Treasurer may at any time be removed by the Board of Trustees. The Treasurer shall give such bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties as may be required by the Board of Trustees. The books of the Secretary and of the Treasurer shall be at all times open to the inspection of any trustee.

XI

“No person shall be elected an honorary member of the corporation except by an affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of all the members of the corporation.”

Much of the contents of the museum, having been presented to the corporation, it is difficult to place a valuation upon; the following inventory, however, will be a fair approximation:

Lot 100x200 on Jefferson avenue	\$ 25,000.00
Buildings upon the same	58,666.00
Furniture, show cases, pedestals, etc	3,794.00
86 paintings	82,000.00
430 autotypes, 350 photographs, etchings and drawings.....	1,800.00
Collection of plaster casts	2,125.00
83 volumes of books	200.00
The Stearns collection	40,000.00
Other objects of exhibition	180.00
<hr/>	
Total in buildings and contents	\$213,765.00
Cash in hand and in bank	3,248.71
Interest bearing notes	9,000.00
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Total assets of the corporation	\$226,013.71

To which may be added unpaid subscriptions amounting to \$6,595.50, making a grand total of assets and resources of \$232,609.21.

At the annual meeting held by adjournment on May 18th, 1891, Hon. James McMillan was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of office of Mr. J. E. Scripps.

The by-laws proposed by the trustees were then adopted, and three additional trustees elected, in accordance with the provision of By-law No. 1 making the board to consist of twelve instead of eight members as formerly. The additional members chosen were Frederick Stearns, Samuel R. Mumford and Don M. Dickinson.

Mayor Pingree subsequently appointed Messrs. George S. Davis and Richard Storrs Willis in behalf of the city, who were duly confirmed by the Common Council.

In the annuals of art the following catalogue of students, 1889-1891, will prove interesting, the names representing residents of Detroit, unless otherwise designated: Grace Avery, Emily Aubrey (Wyandotte), Clare E. Angell, Miss E. F. Adams, F. S. Achilltree and Geo. W. Atcheson.

M. Barlow, Mrs. Chas. E. Blood, E. Bloedon, F. D. Brook, Thomas Barr, John Barr, Miss Fannie Bartlett, Gertie Burnham, (Wyandotte), Miss G. Boynton, Miss Anne Botsford, Miss M. D. Ballou, Stuart Benson, Miss Berry, Mrs. I. Brebner (Alpena), C. S. Bowling, Minnie Bothom, Mrs. Rob't Brown, Genevieve Booth, Carlotta Burtch, Edna Bryant, W. G. Bond, May Barnard, Carrie A. Brown, Carudia Burtenshaw, Harrie Burnstine, Carrie Bookheim and H. L. Bingham.

G. H. Croufford, Marian L. Candler, J. J. Cornwell, Ada W. Candler, Vasey F. Campbell (Port Austin), Mason J. Cole, Hattie Carstens, V. S. Campbell, Nellie M. Clark, Elsie Campau, J. P. Cullen, Lillian Conney, Elsie Carver (Windsor, Ont.), Gertrude M. Candler and Geo. Carey.

Louis Day, Wm. Downing, Ernest Dobson (Windsor, Ont.), Miss Dempster, Allie J. Deming, Wallace Dixon, Mary Dufrene and Angie E. Dewey.

J. F. Eatherly, Miss Nanie M. Eberts and Miss Edith Endicott.

Steve Fronarth, Lititia Foy (Trenton), Miss Lillie Faulconer, Cora L. Field, Geo. C. Funk, W. M. Frier, B. F. Fay, W. B. Flynn and Kate Ferrier (Ypsilanti).

Miss S. M. Gardner, Bertha Goodison, Emma B. Grant, Mrs. Grant, Fred. Goodenow, Frank Godfrey, Mary E. Gibson, Stewart Griswold, Dillie Garretson, Alice Goodall, Ida Glass (Sandwich, Ont.), Miss Clara Goodman, Frank Gueiner, Anthony Garczynski and Blanche E. Gay.

Della Hitchcock, Belle Haight, F. E. Hill, Ivy Kate Hall, Janey Horton, Miss Edith C. Hodges, Miss Effie Holden, G. A. Hide, Frank C. Hecker, J. Henke, John Hutoff, Edith C. Hodges, Kin Hubbard, Miss Stella Hubbell, Miss Sara Hastings, Fred P. Hart, Josephine Heselbacher, Newton J. Hampshire, Fred W. Haines, Kittie Hines, and Miss Estelle Hutchinson.

Miss M. C. Ingersoll, Miss Eunice Ingersoll and Mrs. Percy Ives.

Emil C. Juterbook, Mrs. Annie M. Jessop, Geo. C. Johnston and Miss Virginia M. Jackson.

Edmund Kurtz, Miss A. Kirchner, Miss A. Kohler, Miss Ella Knox, Miss Alice M. King, C. B. King, A. Kinsy, Ida Kolbe, Hugo Kirchmaier and Miss Helen Keep.

Edna Leonard, Mrs. F. W. Lyle, Mrs. C. B. Lothrop, Ben W. Lambert, T. H. Lacey, Miss T. C. Loke, E. J. Littlefield, Emil Lorch, Helen Lloyd, F. I. Leipsiger, J. A. Luce and Frank Luce.

A. W. Mercer, Murray McKay, Miss Margaret Mills (Windsor, Ont.), Chas. Merz, Nellie Michels, Miss C. S. Meddaugh, F. N. Maslen, Marjorie McGregor (Windsor, Ont.), Emily W. Mayhew, Edith Maurice (Hamtramck), Alexander Murray, Hubert Messmore, Celena McDougall, C. J. Masacek, Mrs. Jennie F. McArthur, May Moran, Miss Hattie E. Miner, Miss Lottie M. McIntyre (Windsor, Ont.), Miss Mary McMaster, Gertrude Mumford, Miss Maist, Henry McNamara and Miss Dora McTunner.

Florence Nicholson, Miss Seraphine Noyes (Springwells), J. Nusckowski and D. E. Nichols.

Mrs. Dr. Owen,

Julia Perrien, Albert E. Peters, Charlie Parsons, Miss A. D. Pitkin, Agnes M. Parker, Miss Nellie Prentiss, Miss Jennie C. Parker, J. Prochaska, Miss Bessie Patton, H. S. Potter, Ida Perrault, Julia Pope, Josie Pierce and Marguerite S. Perkins and Mary C. Perry.

James Quinn (Hamtramck).

Luceina M. Ripley, Annie E. Robinson, Miss Mary Rogers, J. A. Rehfeldt, Mrs. J. M. Ryan, Anne M. Reeg, Mrs. W. F. Rider, W. H. Robertson, Minos Ricci, Wm. Rogers, F. B. Raymond, Florence B. Rogers (Orchard Lake), and Marie Roninger (Ann Arbor).

J. G. Soper, Wm. Sprunk, Neal Snow, Margaret Stocking, W. H. Steger, H. C. Stevens, Robert Stimson, Frank Schroeder, Henry Steinman, H. H. Sheets, Oswald Sifford, Miss Story, Dora M. Summer, R. T. Shewcraft, Lizzie Smith, Lydia M. Scranton, J. P. Schilling and F. L. Seage.

Mrs. H. G. Torrey, Minnie Tye (Windsor, Ont.), Miss Edith W. Taylor, Grace L. Thayer, Miss Nettie Traver, Eddie Trowbridge, Walter Taylor, E. C. Taylor, C. G. Trebein and W. W. Tracy.

Miss Lucretia Ulrich.

C. Vickary, Chas. Vibin, and O. D. Vickery (Jackson).

Edgar Wardell, Miss W. A. Webster (Plymouth, N. H.), Charles Williams, Gertrude Wiley, W. H. Wamsley, C. W. Wells, Miss Florine Whitaker, Miss E. M. Woolsey, J. F. Walsh, Miss Bessie R. Wright, C. E. Wallensperger, H. L. Wilton, Charles W. Wells, Emma Waters, Ruth Wheaton, J. MacWetmore, Edna Webster, Gertrude Warren and Chas. Willin.

C. Zabrosky.

CHAPTER XL

MUNICIPAL—THE GROWTH OF CITY GOVERNMENT—GOVERNORS AND JUDGES PLAN, RIDICULED IN THE EARLY DAYS NOW STANDS FORTH AS AN IDEAL SCHEME OF CITY BUILDING—THE PARKS AND BOULEVARDS—THE WATER WORKS—THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—FUNCTIONS OF THE CITY OFFICERS—USE AND ABUSE OF POWER—ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE VARIOUS MAYORS—A BRIEF REVIEW OF POLITICAL SITUATIONS—THE PRESENT DAY—ABSENCE OF REAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS.

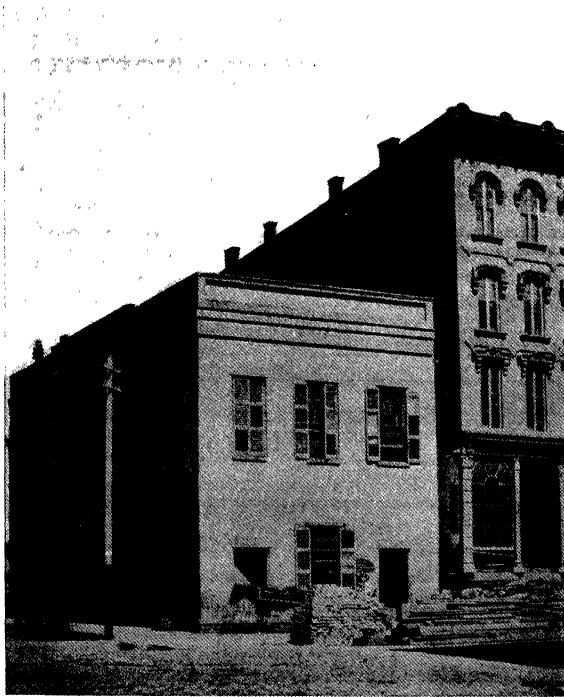
As before stated, Wayne county under territorial rule, to say nothing of the previous regime under French and English rule, was a wide domain taking in the whole of Wisconsin, part of Minnesota and all of Michigan. The boundaries were a line drawn from the southern end of Lake Michigan eastward to Canadian territory. This took in Chicago, and, following the line eastward and south, terminated in the center of the Cuyahoga river which is now the center of Cleveland.

The first step toward incorporating and establishing a municipal government was taken in January, 1802, when a petition of the citizens of the city of Detroit was presented to the legislature of the Northwest territory sitting at Chillicothe, Ohio, asking for the incorporation of the town. A bill was introduced into the assembly granting the prayers of the petitioners. This measure was fathered by Solomon Sibley, who was a member of the territorial legislative body and was also a leading and public spirited citizen of Detroit. Various amendments were submitted by the upper house or council, but the assembly, or the lower house, would not consent to them. The bill was sent to conference and was finally passed in its original form on January 18, 1802. The act was to take effect on the first of the following February. The service of Mr. Sibley in pushing through the measure and, in other ways, looking after the interests of Detroit, was recognized by giving him the freedom of the city on the day of the first election. There were named in the act as trustees, until an election could be held, John Askin, Charles Francis Girardin and Joseph Campau; secretary, Peter Audrain; assessor, Robert Abbott; collector, Jacob Clemens; marshal, Elias Wallen.

The first election was held May 3, 1802, and resulted in the return of all the trustees except John Askin. In his place, voluntarily surrendered, George Meldrum was elected. With slight changes, the old officers held office for several years. The last officers, elected under this

act of the territorial legislature May 6, 1805, were as follows: Trustees, James Abbott, Dr. William Brown, Dr. Joseph Wilkinson, Fred Bates and John Williams; secretary, P. Audrain; assessor, J. Watson; collector, J. Bte Piquette; marshal, John Connor.

This was the last administration of the governing body under the act of the territorial legislature, for when, on June 11, 1805, the town was wiped out by fire, the administration of civil affairs went with it and gave place to the governors' and judges' plan, a mixture of the executive and judicial, which, while it lasted, furnished no small amount of political thunder from those who were out.



FIRST COUNTY BUILDING

It was contended, and not without reason, that under the jurisdiction of the governor and judges of the supreme court of the territory the election of a council was but a hollow mockery, and that none but creatures of the governing power could hold positions. While the emoluments of office at that time were not large, the places carried them a certain amount of official and social prestige which made them plums worth the seeking.

The three judges of the supreme court and the governor of the territory, wielding absolute legislative power, promptly repealed the act of the Northwest Territorial legislature creating the corporation of De-

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troit and enacted in its stead a statute which met with severe disapproval. So strong was the sentiment that a courageous writer of the times said:

"The governor and judges exercised the most paternal care over the town. They had lots to sell, lots to give away, and in no case could a purchaser secure title unless he was *persona grata* with the governor and judges—as empty headed, and unprincipled a set as ever the Lord allowed to exist."

Upon the appointment of General Cass as governor of Michigan territory, there was a restoration of local government to a degree. Five trustees were really elected by the people, and a semblance of self-government was instituted.

The government of Detroit, by trustees, came to an end in 1824 when a "common council of the City of Detroit" was elected. One of the first official acts of the newly elected "city fathers" was an order issued to the city marshal to buy four brass candlesticks and candles to light the council rooms on occasions of solemn conclave. As there was no regular meeting place for this council, it is presumed the marshal carried from residence to residence, as the occasion required, the four brass candlesticks, in order to give official dignity to the meetings at the house selected at the whim of the chairman of that body.

With the exception of the time of the cholera epidemic, when sessions were held twice a day, the council met once a week in the Firemen's Hall until the first city hall was built, and then in that structure. It was a really local legislative body, its ordinances were in most cases willingly obeyed, and where the exception proved the rule the laws were most rigidly enforced by the marshal who felt the full importance of his position.

Up to 1848 a majority of all the aldermen, including the mayor and the recorder, was necessary to form a quorum for the transaction of business. Under the act of 1848, however, the mayor, recorder, and five aldermen constituted a quorum. Under the act of 1851, the mayor and a majority of the aldermen were all that was necessary to constitute a quorum, and since 1857 a majority of the aldermen-elect has been all that is necessary to transact business.

The first rules for the government of that body were adopted in 1836 and, with a few amendments, are those in force at the present time. There were five committees at the start—claims and accounts, ways and means, streets, fire and health. In 1842 committees on markets and hydraulic works were added; in 1849 a committee on taxes; and in 1855 committees on gas lights, sewers, public buildings and parks. In 1866 the standing committees were revised so as to stand as follows: Ways and means, judiciary, claims and accounts, streets, fire limits, House of Correction, public buildings, sewers, taxes, parks, street openings, printing, markets, health, lighting, ordinances, pounds, licenses, City Hospital, rules, joint business and liquor bonds. Under the charter of 1833 this body was designated as the Board of Aldermen of the City of Detroit.

By an act passed April 12, 1881, the Board of Councilmen was created to consist of twelve citizens elected at large. This body, designed to supersede the Board of Estimates, was clothed with the full powers of that body. The first twelve members were elected in groups of

three—for terms of one, two, three and four years each, the terms after each expiration, to be four years. All preceding measures for the levying of taxes, or incurring liability of any kind, requiring the expenditure of money, were to have the approval of the board of councilmen. Under the revised charter of 1883, the board was given only equal powers with the aldermen in matters of taxation and legislation, but they alone, on the nomination of the mayor, approved most of the principal appointive officers of the city and members of the several commissions. Both bodies were required to meet in joint session when the annual report of the mayor was presented, and were empowered to unite when this was deemed advisable. A majority of the councilmen constituted a quorum and weekly meetings were held on Friday evenings.

This city council came into existence at its first meeting January 10, 1882, and was abolished by law June 2, 1887, it being deemed wise not to have an upper house, and the Board of Estimates was re-created.

The standing committees of the common council are now as follows: Ways and means; claims and accounts; judiciary; franchises; public utilities; grade separation; streets; fire protection; house of correction; public buildings; sewers; taxes; street openings; printing; markets and pounds; public lighting; parks and boulevards; ordinances; health and city hospitals; licenses; liquor regulation; rules; charter and city legislation and bridges.

The common council of the city of Detroit is now constituted as follows: President, Thomas E. Glinnan; president pro tem, George H. Ellis; city clerk, Chas. A. Nichols; deputy city clerk, William S. Dever; journal clerk, Guy L. Ingalls; sergeant-at-arms, Alvin B. Hicks; messenger, Maurice J. Keating, Jr.

The legislative power of the city is vested in a Common Council composed of thirty-six members (two from each ward), who must be qualified electors; they are elected for the term of two years, from the second Tuesday in January next ensuing their election. The compensation of members is \$1,200 per annum each. The regular meeting is held on Tuesday evening of each week at 7 o'clock.

Following are the aldermen of the eighteen wards:

First ward—David E. Heineman (resigned), George A. Owen.

Second ward—Charles W. Burton, James Vernor.

Third ward—William Gutman, William Koenig.

Fourth ward—Maurice J. Keating, Albert T. Allan.

Fifth ward—Alois A. Deimel, David Rosenthal.

Sixth ward—George S. Field, John T. Thompson.

Seventh ward—Stephen S. Skrzycki, August Schulte.

Eighth ward—John Harpfer, John Grindley.

Ninth ward—Louis E. Tossy, Martin J. Ostrowski.

Tenth ward—William R. Shapland, Charles F. Wing.

Eleventh ward—Herman F. Zink, Joseph L. Theisen.

Twelfth ward—Richard M. Watson, Otto Rheinhardt.

Thirteenth ward—Otto C. Goeschel, Louis H. Lempke.

Fourteenth ward—Godfrey Freiwald, Andrew J. Walsh.

Fifteenth ward—George H. Ellis, Robert W. Rutter.

Sixteenth ward—John C. Garvey, Xavier B. Konkel.
 Seventeenth ward—Edward J. Korte, Walter M. Trevor.
 Eighteenth ward—Thomas E. Glinnan, William F. Zoeller.

The mayors of Detroit from 1824 to 1911, inclusive, are as follows:

1824—John R. Williams	1863—Wm. C. Duncan
1825—John R. Williams	1864—Kirkland C. Baker
1826—Henry J. Hunt	1865—Kirkland C. Baker
1826—Jonathan Kearsley	1866—Merrill I. Mills
1827—John Biddle	1867—Merrill I. Mills
1828—John Biddle	1868—Wm. W. Wheaton
1829—Jonathan Kearsley	1869—Wm. W. Wheaton
1830—John R. Williams	1870—Wm. W. Wheaton
1831—Marshall Chapin	1871—Wm. W. Wheaton
1832—Levi Cook	1872—Hugh Moffat
1833—Marshall Chapin	1873—Hugh Moffat
1834—C. C. Trowbridge	1874—Hugh Moffat
1834—Andrew Mack	1875—Hugh Moffat
1835—Levi Cook	1876—Alexander Lewis
1836—Levi Cook	1877—Alexander Lewis
1837—Henry Howard	1878—George C. Langdon
1838—Augustus S. Porter	1879—George C. Langdon
1839—DeGarmo Jones	1880—Wm. G. Thompson
1840—Zina Pitcher	1881—Wm. G. Thompson
1841—Zina Pitcher	1882—Wm. G. Thompson
1842—Douglas Houghton	1883—Wm. G. Thompson
1843—Zina Pitcher	1884—S. B. Grummond
1844—John R. Williams	1885—S. B. Grummond
1845—John R. Williams	1886—M. H. Chamberlain
1846—John R. Williams	1887—M. H. Chamberlain
1847—Jas. A. Van Dyke	1888—John Pridgeon, Jr.
1848—Frederick Buhl	1889—John Pridgeon, Jr.
1849—Charles Howard	1890—H. S. Pingree
1850—John Ladue	1891—H. S. Pingree
1851—Zach. Chandler	1892—H. S. Pingree
1852—John H. Harmon	1893—H. S. Pingree
1853—John H. Harmon	1894—H. S. Pingree
1854—Oliver M. Hyde	1895—H. S. Pingree
1855—Henry Ledyard	1896—H. S. Pingree
1856—Oliver M. Hyde	†1896—William Richert
1857—Oliver M. Hyde	*1897—Wm. C. Maybury
1858—John Patton	1898—Wm. C. Maybury
1859—John Patton	1899—Wm. C. Maybury
1860—Christian H. Buhl	1900—Wm. C. Maybury
1861—Christian H. Buhl	1901—Wm. C. Maybury
1862—Wm. C. Duncan	1902—Wm. C. Maybury

* To fill vacancy.

† Served after Hazen S. Pingree was declared ineligible to hold office of mayor and governor simultaneously.

1903—Wm. C. Maybury	1908—Wm. B. Thompson
1904—Wm. C. Maybury	1909—Philip Breitmeyer
1905—George P. Codd	1910—Philip Breitmeyer
1906—George P. Codd	1911—William B. Thompson
1907—Wm. B. Thompson	

The first city clerk elected by the people was Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, in 1849. Prior to that time the clerk was appointed by the Common Council. The incumbents of the office have been:

1824—Voltaire Spaulding	1862—Francis Pramstaller
1825—Voltaire Spaulding	1863—Francis Pramstaller
1826—Voltaire Spaulding	1864—Francis Pramstaller
1827—John J. Deming	1865—Francis Pramstaller
1828—John J. Deming	1866—Henry Starkey
1829—John J. Deming	1867—Henry Starkey
1830—John J. Deming	1868—Henry Starkey
1831—John L. Whiting	1869—Henry Starkey
1832—John L. Whiting	1870—Henry Starkey
1833—John Winder	1871—Henry Starkey
1834—John Winder	1872—Charles H. Borgman
1835—Felix Hinchman	1873—Charles H. Borgman
1836—George Byrd	1874—Charles H. Borgman
1837—George Byrd	1875—Charles H. Borgman
1838—George Byrd	1876—Charles H. Borgman
1839—George Byrd	1877—Charles H. Borgman
1840—Caleb F. Davis	1878—Louis Dillman
1841—Caleb F. Davis	1879—Louis Dillman
1842—Caleb F. Davis	1880—Louis Dillman
1843—Robert E. Roberts	1881—Louis Dillman
1844—Robert E. Roberts	1882—Alex. A. Saenger
1845—Robert E. Roberts	1883—Alex. A. Saenger
1846—Robert E. Roberts	1884—Alex. A. Saenger
1847—Robert E. Roberts	1885—Alex. A. Saenger
1848—Robert E. Roberts	1886—William T. Dust
1849—J. Van Rensselaer	1887—William T. Dust
1850—J. Van Rensselaer	1888—Aug. G. Kronberg
1850—Amos T. Hall	1889—Aug. G. Kronberg
1851—Daniel Munger	1890—Aug. G. Kronberg
1852—Daniel Munger	1891—Aug. G. Kronberg
1853—Horace S. Roberts	1892—Charles R. Forster
1854—Richard Starkey	1893—Charles R. Forster
1855—Richard Starkey	1894—Charles R. Forster
1856—Richard Starkey	1895—Charles R. Forster
1857—Richard Starkey	1896—John A. Schmid
1858—Francis W. Hughes	1897—John A. Schmid
1859—Francis W. Hughes	1898—John A. Schmid
1860—Rollin C. Smith	1899—John A. Schmid
1861—Rollin C. Smith	1900—John A. Schmid
1861—Herman A. Lacey	1901—John A. Schmid

1902—John A. Schmid
 1903—George T. Gaston
 1904—George T. Gaston
 1905—George T. Gaston
 1906—George T. Gaston

1907—George T. Gaston
 1908—George T. Gaston
 1909—Charles A. Nichols
 1910—Charles A. Nichols

The city treasurers of the city of Detroit have been as follows:

1824—Henry S. Cole	1862—Allen A. Rabineau
1825—Henry S. Cole	1863—Allen A. Rabineau
1826—Henry S. Cole	1864—Allen A. Rabineau
1827—Henry S. Cole	1865—Allen A. Rabineau
1828—Henry S. Cole	1866—Allen A. Rabineau
1829—James T. Penny	1866—Edward S. Leadbeater
1830—Randall S. Rice	1867—Edward S. Leadbeater
1831—Randall S. Rice	1868—Edward S. Leadbeater
1832—Randall S. Rice	1869—Edward S. Leadbeater
1833—Randall S. Rice	1870—Edward S. Leadbeater
1834—Randall S. Rice	1871—Edward S. Leadbeater
1835—Randall S. Rice	1871—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1836—David French	1872—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1837—Peter Desnoyers	1873—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1838—John Farmer	1874—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1839—John Constantine Williams	1875—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1840—Francis X. Cicotte	1876—Edwin C. Hinsdale
1841—Francis X. Cicotte	1876—William Parkinson
1842—Francis X. Cicotte	1877—William Parkinson
1842—Daniel J. Campau	1878—William Parkinson
1843—Daniel J. Campau	1879—William Parkinson
1844—Daniel J. Campau	1880—William Parkinson
1844—Theodore Williams	1881—William Parkinson
1845—Theodore Williams	1882—William Parkinson
1846—David Smart	1883—William Parkinson
1847—John Winder	1884—William Parkinson
1848—William A. Howard	1884—John S. Schmitt diel
1849—William A. Howard	1885—John S. Schmitt diel
1850—Nathan B. Carpenter	1886—John S. Schmitt diel
1851—Nathan B. Carpenter	1887—John S. Schmitt diel
1852—Nathan B. Carpenter	1888—John S. Schmitt diel
1853—Nathan B. Carpenter	1888—Thomas P. Tuite
1854—Nathan B. Carpenter	1889—Thomas P. Tuite
1854—John Campbell	1890—Thomas P. Tuite
1855—John Campbell	1891—Thomas P. Tuite
1856—John Campbell	1892—Thomas P. Tuite
1857—John Campbell	1892—Louis B. Littlefield
1858—John Campbell	1893—Louis B. Littlefield
1859—John Campbell	1894—Louis B. Littlefield
1860—John Campbell	1895—Louis B. Littlefield
1860—Daniel P. Bushnell	1896—Louis B. Littlefield
1861—Daniel P. Bushnell	1897—Louis B. Littlefield

1898—Louis B. Littlefield	1905—William B. Thompson
1898—William B. Thompson	1906—William B. Thompson
1899—William B. Thompson	*1907—Henry S. Doran
1900—William B. Thompson	1907—Max C. Koch
1901—William B. Thompson	1908—Max C. Koch
1902—William B. Thompson	1909—Max C. Koch
1903—William B. Thompson	1910—Max C. Koch
1904—William B. Thompson	

The Board of Estimates was created by an act approved June 24, 1887. It is comprised of two members from each ward, and five members from the city at large. The members from the wards must have the same general qualifications as the aldermen, are elected at the same time and manner as the aldermen, and hold office for the same period. The members of the board receive five dollars as compensation for each daily session. The ex-officio members of the board are the commissioner of public works, commissioner of police, commissioner of parks and boulevards, the president and chairman of committee on ways and means of the common council, the city controller, corporation counsel; presidents of the Board of Education, Board of Health, Board of Water Commissioners, Board of Poor Commissioners, Board of Fire Commissioners, Board of Library Commissioners, and of the Public Lighting Commission; and the senior member of the Board of Inspectors of the House of Correction. The ex-officio members have the right of participation in the deliberations of the board, but cannot vote. The board annually elects a president from its members, and the city clerk is ex-officio the secretary of the board. The board must act upon the general city estimates and all other measures for the raising of money, whether by tax levy, or by the issuing of bonds. The board may decrease or disapprove, but cannot increase the amount proposed to be raised. Only the amount approved by the Board of Estimates can be raised. The first meeting of the Board is held annually on the first Monday in march, at 10 o'clock a. m., in the council chamber, and final action on the estimates must be had on or before the 30th day of April. The first meeting for work on the estimates is held annually on the 8th day of April.

The Metropolitan Police Force of the city of Detroit was organized by an act of the legislature approved February 28, 1865, and entered upon its duties on the 15th day of May, 1865, under the direction of a Board of Commissioners created by said act, who were vested with the entire control of the police force of the city. The commissioners received no salary or compensation for their services. After the first day of July, 1892, the Board of Metropolitan Police of the city of Detroit was composed of four electors and freeholders of said city, appointed by the mayor. The term of office was four years, without salary or compensation. By an act of the legislature, approved May 4, 1901, all powers and duties connected with and incident to the police government and discipline of the city of Detroit were vested in one commissioner of police.

* To fill vacancy.

This act provided that said commissioner should be an elector and freeholder of the city, appointed by the common council until July 1st, 1905, since which date the power of appointment is vested in the mayor. The salary is \$5,000 per annum.

The commissioner of parks and boulevards was appointed under an act of the legislature, approved May 4, 1901, succeeding the commissioners of parks and boulevards abolished by said act, and was given the control and management of the Boulevard, Belle Isle and other city parks.

Under said act a commissioner was appointed by the common council for a term of four years from June 1, 1901. Since that date the appointment is made by the mayor. The salary of the commissioner is \$5,000 per annum. The park commissioners from 1871 to 1910, were as follows:

Commissioners under the act of 1871—G. V. N. Lothrop, John J. Bagley, Chas. I. Walker, Robert T. Toms, Merrill I. Mills, Chas. C. Trowbridge, A. Smith Bagg and Wm. A. Butler.

Park Commissioners Appointed in 1879 by Mayor Langdon—Theo. Chapoton, August Goebel, W. K. Muir, E. F. Conely, John Pridgeon, Jr., and W. B. Moran.

Board of Belle Isle Park Commissioners, Organized September 6, 1881—Merrill I. Mills, Aug. 30, 1881, to Aug. 31, 1882.

Aug. Marxhausen, Aug. 31, 1881, to Aug. 31, 1883.

Wm. A. Moore Aug. 30, 1881, to Aug. 31, 1884.

Jas. McMillan, Aug. 30, 1881, to Aug. 31, 1885; resigned 1884. D. M. Ferry appointed for unexpired term.

Wm. B. Moran, Sept. 1, 1882, to Aug. 31, 1886.

Aug. Marxhausen, Sept. 1, 1883, to Aug. 31, 1887.

Dexter M. Ferry, Feb. 15, 1884, to Aug. 31, 1885. Filling unexpired term, Jas. McMillan.

Wm. A. Moore, Aug. 31, 1884, to Aug. 31, 1888, resigned 1887. E. T. Slocum appointed for unexpired term.

Jos. A. Marsh, Jan. 22, 1886, to Aug. 31, 1889.

Elliott T. Slocum, Mar. 22, 1886, to Aug. 31, 1888. Filling unexpired term of Wm. A. Moore.

Fred L. Seitz Oct. 8, 1886, to Aug. 31, 1890; resigned 1888, F. F. Palms filling unexpired term.

Francis Adams, Aug. 12, 1887, to Aug. 31, 1891, resigned in 1888.

Francis F. Palms, Aug. 1, 1888, to Aug. 31, 1900, filling unexpired term of F. L. Seitz, resigned.

Aug. Marxhausen, Aug. 1, 1888, to Aug. 31, 1891, filling unexpired term of F. Adams, resigned.

Elliott T. Slocum, Sept. 5, 1888, to Aug. 31, 1892.

Under the Act of the Legislature of May 8, 1889, abrogating the Belle Isle Park Commission, the Commissioners of Parks and Boulevards was organized with four provisional commissioners, Henry M. Duffield, Elliott T. Slocum, Francis Palms and Wm. B. Moran, who were succeeded by the following:

Geo. H. Russell, May 21, 1889, to May 31, 1890. Served until Jan. 9, 1891.

- John Erhard, May 21, 1889, to May 31, 1891.
Wm. Livingstone, Jr., May 21, 1889, to May 31, 1892, re-appointed.
Wm. K. Parcher, May 21, 1889, to May 31, 1893.
Fred A. Baker Jan 9, 1891, to May 31, 1894, resigned May 3, 1892.
S. Baldwin appointed for unexpired term.
Stephen Baldwin, May 3, 1892, to May 31, 1894, resigned Nov. 15, 1892. James E. Scripps appointed to fill unexpired term.
Jas. E. Scripps, Nov. 15, 1892, to May 31, 1894, reappointed.
Fred Guenther, August, 1892, to May 31, 1895.
Wm. Livingstone, Jr., May, 1892, to May 31, 1896, resigned Nov. 28, 1893. Aug. Marxhausen appointed to fill unexpired term.
Aug. Marxhausen, Nov. 28, 1893, to May 31, 1896, declined to serve.
Geo. C. Wetherbee, Jan. 9, 1894, to May 31, 1896, filling unexpired term of Wm. Livingstone, Jr.
Chas. K. Latham, May 31, 1893, to May 31, 1897, resigned Dec. 31, 1906. James A. Randall appointed to fill unexpired term.
Jas. E. Scripps, June 5, 1894, to May 31, 1898, resigned March 1, 1896. A. S. Parker appointed to fill unexpired term.
Carl Schweikart, June 11, 1895, to May 31, 1899, resigned June 13, 1898. William Geist appointed to fill unexpired term.
Arthur S. Parker, Mar. 1, 1896, to May 31, 1898, filling unexpired term of Jas. E. Scripps.
P. H. A. Balsley, June 1, 1896, to May 31, 1900, reappointed.
Jas. A. Randall, Jan. 12, 1897, to May 31, 1897, filling unexpired term of C. K. Latham.
Benj. R. Hoyt, June 22, 1897, to May 31, 1901, resigned June 28, 1898.
A. J. Murphy appointed to fill unexpired term.
Edward C. VanLeyen, June 6, 1898, to May 31, 1902.
Wm. Geist, June 13, 1898, to May 31, 1899, filling unexpired term of Carl Schweikart and re-appointed.
Alfred J. Murphy June 28, 1898, to May 31, 1902, resigned April 1, 1899.
Alexander W. Blain, April 18, 1899, to May 31, 1901, to fill unexpired term of A. J. Murphy.
Wm. Geist, May 31, 1899, to May 31, 1903.
P. H. A. Balsley, May 31, 1900, to May 31, 1904.
Under the act of the legislature of 1889, abrogating the commissioners of parks and boulevards, the office of the commissioner of parks and boulevards was created.
Commissioners of Parks and Boulevards, 1901 to 1913—R. E. Bolger, May 4, 1901, to May 31, 1905, re-appointed.
R. E. Bolger, May 31, 1905, to April 9, 1906.
Philip Breitmeyer, April 10, 1906, to June 15, 1909, resigned Oct. 19, 1908.
Ford D. C. Hinchman, Oct. 20, 1909, to June 15, 1909, to fill unexpired term.
M. P. Hurlbut, June 16, 1909, to June 15, 1913.
The Fire Commission of the city of Detroit is composed of Edmund A. Chapoton, Sanborn T. McGraw, William V. Moore and Fred T. Moran,

of whom Mr. McGraw is president and Mr. Moore vice president. George W. Stockwell is secretary and purchaser.

The fire department is under the control and management of the Fire Commission, said commissioners having control and management of officers, men, property, measures and action for the prevention and extinguishment of fires within the city of Detroit, and being empowered and directed to possess and exercise fully and exclusively all the powers, and perform all the duties for the government, management, maintenance and direction of the department.

The terms of office of the commissioners are four years, one expiring each year. They are appointed by the common council on the nomination of the mayor. The fire commissioners receive no pay for their services, the office being purely honorary and non-partisan.

The commission was organized April 1, 1867, since which time the fire department has been under its control and management.

Thirty-two steam fire engines, manned and equipped, two of these being marine companies or fireboats and one being an auto company composed of fifteen men, three hose companies and one chemical engine, manned and equipped; thirteen ladder trucks, manned and equipped; six supply wagons.

One extra first size steam fire engine and equipment; two first size steam fire engines and equipment; three hose carriages; two ladder trucks fully equipped.

This apparatus is kept in readiness for instant use.

In charge of the department are 5,338 hydrants and 543 reservoirs.

Its apparatus is manned by a force of 717 paid men. The following are the officers: Chief, James C. Broderick; assistant chief, John O'Neil; chief of first battalion, Wm. H. Harris; chief of second battalion, Geo. J. Kelly; chief of third battalion; J. W. Mathewson; chief of fourth battalion, E. R. Dardis; chief of fifth battalion, William McGraw; chief of sixth battalion, T. E. Callahan; superintendent of water, D. W. Carroll; superintendent of apparatus, Cornelius Bresnahan; superintendent of horses, Martin Cooney; superintendent of telegraph, Louis Gascoigne; department surgeon, Benj. P. Brodie, M. D., and fire marshal, John McDuff.

By an act of the legislature amendatory of the act creating the fire commission, the office of fire marshal was created in 1877, an office for the purpose of securing the enforcement of ordinances governing buildings and fire prevention, being placed under control of the fire commission. The fire marshal is appointed by the common council on the nomination of the fire commission, and his general duties are to enforce the city ordinances governing the prevention of fire.

Within the past few years the authorities of several large cities having extensive river fronts have added fire-boats to the regular fire department. Primarily the fire-boat is designed to deal with large fires on the river front, where ordinary fire engines are inefficient, because in most cases the situation and surroundings prevent the apparatus from getting to the fires quickly and from the most advantageous direction. But the useful field of operations for a modern fire-boat is not confined to the

water front of a port, but extends in a belt at least four thousand feet wide and parallel with the water front.

Detroit has nineteen complete lines of pipe for high pressure service; the supply coming from the Detroit river through the pumps of the fire-boats from 114 fire-boat hydrants.

The Detroit pipe lines consist of the following:

	Feet
Cass street	2,550
Wayne street	600
Shelby street	2,250
Griswold street	750
Woodward avenue	3,599
Bates street	900
Randolph street	4,800
Beaubien street	3,825
Hastings street	4,050
Adair street	700
Concord avenue	1,658
No. 1, M. C. R. R.	477
No. 2, M. C. R. R.	508
No. 3, M. C. R. R.	442
No. 4, M. C. R. R.	283
No. 5, M. C. R. R.	371
Eighth street	928
Dubois street	1,376
Jos. Campau avenue	845
Leib street	875
Wight street	1,875
Clark avenue	2,400
Total	36,062

Board of Assessors of the city of Detroit: John C. Nagel, Henry Plass and Oscar B. Marx.

Assistants to assessors: A. B. Evans, Daniel Dilworth and John Kohler; chief clerk, Edwin F. Saunders; description clerk, Herman W. Gabriel; draughtsman, A. E. Gregg; mortgage and deed clerk, Francis D. Balicki; probate clerk, John Denne.

Clerks—Chas. B. Cryer, Grant B. Cicotte, Bernard Goode, Julius Rauss, Charles E. Williams, John J. Fraser, Jacob Mack, J. Keuler, Otto Dandell, Charles Hausherr, Paul Wallbaum, William Presf, Joseph E. Reilly, Sigbert E. Langton, John J. Scott, Jr., Joseph A. Schulte, David Farmer, Peter J. Jeup, William Ullman, Charles Jacob and Herbert B. Young.

The Board of Assessors is composed of three members appointed by the common council on the nomination of the mayor, who hold their office for the term of three years respectively, beginning on the first day of July, who shall devote their whole time to the service of the city in con-

nection with the duties of their office, and the member whose term first expires shall be president of said board.

It is the duty of the Board of Assessors, before the first day of April in each fiscal year, to assess at its true cash value all the real and personal property subject to taxation by the laws of the state, within the city, and make out and complete the general assessment and tax rolls, for each ward in the city, and also to make special assessment rolls for paving streets and alleys, and for opening, widening and extending streets and all sidewalk assessment rolls, when ordered by the common council.

They shall cause notice to the taxpayers to be published in two daily newspapers, for two weeks prior to the first day of April in each year, that the assessment rolls will be completed on the first of April.

Any person considering himself aggrieved by reason of any assessment may complain thereof, either verbally or in writing, before the board, and on sufficient cause being shown by the affidavit of such person,



SEAL OF CITY OF DETROIT

by oral proof, or by other evidence to the satisfaction of the board, it shall review the assessment complained of, and may alter or correct the same as to the person charged thereby, the property described therein, and the estimated value thereof. The concurrence of a majority of the board shall be sufficient to decide any question of altering or correcting any assessment complained of. The board, or a majority thereof having completed the review and correction of said assessment rolls, shall sign and on the third Tuesday in April of each year return the same to the common council of the city.

The common council, after receiving said assessment rolls, shall, at 10 o'clock A. M. of the first succeeding day, proceed to consider the same, and any person considering himself aggrieved by the assessment of his property, and the decision of the board of assessors thereon, may appeal to the common council; such appeal shall be in writing, and shall state specifically the grounds of the appeal and the matter complained of, together with the address of such appellant, and no other matter shall be considered by said common council. Said common council may refer said assessment roll and appeals to a committee of said council for consideration, and said committee shall give notice to any person who has filed an appeal as above provided of the time and place of the meeting there-

for, which notice may be in writing, by delivering the same to such person or leaving the same at his place of residence or place of business with some person of proper age and discretion, or by mail to the address of such appellant.

The said council or said committee shall hear and determine all appeals in a summary manner, and correct any errors which they may discover in the assessment rolls, and place thereon the names of any persons and the description of any property not already assessed, and assess the same; and may increase or diminish any assessment as they may see fit: Provided, they shall not increase any assessment of property without giving a reasonable opportunity to persons owning or having charge of the same, if known, to appear and object thereto, and may continue the consideration of said assessment rolls and hearing of said appeals from session to session for a period not exceeding sixteen days after the time when they are to be first considered as above provided. Said committee shall report to the common council, its doings in the premises, and the same shall then be considered by the council, who may adopt, change or amend the same, in whole or in part, and, after due consideration thereof, said rolls shall be fully and finally confirmed by said council.

After the assessment rolls shall have been fully and finally confirmed as above provided, it shall be the duty of the Board of Assessors to cause the amount of all taxes, in dollars and cents, authorized to be assessed and collected in each year, to be ratably assessed to each person named or lots described, upon and according to the aggregate valuation such person or lots shall have been assessed in said assessment rolls, or books prepared for that purpose, to be known as the tax rolls for each ward, a column showing the amount of city taxes assessed to each person or lots in each year. When said tax rolls shall have been completed, the board shall deliver the same to the controller. It shall be the duty of the Board of Assessors to make copies of said rolls upon which they shall ratably assess the state and county taxes as provided by the general laws of the state.

All city taxes shall become a debt against the owner from the time of the listing of property for assessment by the Board and are payable at the office of the city treasurer from July 1st to August 1st of each year, without percentage, after which time 1 per cent per month will be added thereto for six months, which becomes part of the tax, and thereafter runs within interest at the rate of 10 per cent per annum. If not paid before the first day of June following, the property is sold for taxes.

Commissioners of public lighting: Fred Guenther, Jacob F. Lewis, William R. Kales, George B. Shehy (president), James T. Lynn (vice president), Henry P. Hetherington; secretary, Frank T. Bowler; city electrician and general superintendent, Frank R. Mistersky.

The public lighting system owned by the city of Detroit consists of one generating and five substations. The latter are distributing stations only. The arc lighting from the main station is both direct and alternating current; from the substations it is alternating only.

The lighting of the city is done exclusively by means of arc lamps. The lights are placed on towers, mast arms and center suspensions, as the

conditions demand. The 4,368 are lamps in operation on June 20, 1910, were distributed in 3,946 locations, as follows:

	Lamps
474 cranes	474
103 center suspensions	103
280 mast arms	2,800
355 ornamental poles	355
33 ornamental poles, double	66
14 single trolley poles	14
30 double trolley poles	60
74 three light towers	222
64 four light towers	248
1 Water Works tower	4
On base of towers	12
In station buildings	10
Total	4,368

The number of series are lamps operated from each station is as follows, viz:

	Lamps
Main station: Luminous arc	891
Brush double carbon	857
Adams-Bagnall	1
General Electric, enclosed	291
Western Electric, enclosed	422
Lothrop station: Western Electric enclosed	894
Butzel station: Western Electric, enclosed	856
McCurdy station: Western Electric, enclosed	367
Stanton, luminous arc	367
Belle Isle, Western Electric	68
Palmer Park, Western Electric	14
	4,368

The lamps are distributed in the eighteen wards of the city as follows, the first division being for the East Side:

Ward	No.
First	424
Third	171
Fifth	219
Seventh	148
Ninth	195
Eleventh	204
Thirteenth	220
Fifteenth	278
Seventeenth	319
	2,178

Ward	No.
Second	322
Fourth	216
Sixth	198
Eighth	226
Tenth	226
Twelfth	199
Fourteenth	241
Sixteenth	271
Eighteenth	267
	<hr/>
	4,368
Belle Isle	24
Palmer Park	14
Lamps in buildings	10

The 918.82 miles of copper wire of the lighting plant are strung on a total of 14,605 poles, owned as follows:

Public Lighting Commission	10,500
Fire department	441
Police department	255
Edison Illuminating Co.	3,007
Edison Illuminating Co. (special agreement)	219
Michigan State Telephone Co	78
People's Telephone Co.	55
Detroit United Railway Co.	35
Postal Telegraph Co.....	5
Sundry	10
	<hr/>
	14,605

The poles of the Public Lighting Commission are also used by the following parties:

Fire department	1,167
Police department	427
Edison Illuminating Co.	4,733
Edison Illuminating Co. (special agreement)	45
Michigan State Telephone Co.	98
American Still Alarm Co.	342
Detroit United Railway Co.	460
Postal Telegraph Co.	64
Sundry	21
	<hr/>
	7,357

The city's investment June 20, 1910, in the Public Lighting plant is \$1,656,682.56, this being the amount expended on investment account, less three per cent depreciation charged off investment account and added to operating account each year of operation.

The operating cost of a 2000 C. P. arc light for each year has been as

follows: 1896, \$64.19; 1897, \$51.85; 1898, \$46.46; 1899, \$40.30; 1900, \$42.59; 1901, \$39.46; 1902, \$41.03; 1903, \$40.16; 1904, \$34.99; 1905, \$33.18; 1906, \$33.25; 1907, \$34.65; 1908, \$34.65, 1909, \$32.17.

It is now about seventeen years since the city of Detroit established a municipally owned and operated public lighting plant and it has been a complete success.

By the provisions of an act of the legislature, approved March 18, 1893, the lighting of the city streets and public buildings was placed under the control of a Public Lighting Commission, composed of six members to be appointed by the mayor, subject to the approval of the common council. The first commission was appointed March 28, 1893, the appointment being confirmed by the council April 4, following.

The common council declared it advisable to construct a public lighting plant to be owned and operated by the city, and authorized the issue of bonds for that purpose to the amount of \$650,000. The plant was duly constructed by the commission, and on April 1, 1895, began lighting the city. On October 1, 1895, the entire city was thus lighted.

The former members of the Public Lighting Commission have been: C. A. Newcomb, April, 1893, to July, 1893; Martin Butzel, April, 1893, to March, 1895; George H. Lothrop, April, 1893, to April, 1896; W. A. Jackson, April, 1893, to July, 1896; Edwin Henderson April, 1896, to December, 1896; W. R. Farrand, April 1893, to April 1897; J. L. Hudson, April 1893, to May, 1898; John Atkinson, July, 1896, to July, 1898; R. H. Fyfe, July, 1893, to October 1899; C. H. Ritter, March, 1895, to January, 1900; John Miner, December, 1896, to January, 1900; W. A. Livingstone, April, 1897, to January, 1900; David W. Simons, July, 1898, to July, 1902; Jas. E. Davis, January, 1900, to April, 1903; Hamilton Carhartt, October, 1899, to July, 1903; Frederick F. Ingram, May, 1898, to April, 1904; Bernard Ginsberg, July, 1902, to April, 1905; John Erhard, January, 1900, to April, 1906; Clifford Elliott, July, 1903, to April, 1907; Edgar H. McCurdy, January, 1900, to November, 1907; Marvin M. Stanton, April, 1904, to June, 1908; Theodore H. Hinchman, Jr., April, 1905, to March, 1910, and Alexander W. Blain, June, 1908, to April, 1910.

Board of Water Commissioners: Frederick J. Clippert, 1906 to 1911; James H. Pound, 1907 to 1912; Basil A. Lemke, 1908 to 1913; James Wilkie, 1909 to 1914, and John Gillespie, 1910 to 1915.

Executive Officers: Frederick J. Clippert, president; James H. Pound, vice president; H. S. Starkey, general manager; Benj. F. Guiney, secretary; Geo. H. Fenkell, civil engineer; T. R. Putnam, superintendent of meters; Uriah Gould, chief engineer; W. W. Cooney, meter clerk; G. E. Kunze, receiving clerk, and W. W. Wilcox, bookkeeper.

Inspectors: Frank J. Petz, Oscar A. Riopelle, John W. Palmer, A. J. Stadler, John Becker, Geo. P. Mogg, Wm. Cosgrove, M. A. Dettling, Anthony Vogel and Thos. J. Clancy.

The pumping works are situated in Gladwin Park, on Jefferson avenue, four miles east up the river from the City Hall. Six engines with an aggregate daily capacity of 152,000,000 gallons, supply the city. The daily average quantity pumped in the year ending June 30, 1910, was 84,408,643 gallons; miles of pipe, 782.

The following tables show the number of gallons of water pumped, and cost of fuel for the years named, consumption of water and valuation of plant:

Year	Gals. of water pumped	Cost of fuel consumed	Av. gals. of water delivered daily
1902	18,333,104,706	\$24,830.79	50,200,204
1903	18,757,682,360	26,909.99	51,390,911
1904	21,734,954,284	38,461.08	59,385,121
1905	21,977,576,875	32,079.27	60,212,539
1906	22,395,312,104	29,394.17	61,357,019
1907	25,118,295,041	37,461.48	68,817,247
1908	26,857,139,195	43,055.84	73,380,162
1909	27,816,750,940	46,547.97	76,210,276
Estimated population supplied	455,029		
Total consumption for the year	27,816,750,890 gallons		
Passed through meters	8,768,974,646 gallons		
Percentage of consumption, metered	31.5		
Average daily consumption	76,210,276 gallons		
Gallons per day to each consumer	168.4		
Gallons per day to each inhabitant, city of Detroit	167.3		
Gallons per day to each tap	.876		
Cost of supplying water, per million gallons, figured on total maintenance	\$6.54		
Cost of supplying water, per million gallons, figured on total maintenance with interest on bonds	\$7.89		
Real estate (estimated valuation)	\$ 678,960.00		
Buildings, docks, basins, tunnel and crib	2,748,264.88		
Water pipes in use	6,017,743.83		
Office furniture and fixtures	14,010.10		
Meters in use	130,120.24		
Tools and materials on hand	234,960.89		
			\$9,824,059.94

Created in 1853 by an act of the legislature at the request of the common council, which act was amended in 1873, the board has the power to provide for the "completion and management of the Detroit Water Works," and for the purpose of "supplying the city of Detroit and outside the limits thereof with pure and wholesome water."

There are five members of the board, chosen one each year by the common council upon the nomination of the mayor, to serve without compensation. Names of former commissioners and their tenure of office follow:

James Van Dyke*	1853-1855
Edmund A. Brush†	1853-1868
Henry Ledyard†	1853-1859
Shubel Conant	1853-1859
William R. Noyes†	1853-1865

Alexander D. Frazer	1855-1871
Julius D. Norton*	1859-1865
John V. Ruehle†	1859-1861
Chauncey Hurlbut*	1861-1863, 1868-1885
Stanley G. Wight	1863-1868
Jacob S. Farrand	1865-1890
John Owen	1865-1879
Caleb Van Husan	1868-1872
Samuel F. Hodge†	1871-1879
Elija Smith	1872-1877
Michael Martz	1877-1887
James Beatty*	1879-1885
John Pridgeon	1879-1884, 1886-1891
Marshall H. Godfrey†	1884-1889
Edwin P. Conely	1885-1886
Samuel G. Caskey	1885-1895
Joseph Nagel*	1887-1890
August Goebel†	1889-1894, 1897-1898
Henry M. Duffield	1890-1895
Joseph L. Hudson	1890-1894
Frank E. Kirby	1891-1896
Albert L. Stephens	1894-1897
E. W. H. Moreland†	1894-1896
Clarence A. Black†	1894-1894
Edward W. Pendleton	1894-1909
Darius D. Thorp	1895-1905
John P. Huckstein†	1896-1897
John W. McGrath	1896-1901
Joseph J. Nocker	1898-1902
James W. Millen	1897-1898
James Meathe*	1898-1899
John Zynda	1900-1908
Joseph J. Crowley	1901-1906
John Schroeder	1902-1907
John F. Dodge	1905-1910

Boiler Inspection Department—Inspector and Assistants: Boiler inspector, John C. McCabe; first assistant, Oliver J. Dunkelberg; second assistant, Albert F. Martin; third assistant, Joseph B. Friedericks, and clerk, Francis M. Walsh.

Board of Boiler Inspection: John H. Devisser, mechanical engineer, 1910 to 1911; Chas. A. Ellis, operating engineer, 1910 to 1912; Edward J. Burdick, steam user, 1910 to 1913, and William Sprenger, boiler manufacturer, 1910 to 1914.

Boiler inspection in the city of Detroit is regulated by an ordinance approved June 1, 1910. Excerpts from the most important sections are given herewith.

*Died.

†Resigned.

Section 1. It is hereby ordained by the people of the City of Detroit: There shall be an inspector of steam boilers in and for the City of Detroit, who shall be appointed in the following manner: The Common Council shall provide for the fair and impartial examination of candidates for such inspectorship and for his assistants by three examiners, each an impartial and recognized authority in the construction and operation of steam boilers, and a resident of Detroit. These examiners shall be appointed at the request of the Common Council by the Department of Engineering of the University of Michigan. Said examiners may, if they see fit, call in said department to assist in said examination. Such examination shall cover such practical and theoretical matters as may come within the requirements specified by this ordinance for said inspector. The examiners shall report to the Common Council the name of the candidate deemed from said examination to be the most competent and eligible for said position. And the Common Council shall thereupon appoint him to the same. Any person to be eligible for said examination must be of good character and temperate habits, a citizen of the United States and a resident of Detroit for not less than five years next preceding the date of examination. And otherwise conforming in his qualifications to the further requirements of this ordinance.

Sec. 2. The Boiler Inspector must be a man of skill, having had at least 10 years' actual experience in the operation of steam boilers.

Sec. 9. The Boiler Inspector or the Assistant Boiler Inspectors shall make one internal and one external inspection of each boiler, except as noted in Sec. 8 of this ordinance, in the city of Detroit each year. If the Boiler Inspector deems it necessary to apply the hydrostatic test to a boiler it shall be done at the time of making the internal inspection, and the maximum hydrostatic pressure applied to any boiler shall not exceed one and one-half times the allowable working steam pressure of said boiler. After applying the hydrostatic pressure test to any boiler the Boiler Inspector shall cause the water to be drained out of the said boiler and immediately thereafter a thorough internal inspection of said boiler shall be made by said Boiler Inspector.

The City Boiler Inspector shall, upon the written request of any owner or steam user, make the annual internal boiler inspection at the same time with the boiler insurance companies.

Sec. 12. Every owner or user of portable or semi-portable boilers in the City of Detroit shall furnish a list of said boilers in writing to the Boiler Inspector for inspection each year. No such boiler shall be used until it has been inspected and an inspection certificate has been given by the Boiler Inspector.

Sec. 15. There shall be three grades of Engineers' Licenses.

Third Class Engineers' license shall be limited to an aggregate of 50 h. p., and shall be granted to any person having experience in firing or operating steam boilers, for two years, provided he can pass a satisfactory examination.

Second Class Engineers' license shall be limited to an aggregate of 100 h. p., and shall be granted to any person who has had three years' experience operating a steam engine and boiler, provided he can pass a satisfactory examination.

First Class Engineers' license shall be unlimited as to the number of boilers, engines, h. p. or pressure, and shall be granted to any person having had the following experience, provided he can pass a satisfactory examination:

Should a candidate be refused a license by the Inspector the candidate may appeal to the Board of Boiler Rules and their decision shall be final. The candidate, however, may apply and take a re-examination after a period of three months.

Sec. 16. There shall be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the common council within thirty days of the passage of this Ordinance, four citizens of the City of Detroit, each known to be impartial and a recognized authority in the construction or operation of steam boilers and steam actuated machinery to constitute a Board of Boiler Rules. One of said Board shall be appointed for a term of one year; one for a term of two years; one for a term of three years; one for a term of four years, and one each year thereafter for a term of four years, who shall hold office until his successor is appointed and has qualified, and any vacancy occurring on the Board during this period shall be filled by appointment by the mayor and confirmed by the Common Council.

This Board shall be composed of one operating engineer, one boiler manufacturer, one mechanical engineer and one steam user. Said Board shall keep an accurate and true record of its meetings.

This Board shall hear all complaints that may arise between the Boiler Inspector and citizens in the issuing of licenses or between the Boiler Inspector and steam users regarding boiler inspections and the use of steam actuated apparatus.

Sec. 17. A license may be revoked for any of the following reasons: Intemperance, incompetency, neglect of duty, failure to keep apparatus in charge in good order or leaving his plant without providing a competent substitute.

Sec. 18. The following acts shall be a violation of this Ordinance: Placing a valve between the whistle of a low water alarm and the water column; packing the bell of the whistle to lessen the sound when the whistle should blow; changing adjustment to lessen sound from whistle; altering adjustment of safety valve to increase allowable pressure on boiler; allowing accumulation of scale in water column pipes to boiler; using steam boiler or steam actuated machinery after notice by the Boiler Inspection Department of its unsafe condition; the installation or use of a steam boiler without permit from Boiler Inspection Department. The operation of a steam boiler or steam actuated machinery without a proper license or the willful neglect or abuse of a steam boiler, or steam actuated machinery by the person in charge of same.

Sec. 19. If any owner, lessee, or other person shall operate or cause to be operated, on or after the passage of this Ordinance, any steam boiler or other appliance in the City of Detroit without having complied with requirements of this Ordinance.

Sec. 23. Whenever the Boiler Inspector shall inspect a boiler and order repairs to be made thereon, such repairs shall be made within two weeks from the time the order is given, except in cases where life or

property would be endangered by the continued use of such boiler, in which case the Boiler Inspector may condemn such boiler at once.

Sec. 24. The Common Council can at any time remove the Inspector when there is proof to show that he is negligent in inspection or partial in the granting of engineers' licenses, according to the ordinance.

Department of Buildings—Commissioners: A. C. Stellwagen, 1907 to 1911; Henry Spitzley, 1907 to 1912; Wm. B. Stratton, 1909 to 1913, and Alanson A. Moore, 1910 to 1914.

President—Wm. B. Stratton.

Chief inspector—Henry A. Dupont.

Plan examiner—Charles Ludy.

Inspectors—Leonard J. Scholl, Frank W. Claxton, Chas. Heck.

Stenographer—Edward H. Flaherty.

By an act of the legislature approved June 27, 1907, the common council was authorized to appoint, upon the nomination of the mayor a commission to be known as the Department of Buildings, consisting of four persons, no more than two of whom shall be members of the same political party, and to prescribe their powers and duties; one member of said board shall be appointed to hold office for one year, one member for two years, one member for three years, and one member for four years, and until their successors are appointed and qualified. The term of office of each member of the board after the termination of the afore-said terms shall be four years and on the expiration of any term a new appointment shall be made in the same manner as above prescribed, and all successors shall be appointed by the common council on the nomination of the mayor.

An ordinance prescribing the powers and duties of this department is now before the common council. The members thereof are as mentioned.

City Plan and Improvement Commission: John M. Donaldson, 1910 to 1915; Frederick M. Alger, 1909 to 1911; H. M. Fecheimer, 1909 to 1912; F. D. Hinchman, 1909 to 1913; Frank C. Baldwin, 1909 to 1919; Charles Moore, six years; John Bornman, 1909 to 1920; Conrad Pfeiffer, 1905 to 1921, and T. G. Phillips, 1905 to 1922.

President, John M. Donaldson, and secretary, Frank C. Baldwin.

An ordinance creating this department of city government was recommended by Mayor Philip Breitmeyer and on May 18, 1909, was passed by the common council.

The duties of the commission are defined in Secs. 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the ordinance which are as follows:

Sec. 5. Said Commission shall be constituted as hereinbefore provided to procure information and make recommendations to the mayor and the Common Council as to all facts bearing upon the needs, both present and future, of the city with regard to the creation, development and improvement of parks, recreation grounds, boulevards, the river front; the extension or opening of streets and avenues or other public ways or places and city plans and improvements generally. The said Commission shall receive and report on suggestions offered by citizens or

officials within its scope, and is authorized to prepare recommendations for a systematic and concerted plan of such needs, both present and future, as to the addition of parks or the various other improvements previously referred to within and without the City of Detroit as they may find desirable, and which said Commission shall, when practicable, report to the Mayor and the Common Council.

Sec. 6. No work of art now in the possession of the city shall be removed, relegated or altered in any way, nor shall any property be acquired for park or boulevard purposes or playgrounds, nor shall any property be condemned for the widening or extension of any park, boulevard or public playground unless the project has been submitted to and approved by said Commission; nor shall any gift to the city of a monumental character be accepted until the sketch or plan and the location of the same has been approved by said Commission.

Sec. 7. When so requested by the Mayor or Common Council, or either, or by any other Commission or Department, the Commission shall act in a similar capacity, with advisory powers, in respect to plans and location of public buildings, bridges, approaches, or other structures erected or to be erected by the city.

Section 8. If the Commission shall fail to decide upon any matter submitted to it within sixty days after such submission its decision or approval shall be deemed unnecessary.

On the 25th day of May, 1909, Mayor Breitmeyer approved the ordinance and appointed the above members of the commission.

Board of Poor Commissioners: Ignatz A. Freund, George Lane, Dr. Paul C. Dulitz and Fred Postal.

George Lane, president; Paul C. Dulitz, M. D., vice president; Harry H. Prenzlauer, secretary and Thomas E. Dolan, superintendent of poor.

City Physicians: W. P. Melody, M. D.; D. E. Binning, M. D.; Wm. G. Kanter, M. D.; Geo. H. Voelkner, M. D.; P. B. Taylor, M. D.; Geo. F. Lanvin, M. D., and E. Quandt, M. D., county physician.

This board is composed of four members, who serve without compensation. The members are appointed by the common council on the nomination of the mayor, for a term of four years. The board has full charge of all matters appertaining to the care of the poor of the city, including the appointment of the city physicians, and under a special act of the legislature the commissioners are made members of the Board of County Superintendents of the Poor, thereby giving the city a majority representation in the management of the County House and Asylum. The board has also the disbursement of the County Temporary Relief fund within the city.

Detroit City Sinking Fund Commission: Mayor Philip Breitmeyer, City Controller David E. Heineman, City Treasurer Max C. Koch, and Aldermen Wm. R. Shapland, John Harpfer, Chas. F. Wing, John T. Thompson, Walter Trevor, William Gutman and August Schulte.

The city charter says:

Sec. 28. The mayor, controller, treasurer and committee on ways and means of the common council and their successors in office, by virtue

of their offices, shall be a board of commissioners of the Detroit city sinking fund. They shall from time to time, upon the best terms they can make, purchase or pay the outstanding debt of said city, or such part thereof as they may be able to purchase or pay, until the same be fully purchased or paid; and all bonds and evidences of debts thus purchased or paid shall be delivered to the treasurer, and shall become and be the property of the commissioners of the sinking fund, and the interest thereon shall be credited and belong to the sinking fund. Said commissioners shall, from time to time, and whenever requested by the common council, make report of their doings, which report shall be made to the common council, referred to and filed with the controller, and recorded by him in some proper book to be provided for that purpose.

Sec. 29. Said board of commissioners of the sinking fund shall be a board of the corporation, within the meaning of this act, and shall be subject to the provisions of any existing or future ordinances of said city, relative to the sinking fund. They shall meet from time to time, for the transaction of business, and may adopt rules of proceeding at their meetings. A majority of the whole board shall be a quorum for the transaction of business, but they shall not purchase in or pay the outstanding funded debt of said city, or invest any of the moneys belonging to the sinking fund, as above provided, except under a resolution for such purpose, passed and approved by a vote of a majority of the whole board, and by yeas and nays, to be entered of record. The mayor, or in case of his absence, some member, to be appointed by those present, shall preside at their meetings. They shall appoint one of their members secretary of the board, whose duty it shall be to keep a true record of its doings.

By an act of the legislature, approved April 22, 1875, the authority to appoint a Board of Gas Commissioners was given to the common council of the city of Detroit. Nomination for these appointments were to be made by the mayor and the terms of office were for four years.

The last Board of Gas Commissioners was comprised as follows: President, Conrad Pfeiffer, whose term expired in 1905; John M. Dwyer, whose term expired in 1906; Sidney T. Miller, whose term expired in 1907, and Theodore H. Eaton, whose term expired in 1908. No successors have been appointed.

The act of the legislature by which the appointment of a Gas Commission was authorized, was entitled, "An act to authorize the Common Council of the City of Detroit to manufacture and sell illuminating gas." Section 6 of the act in question reads as follows: "It shall be the duty of said Commission to examine and consider all matters relative to manufacturing and supplying the City of Detroit for the use of its inhabitants with a sufficient quantity of illuminating gas and as soon as the necessary funds will have been procured to purchase lands and materials for and to construct such works, buildings, machinery, pipes and fixtures as shall be deemed necessary for the manufacture of a full supply of gas for public and private use in said city."

The personnel of the Board of Education is as follows, the inspectors being given by wards: (1), Samuel C. Mumford; (2), Clarence M. Bur-

ton; (3), Dr. Charles F. Kuhn; (4), Eber W. Cottrell; (5), Caspar Snitgen; (6), George E. Hutton; (7), Henry W. Komrofsky; (8), David A. Henderson; (9), Anthony Nowc; (10), Charles R. Robertson; (11), Henry W. Miehm; (12), Hiram C. Goldberg; (13), Albert Hely; (14), George M. Condon; (15), Henry C. Wiedeman; (16), Lucien E. Ellis; (17), Herman Schultz; (18), Hugh Cary, M. D.

Wards 1 to 8, inclusive, terms of inspectors expire June 30, 1911. Wards 9 to 18, inclusive, terms of inspectors expire June 30, 1913.

The act of legislature creating the Board of Education provides that the city of Detroit shall be considered as one school district and all schools organized therein shall be public and free to all children residing



CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

within the limits thereof between the ages of five and under twenty years.

The board consists of eighteen members elected for terms of four years each, one by and from each ward, at elections when judges of the supreme court are required to be elected.

Free text books were authorized in the schools September, 1892.

The Board of Education elect a Board of Commissioners of the Public Library, of Detroit, consisting of six members, one member being chosen in December of each year for a term of six years.

The regular meetings of the board are held on the second and fourth Thursdays in each month.

Officers for 1910-1911: Dr. Charles F. Kuhn, president; C. M. Burton, president pro tem; Wm. J. Lee, secretary; Max C. Koch, treasurer; W. C. Martindale, superintendent of schools; Albert E. Stewart, supervisor of property.

The headquarters of the Board of Education are at 50 Broadway, near Gratiot avenue, where are located the offices of secretary, superintendent of schools, supervisor of buildings, etc. Meetings of the board and committees are also held in this building.

Standing Committees: Judiciary—Burton, Hely, Henderson; Teachers and Schools—Cary, Cottrell, Miehm, Komrofsky, Robertson; Text Books and Course of Study—Snitgen, Cary, Hutton, Condon, Mumford; Finance—Mumford, Wiedeman, Ellis; Real Estate and School Buildings—Hutton, Cottrell, Snitgen, Burton, Hely; Janitors and Supplies—Henderson, Goldberg, Nowe, Wiedeman, Schultz; Sanitation—Condon, Ellis, Schultz; Rules—Robertson, Nowe, Miehm.

The following table in relation to the public schools of Detroit is self-explanatory:

Name of School	Value of site	Cost of bldg.	Date erected
Alger	\$ 4,400	\$ 34,500	1898
Amos	9,000	69,400	1895-1908
Bagley	3,700	15,900	1884
Barstow	8,580	30,000	1849-1870
Beard	2,000	25,500	1896-1900
Bellefontaine	4,250	25,000	1887
Bellevue	5,000	31,550	1899
Berry	6,150	32,500	1892
Bishop	11,300	135,100	1907-1908
Brownson	6,000	21,400	1887-1894
Campau	5,000	34,000	1898
Campbell	8,125	46,250	1894-1896
Capron	19,300	56,000	1905
Cary	3,400	45,000	1901
		100,000	1908
Cass High	57,000	45,085	1861-1883
Chandler	3,900	52,360	1905
Chaney	3,000	33,000	1887-1895
Clay	10,000	25,250	1873-1888
Clinton	5,840	18,000	1870-1876
Clippert	4,800	.....	1910
Columbian	8,000	64,000	1892-1908
Craft	7,550	45,000	1901
Custer	1,000	3,000	1886
Dickinson	4,500	25,750	1889
Doty	7,000	65,000	1908
Duffield	15,900	56,350	1866-1892
Estabrook	5,700	29,500	1896
Everett	6,000	25,000	1869-1873
Fairbanks	4,590	30,400	1894
Farrand	5,700	35,360	1883-1897
Ferry	5,000	28,000	'86-'89-'94
Field	7,500	46,300	'87-'94-'07
Firrane	3,950	12,000	1882

Name of school	Value of site	Cost of bldg.	Date erected
Franklin	\$10,700	\$53,875	1899
Garfield	6,300	22,100	1898
Gillies	5,150	45,500	1901
Goldberg	7,500	54,000	1904
†Gratiot	1,500	1,500	1868
Goeusel	10,700	65,000	1908
Hancock	7,500	41,350	1887-1891
Harris	6,640	41,700	1896
Higgins	4,650	47,000	1895
High, Central	130,350	727,250	1896-1907
High, Eastern	25,000	368,800	1901-1908
High, Western	8,000	297,500	'98-'99-'07
Houghton	14,515	65,000	1909
Hubbard	5,000	22,000	1887-1895
Irving	18,750	35,000	1882
Jackson	15,000	18,000	1891
Jefferson	9,200	60,000	1871-1892
Johnston	3,000	21,250	1884-1896
Jones	6,300	55,000	1906
Knoch	1,000	3,000	1895
Lillibride	3,500	56,200	1905-1908
Lincoln	7,250	24,000	1885
Logan	2,300	27,000	'86-'95-'03
Lyster	1,650	22,400	1896
McGraw	4,900	45,000	1899
McKinley	7,000	35,000	1902
McKinstry	7,400	52,360	1905
McMillan	1,500	60,000	1895
Maybury	7,500	68,000	1909
Monteith	7,050	56,000	1905
Moore	5,000	64,000	1907
Morley	5,400	75,000	1903
Newberry	4,000	60,700	'87-'98-'03
Nichols	159,750	68,000	1910
Norvell	5,760	50,700	1879-1894
Office Bldg	29,330	26,400	1889-1896
Owen	6,300	61,700	'79-'01-'02
Palmer	8,500	49,300	'90-'01-'03
Parke	9,100	46,000	1900
Pingree	4,900	49,500	1902
Pitcher	4,000	30,000	1871
Poe	4,080	22,850	1890
Potter	3,000	18,000	1889
Preston	7,600	22,750	1894
Roberts	5,000	25,000	1890
Rose	6,000	33,300	1897-1899
Russell	Leased	53,000	1887-1900
Scripps	7,200	33,600	1898

† Not in use.

Name of school	Value of site	Cost of bldg.	Date erected
Shop	\$6,810	\$10,000	1868-1883
Sill	3,000	52,360	1905
Smith	6,330	55,000	1903
Stephens	Donated		
Tappan	7,600	33,500	'68-'86-'02
Thomas	7,000	52,360	1905
Tilden	5,180	43,425	1887-1897
Trowbridge	11,400	40,725	1889
Van Dyke	5,630	30,450	1894
Washington Normal	8,780	46,000	1871-1894
Webster	6,000	60,100	'74-'85-'06
Wilkins	7,200	25,000	1887-1873
Williams	4,900	34,150	1890
Wingert	6,000	64,100	1906

Whole number of school houses, 92; brick, 90; frame, 2; (Custer and—); office building, brick, 1; shop building, frame, 1.

Total value of school sites, \$817,537.50. Total cost for school buildings, \$5,169,210.00.

Board of Trustees Teachers' Retirement Fund—Officers for 1909-1910: Wales C. Martindale, president; David Mackenzie, vice president; George E. Parker, secretary; Max C. Koch (ex-officio), treasurer.

The board of trustees of the Public School Teachers' Retirement Fund of Detroit was established by an act of the legislature approved May 22, 1895. The president and president pro tem of the board of education, and chairman of the committee on teachers and schools, the superintendent of schools and three teachers in the public schools form the board of trustees.

Any teacher who has completed a term of school service of thirty years, twenty of which shall have been in the public schools of the city of Detroit, is eligible as an annuitant; also any teacher who has taught twenty-five years in the Detroit public schools.

The regular meetings of the board are held on the third Tuesday in each month at 4:30 P. M. in the office of the superintendent of schools.

That the early records of Detroit's educational developments have not been completely wiped out with the destructive fire which razed the old Detroit high school to the ground in 1893 is the opinion of C. M. Burton, school inspector and city historiographer. Mr. Burton has recently been delving in some old records which have been stored in the attic of the city hall and in the county building for years, and he has come upon much which is of value and of interest today.

One of these records is as follows: "At a meeting of the inspectors held the ninth day of July, 1838, by request, it was resolved that as School District No. 6 could not procure a school house in said district that therefore the house on the rear of lot 59 on the Lambert Beaubien

farm occupied by Miss Hulbert as a school be attached to and compose a part of School District No. 6 in the township of Detroit."

Lot 59 is where SS. Peter and Paul's church on Jefferson avenue now stands.

The resolution is signed by John Farmer and Henry Chipman, who constituted the board of school inspectors. John Farmer was the father of Silas Farmer; Henry Chipman of ex-congressman J. Logan Chipman.

"Detroit's finances were at a low ebb," declared Mr. Burton in discussing his find. "Detroit had been bonded to the limit just about this time. In fact, the city had a case which it desired to carry to the supreme court, but it had no money to go on with it. Finally, John Owen was persuaded to go on the city's bond for \$2,000. He made it



DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

a condition precedent to his attaching his name to the document that the city should give him a mortgage on the city property. This was done."

There is an application from the city applying to the University of Michigan to erect a hose house on the university property. The university property consisted of what is now the city hall square. This application was made in 1831, and the name of S. T. Mason, afterwards territorial and later first governor of Michigan, appears on the document.

Board of Public Library Commissioners: Herbert Bowen, (president); Ralph Phelps, Jr., (vice president); George Osius and Hinton E. Spalding, Bernard Ginsbury (secretary); Henry M. Utley (librarian).

Committee on Administration—Messrs. Duffield, Osius, Phelps.

Committee on Books—Messrs. Ginsburg, Osius, Duffield.

Committee on Finance—Messrs. Osius, Phelps, Spalding.

Location of Libraries: Central—Gratiot avenue, between Farmer and Farrar street. Branch 1—No. 1515 Woodward avenue, near Boulevard. Branch 2—No. 1030 Gratiot avenue, cor. Pulford. Branch 3—464 Dix avenue, near Clark. Branch 4—No. 285 Field avenue, corner of Agnes. Branch 5—Scripps Park, 605 Trumbull avenue. Branch 6—No. 1479 Michigan avenue, near Thirty-first. Hurlbut Branch—Water Works Park. Delray Branch—2327 Jefferson avenue, West.

The Detroit Public Library was first opened to the public in the old capitol building on the 25th day of March, 1865, with 8,864 volumes. It was opened in the present building on the 22d day of January, 1877, with 33,604 volumes. The number of volumes on hand on the 1st day of January, 1910, was 252,000. The use of the library during the first year of its existence was 4,700 volumes. The use of bound books during the first year of the occupancy of the present building was 160,000, and during the year 1909 it was 830,259. In addition to the use of bound books, there were 290,367 magazines and journals read at the library and its branches in 1909.

Branches 1, 2 and 3 were opened in 1900; branches 4 and 5 in February and March, 1904; the Hurlbut branch, December, 1907, and branch No. 6, October 1, 1908. A delivery station is operated at 2274 Gratiot, with daily service. Deposit stations are maintained at East Side and Franklin street settlements, Wineman settlement, Italian-American Institute, Jewish Institute, State Telephone building, and in several of the largest manufacturing establishments, where books are circulated among employes. These branches have proved of very great convenience to the people in distant parts of the city.

The Detroit House of Correction: Board of Inspectors—William J. Chittenden, 1907 to 1911; Jeremiah Dwyer, 1908 to 1912; John D. Wiley, 1909 to 1913; Marvin Preston, 1910 to 1914; John L. McDonnell, superintendent.

The Detroit House of Correction was established in 1861 under authority of an act of the legislature of that year. The management and direction of the institution is vested in the superintendent under the control and authority of the board of inspectors, who are appointed by the common council upon the nomination of the mayor. The inspectors serve without compensation. The institution has been a paying investment for the city from the start and the last report of the inspectors shows a net profit of \$38,577.06 for the year 1909.

The report of the superintendent shows that 2,382 prisoners were received during the year 1909 and that during the same period, 2,357 were discharged. The number of inmates, June 1st of this year, was 345, of which 305 were males and 40 females.

Fifty per cent of those received into the institution during the year were committed for periods of 30 days and less, and 95 per cent for periods of 90 days and less. There were three deaths among the inmates during the year.

Municipal Courts of the City of Detroit: Recorder's Court—Recorder, James Phelan; judge of the recorder's court, Wm. F. Connolly.

Office Staff: Clerk, John A. Grogan; deputy clerks, John R. Bar-

low, Gerald P. Monaghan, Oscar Brede, Ignatius Lerchenfeld and Henry C. Plass; office stenographer, Elizabeth McCabe; court stenographers, Wm. F. Giefel and Douglas Cochrane.

The recorder's court was organized January 12, 1858, pursuant to an act of the legislature. This court has original and exclusive jurisdiction of all prosecutions and proceedings in behalf of the people of the state for crimes, offenses and misdemeanors arising under the laws of the state and committed within the corporate limits of the city, except in cases cognizable by the police court. It also has jurisdiction over violations of the city ordinances, all offenses against the charter, all complaints under the truancy law, all matters pertaining to the opening and extending of streets, alleys and boulevards, and condemnation proceedings under the grade crossing law; also power to grant writs of habeas corpus and certiorari in criminal cases in the city of Detroit, and to hear and try cases of forcible or unlawful entry and detainer. The last prerogative is never exercised, cases being brought before circuit court commissioners.

Six terms of court are held during the year, commencing on the first Wednesday in January, March, May, July, September and November. Arraignments are held upon the first day of term; city ordinance cases tried and motions heard every Monday morning.

Police Court of Justices: Edward J. Jeffries and Christopher E. Stein.

Office Staff: David B. Brennan, clerk; Henry B. Mertsch, Otto C. Gersback and John F. Stachecki, assistant clerks; John W. Hayes and Park Donohue, sergeants; Ernest Wesselhoff, John Klebba, Michael Balowski and Max Bleiwitzer, patrolmen.

The clerk and assistant clerks are appointed by the senior justice for a term of two years.

An act of the legislature, which took effect July 4, 1885, provides for two police justices, holding office for the term of four years, one of whom shall be elected every two years.

The police court has original and exclusive jurisdiction to hear, try and determine all criminal cases wherein the crime (misdemeanor or offense charged shall have been committed within the corporate limits of the city of Detroit, or on property owned or controlled by the city of Detroit, as are by the laws of the state established within the jurisdiction of justices of the peace. The police court shall entertain, conduct and dispose of all preliminary examinations into crimes, misdemeanors and offenses which shall have been committed within the corporate limits of the city of Detroit, or on property owned or controlled by the city of Detroit, or which may now or hereafter be cognizable by the recorder's court of said city.

The police court shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the recorder's court to hear, try and determine cases arising under the ordinances of the common council, relating to disorderly conduct.

Justices: Felix A. Lemkie, Fred E. DeGaw, John B. Teagan and Louis Ott.

Office staff: Clerk, Wm. Teagan; chief deputy clerk, Walter J. Lemkie; deputy clerks, James A. Beebe, Richard Lindsay, Wladislaus

Major, William Davey, Frank G. Schilling, John A. DeGaw, Jas. McDougall, Fred Ott, Hiram Burr and Sherman Littlefield; deputy sheriffs, Richard Ferguson and Henry A. Schiller.

This court is composed of four justices, two of whom are elected at the bi-annual charter election for the term of four years. The justices possess the same powers, duties and liabilities as justices of the peace for the townships, except that they have exclusive jurisdiction in cases where the amount involved is one hundred dollars, and concurrent jurisdiction in all cases where the amount involved is five hundred dollars or less. The court rooms and clerk's offices are located in the Wayne county buildings. A fee of fifty cents is charged for the commencement of a suit, and the fees of the officer for service of the writ or process by which such action is commenced; a further fee of fifty cents is charged upon the beginning of the trial. These fees may be waived in cases brought for personal services.



LOG CABIN, PALMER PARK

Including Belle Isle Park, the city has in parks 1,198.89 acres and has 1,475 miles of boulevards. The most pretentious and beautiful park outside of Belle Isle, is Palmer Park, of 140.41 acres, presented to the city by one of her most honored citizens, Hon. Thomas Palmer, a man whose ripe old age is made pleasant by the veneration and love of his fellow citizens. The next largest park is Clark on the West side, running from Dix avenue south, and between Scotten and Clark. It is a beautiful breathing spot and a God-send to the children who flock to it from all parts of the city. Belle Isle Park's early history is given in the early chapters of this work. It is situated in the Detroit river at the eastern end of the city, and is conceded to be one of the finest city parks in the United States. It is two miles long and has five and one-half miles shore drive, fourteen and one-half miles of driveway, and five and one-tenth miles of gravel walks.

Belle Isle is but 18 in. above lake level, yet is never submerged.

It was purchased by Detroit in 1879 for \$200,000 and its present estimated value is \$3,593,000.

Belle Isle bridge is one-half mile long less eight feet, and was built in 1889 at a cost of \$295,000.

The Belle Isle aquarium is the third largest in the world.

The bath house cost \$80,000 and will accommodate 1,000 bathers at one time. The total number of bathers for the season of 1909 was 74,322, of which 10,634 were females.

Belle Isle Casino cost \$125,000. It is leased for one year for \$5,000.

The Zoo covers 15 acres, and has a varied population, comprising 150 species of birds and animals.

Since 1879 the city has expended \$3,343,958.43 on the island, including the purchase price.

Broad and finely shaded streets of Detroit are used not only as thoroughfares through which the artisan goes to and from work, and through which her citizens move to and fro in the pursuit of their business and pleasure, but also as highways of commerce and travel.

Along the main arteries of business the interurban cars have their routes, bringing to the city the smaller products of the farm and the dairy as well as the buyers to patronize the wholesale and retail stores, and taking back these visitors who come to leave their money with the merchant and the manufacturer as well as the packages of goods purchased.

In thus traveling through the streets and avenues the interurban cars are bringing in closer touch the city and the country; they are making of towns—prosperous and thriving—within a radius of twenty-five miles, suburban additions to the metropolis of Michigan. The telephone and rural delivery not only make the travel upon the streets of Detroit profitable to the business interests, but keeps the rural residents in closer touch with urban developments, with prices, and with the best class of goods. These are sent broadcast by the manufacturer and the merchant over the highways of Detroit.

Owing to the broadness of its streets and the excellence of its terminal facilities the thoroughfares of the city never present that congested condition so noticeable and so annoying in other cities. There is always room to move, and yet this city is sending to the farthest corners of the earth the products of her factories.

Notwithstanding the main streets of Detroit have laid upon them the ribbons of steel over which dash to and fro the speedy and comfortable electric cars, they are with but a few exceptions amply broad for the automobile, the delivery wagon and the carriage.

To the team tracks of the various steam railroads, electric lines and to the wharves can be seen going a continuous stream of trucks with outbound goods, while returning to a procession of inbound merchandise and raw material. At no time is found the tiresome wait and clanging clash between truck drivers that for years has been such a feature of cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Chicago.

Radiating from the city hall as the spokes from a wheel, the main avenues of the city lead from the business district where the distributing arteries of civic life are so broad that there is not a title of the nerve-racking so prevalent and prominent in other cities of the same size.

CHAPTER XLI

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEMS OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY AND STATE AS FAR AS THEY RELATE TO WAYNE COUNTY, INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY OF THE WAYNE CIRCUIT COURT, TOGETHER WITH REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY BENCH AND BAR OF DETROIT.

Through the courtesy of Hon. Henry M. Mandell, judge of the Wayne circuit court, material has been gathered for this work for what is likely to prove the most comprehensive history of one of the most interesting and important factors of the civic progress of this now great metropolis of Michigan.

The judicial officers who have sat upon the bench in the territory that is now the county of Wayne have, in successive periods, been constituted under a number of different systems. The first period was from 1796 to 1805, during most of which time northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and the eastern part of Wisconsin, were included in the county of Wayne. The judicial system of the Northwest territory was operative over the whole area, and included the supreme court, common pleas, probate and orphans' courts, and quarter sessions. Annual sessions of the supreme court were held in Detroit by one of the territorial judges. The supreme court judges, in addition to judicial duties, joined with the territorial governor in the passage of legislative acts.

In 1805 the territory of Michigan was organized under the anomalous rule of the governor and judges as explained in the main portion of this work, the whole territory then being included in the county of Wayne. In the governor and the three territorial judges all legislative powers were centered, while the three judges constituted the supreme court, thus having the unique power of passing upon the validity of the laws which they had shared in adopting. The judges were appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate. Those first appointed were Frederick Bates, a native of Ohio, but then a resident of Michigan and post-master at Detroit; Augustus B. Woodward, a native of Virginia but then a resident of the District of Columbia; and Samuel Huntington, of Ohio. They were all confirmed March 1, 1805. Mr. Huntington, however, declined the honor, and on the 23rd of December in the same year, John Griffin, of Indiana, was appointed in his place. The board, in its legislative capacity, was a very harmonious body and Judge Bates, disliking his associations, was, in 1806, at his own request, relieved of his position and appointed territorial secretary of Louisiana. In 1807, during the month of February, Judge Coburn of Kentucky was nominated

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and confirmed as Judge Bates's successor, but never accepted the position. Then Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., of Ohio was nominated but not confirmed. In April, 1808, James Witherell of Virginia was nominated. He was promptly confirmed and the court remained without further change until its reorganization in 1824.

In addition to the supreme court, provision was early made for justice courts and for a county court of common pleas for Wayne county. The latter tribunal was composed of from three to five judges appointed by the governor and were not always men of legal training. In 1807 the territory was divided into three judicial districts of Erie, Huron and Detroit, and Michilimackinac. Provision was made for a court in each district to consist of a chief justice, and two associate justices living in the district, commissioned by the governor and holding office during good behavior. They were empowered to fix limits, to make assessments for meeting district charges, summarily determine all controversies between the "inhabitants" and the Indians, and decide, on petition, all disputes between masters and their servants as to indentures and wages. But the governor and the judges were quite vacillating in their legislation. These provisions were repealed in 1808, were reenacted in 1809, and the court was abolished altogether in 1810.

For five years there was no intermediate court, but in 1815 a county court was established to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices, who were to sit at Detroit until there should be more than one county, and who were to have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases where the claim exceeded a justice's jurisdiction and did not exceed one thousand dollars. Until 1815 final appeal to this court lay from the courts of the justices of the peace. It was then given chancery jurisdiction, and the governor was given power to appoint masters in chancery.

Between 1817 and 1824 eleven new counties were organized, and in the latter year changes were made, out of which grew the circuit courts of the present day. The judicial, legislative, and executive departments of government were separated and the supreme court was reorganized. James Witherell was appointed chief justice, and Solomon Sibley, John Hunt and James Duane Doty, associate justices. Judge Doty had original jurisdiction in Michilimackinac, Crawford and Brown counties, including the upper peninsula of Michigan and most of the territory now included in what is now Wisconsin. Judges Witherell, Sibley and Hunt held court in the lower peninsula and were obliged to hold annual terms in the counties of Wayne, Monroe, Oakland, Macomb and St. Clair. In 1825 circuit courts were established by name, but they were still held by the supreme court judges. The circuit court was given original jurisdiction in all cases not exclusively cognizable by other courts; in all cases at law where the demand exceeded the jurisdiction of the courts of the justices of the peace and where the demand exceeded one thousand dollars; of all criminal cases punished capitally; concurrent jurisdiction with county courts in civil cases beyond the justice of the peace, and of criminal cases, not capital; also appellate jurisdiction from county courts. Another act was passed in 1827, reenacting the essential provisions of the acts of 1824 and 1825 and providing for the additional circuits of Lenawee and Washtenaw. With but slight additional changes, the judicial

system remained as here stated throughout the territorial days of Michigan.

There were but few personal changes in the personnel of the territorial supreme court after 1824. In 1827 Justice Hunt died and Henry Chipman, of Vermont, was appointed to succeed him. In 1828 William Woodbridge succeeded Witherell as chief justice. In 1832 for political reasons appointed George Morrell, Ross Wilkins and David Irwin in places of Justices Woodbridge, Chipman and Doty. From this time until Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837, the court consisted of Chief Justice Morrell and Associates Sibley, Wilkins and Irwin.

It has been seen that the bar of this state at that time had not been surpassed by that of any other state in the union, and the judges of the court were all men of strong character, and, even aside from their judicial positions, were of great prominence in the affairs of the territory.

Judge Witherell was a native of Massachusetts, being born in Mansfield in that state June 16, 1759. When only sixteen years of age he enlisted in the Revolutionary army and served through the whole eight years of the war. He then settled in Connecticut and studied medicine, and in 1787 took up the practice of his profession at Rutland, Vermont. He afterward turned his attention to the law and served upon the bench and in the legislature of that state representing it also one term in congress. On April 23, 1808, he was appointed one of the judges for the territory of Michigan. When the war of 1812 broke out he became colonel of a body of militia known as the Legion. Upon the capitulation by General Hull, he refused to surrender his command and told his men to disband and go home. He was himself, however, captured and was held as a prisoner of war until 1814 when he was paroled and returned to his judicial duties. When his term expired as territorial judge in 1828 he became the secretary of the territory and remained in that position until the retirement of Governor Cass in 1831. He died in Detroit, January 9, 1838. He was over six feet tall, erect in form and of a very positive character.

William Woodbridge was born at Norwich, Conn., in 1780, but followed his parents to Marietta, Ohio, in 1791. For the next fifteen years he spent his time alternately in Connecticut and Ohio, studying law at the famous Litchfield law school in the former state. In 1806 he commenced the practice of the law in Ohio and during the next eight years he was prosecuting attorney of his county for six years, member of the lower house of the legislature one year, and state senator six years. In 1814 he came to Michigan as Territorial Secretary, and continued in that position until 1828 with the exception of one year when he represented the territory as a delegate to Congress. During more than two years of this period he was acting governor in the absence of Governor Cass. He was in the constitutional convention of 1835, and in the state senate in 1838 and 1839. From 1828 until 1832 he was presiding judge of the Supreme Court. In 1839 he was elected governor of the state, and from 1841 until 1847 he was United States Senator from Michigan. He was prominently mentioned as a candidate for the vice presidency on the Whig ticket in 1848, but he did not encourage the use of his name. He continued in the practice of the law and in public life almost up to the

time of his death in 1861. He was of an irascible disposition, and did not possess the highest type of judicial mind, but he was an able lawyer, and even before he came to Michigan had gained a high reputation in Ohio and Western Virginia.

Solomon Sibley has been characterized as "one of the best and wisest men who ever lived in Michigan." He was born at Sutton, Mass., October 7, 1769, and in 1797 came to Detroit, where for over two-score years he had a large share in public affairs. In 1799 he was elected to represent Wayne county in the general assembly of the Northwest territory, and highly instrumental in securing the act incorporating the town of Detroit in 1802. He was the first mayor of the city under its first charter in 1806. He was auditor of the territory from 1814 to 1817, United States district attorney from 1815 to 1823, delegate to congress from 1821 to 1823, and justice of the supreme court through four changes in the national administration from 1824 to 1837.

James Duane Doty was born at Salem, Washington county, New York, in 1799. He came to Detroit in 1818, admitted to the bar in 1819, and was appointed secretary to the territorial supreme court the same year. In 1820 he accompanied Governor Cass, Henry R. Schoolcraft and others on their expedition to the Indian tribes in the Lake Superior region. He continued judge of the supreme court for the Northern district of Michigan, holding court at Green Bay until 1832. Five years later, Wisconsin having become a separate territory, he was elected to its legislative council. He was a delegate to congress from 1838 till 1841, and was appointed governor of Wisconsin territory in the latter year. He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1846, congressman from 1849 to 1853, and at a later period he was, by appointment of President Lincoln, commissioner of Indian affairs and governor of Utah.

*These four were the most conspicuous figures among the men who were on the bench and in public affairs as well, during the decade which marked the transition of Detroit from a frontier settlement, three-fourths French, to the government seat of a commonwealth typically American; a decade in which the foundation of our modern judicial system was laid.

Of those who came in the next decade, the most prominent was George Morrell, who was born at Lennox, Mass., March 26, 1786. He received his preliminary education at the Lennox academy and Williams college and studied law at Troy, New York, having as fellow students William L. Macey and Chancellor Walworth. He was in the militia at Otsego, New York, from 1811 until 1832, and held both judicial and legislative positions in that county. He was appointed one of the territorial judges of Michigan February 26, 1832, and when Michigan was admitted as a state he was elected to the corresponding position in the state court, becoming chief justice in 1842. His decisions form an important part of the earlier Michigan reports. He was presiding judge of the circuit in which Wayne county was situated from 1837 to 1844 and died in Detroit March 8, 1845.

Henry Chipman was born in Vermont July 25, 1784, and graduated

*Historical sketch by the dedication committee of the new court house of Wayne county in 1903, printed by the Detroit Bar Association.

from Middlebury College in 1803. He was admitted to the bar in Connecticut, but for nearly twenty years practiced in the courts of Charleston and Waltersborough, South Carolina. He moved to Detroit in 1824 and for three years was one of the publishers of the *Michigan Herald*. He was on the supreme bench from 1827 to 1832, and was in active practice of the law, in Whig politics, and in public affairs for thirty years after that.

Ross Wilkins was born at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1799, graduated at the age of eighteen from Carlisle College, studied and practiced law in his native city until 1832, when he was appointed to the territorial supreme court in Michigan, remaining in that position until 1837. In the latter year he was elected recorder of the city of Detroit. His chief reputation, however, was gained in the United States district court, to which he was appointed judge in 1838, remaining on the bench until 1870.

David Irwin, like his predecessor, was in active politics, though more in Wisconsin than in Michigan. He remained on the bench of the latter territory, holding court at Green Bay from 1832 to 1836, when Wisconsin became a separate territory, and he was appointed as associate justice of the supreme court. He held that position until the territory became a state, when he retired from the bench, but remained in active political life until his death in 1870.

The Michigan constitution of 1835 provided for a supreme court, and gave the legislature authority to establish courts of inferior jurisdiction. In accordance with this authority, the legislature at its first session, passed an act to organize the supreme and circuit courts, and another to establish a separate court of chancery. The first of these acts provided that the supreme court should consist of three judges, who, in addition to their duties in this court, were required to perform the duties of circuit judges, aided by two associate justices elected by the people in each county. For the purpose of the last mentioned courts, the state was divided into three circuits of which the first comprised the counties of Wayne, Macomb, Michilimackinac and Chippewa. The circuit courts were given the same powers and jurisdiction as under the last territorial laws, except in matters of chancery. It was also provided that one of the judges should reside in each circuit, and in the case of non-election or non-attendance of the associate justices, the supreme court might hold the court alone. In actual practice, in many cases the associate justices took little part in the proceedings. Under this act George Morell was supreme court judge, assigned to the circuit in which Wayne county was situated, from 1827 to 1844. He was followed by Daniel Goodwin, 1844 to 1847, and he, by Warner King from 1847 till 1851. The associate justices in Wayne county from 1837 to 1847 were: Cyrus Howard and Charles Moran, 1827 to 1841; T. R. Elliott and Eli Bradshaw, 1841, and Eli Bradshaw and Ebenezer Farnsworth, 1842 to 1845; J. H. Bagg and J. Gunning, from 1845 to 1847.

The act of establishing a court of chancery was approved March 26, 1836, and took effect July 4th of the same year. It authorized the governor, with the consent of the senate, to appoint a chancellor for seven years, gave him original jurisdiction in all things properly cognizable

by a court of chancery, conferred upon the court all the powers and jurisdiction before that granted to the supreme court in chancery matters, and transferred to the new court all chancery proceedings then pending in the circuit and supreme courts. It also ordained that the decrees of the chancellor should have the same force and effect as a judgment at law, arranged for two terms each year in each circuit, and provided for appeals from the chancery court to the supreme court. It also gave the court of chancery power to grant divorces, and to decree who should have charge of minor children in case of such divorce and forbade the chancellor to practice as an attorney or solicitor, or counsellor in any court in the state. The salary was fixed at the modest sum of \$1,500 a year. The act creating this court was repealed by the revision of 1846.

The only incumbents in the office of chancellor were Elon Farnsworth, July 4, 1836, to July 4, 1843, and Randolph Manning, from the latter date until March 1, 1847. Chancellor Manning was afterward for many years a justice of the state supreme court, but Chancellor Farnsworth's judicial reputation was made entirely in this court. He was born at Woodstock, Vermont, February 2, 1799, removed to Detroit in 1822, began the study of the law with Judge Sibley, and after being admitted to the bar went into partnership with Judge Goodwin. He was possessed of an extraordinary memory, a methodical habit and great industry. Chancellor Kent, in the fourth volume of his commentaries, says of him: "The administration of equity in Michigan under Chancellor Farnsworth was enlightened and correct, and does distinguished honor to the State." Chancellor Farnsworth was also prominent in business and political affairs, was a member of the legislative council of the territory, was a Democratic candidate for governor against William Woodbridge in 1839, and was one of the regents of the University of Michigan almost continuously from 1832 till 1858. He died March 24, 1877.

By the revision of 1846, chancery powers were conferred upon the several circuit courts, and the other general provisions of the act of 1836 were rearranged but not greatly modified. Since 1847 the jurisdiction of the circuit courts has been essentially the same as at present, though their form of organization was materially changed by the constitution of 1850. The sections of Article VI of that instrument, which related to these courts, provided that the state should be divided into circuits, in each of which the electors should choose one circuit judge, to hold office for the term of six years; that the legislature might alter the limits of circuits or increase the number of the same, but no alteration or increase should have the effect to remove a judge from office; that the judges should receive a salary payable quarterly and should be ineligible to any other judicial office during the term for which they were elected, and for one year thereafter; that circuit court should be held at least twice each year in every county of the state, and four times in counties having more than ten thousand inhabitants; and that circuit judges might hold court for each other, and should do so when required by law. All of these provisions remain unchanged, except that amendments have been made permitting the election of more than one judge in the circuits in which the cities of Detroit, Grand Rapids and Saginaw are situated. The clause of the constitution relating to jurisdiction is as follows: "The

circuit courts shall have original jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal, not excepted in this constitution and not prohibited by law; and appellate jurisdiction from all inferior courts and tribunals, and a supervisory control of the same. They shall have power to issue writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto, certiorari and other writs necessary to carry into effect their orders, judgments and decrees, and give them a general control over inferior courts and tribunals, within their jurisdictions."

The constitution also provided for the term of six years, and until otherwise provided by law, the judges of the several circuit courts should be judges of the supreme court, four of whom should constitute a quorum. The judicial system was, in fact, reversed for the time, by choosing circuit judges with supreme court powers, instead of supreme court judges with circuit court duties.

Under this constitutional requirement the legislature of 1851 passed an act dividing the state into eight judicial circuits, commencing the numbering at the southeast corner of the state. The first circuit comprised the counties of Monroe, Lenawee and Hillsdale; the second, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien; and the third, the county of Wayne. All of the other circuits have been changed by erecting one or more counties into new circuits, but the third has remained unchanged in area, except that Cheboygan and Emmet counties were for short periods attached to it.

The law provided that before the first of November in each second year the judge of each circuit should appoint the terms of court in each county, which should remain unchanged for two years; but that in addition special terms of court might be called at the discretion of the judge. By this and a subsequent act the respective jurisdictions and powers of the supreme and circuit courts were carefully and minutely defined.

The circuit court judges elected to perform the double duties prescribed by these two acts were Warner Wing, Abner Pratt, Samuel T. Douglas, Charles W. Whipple, Sanford M. Green, George Martin, John S. Goodrich and David Johnson, Judge Douglas representing the Third, or Wayne county circuit. By the act of February 16, 1857, provision was made for the election of separate supreme court justices, as contemplated by the constitution of 1850. George Martin, Randolph Manning, Isaac P. Christiancy and James V. Campbell were elected, and on the first of January 1858, the separation of the supreme and circuit courts became complete.

The jurisdiction of the circuit courts was defined by law as follows: "The said Circuit Courts within and for their respective counties shall have and exercise original and exclusive jurisdiction on all civil actions and remedies of whatever description, and of all prosecutions in the name of the people of this state, for crimes, misdemeanors, offenses and penalties, except in cases where exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction shall be given to, or possessed by, some other court or tribunal, in virtue of some statutory provision, or of the principles and usage of law, and shall have such appellate jurisdiction and powers as may be provided by law; and the said courts shall also have and exercise, within and for their respect-

ive counties, all the powers usually possessed and exercised by courts of record at the common law and in equity, subject to such modifications as may be provided by the laws of this state, for the full exercise of the jurisdiction hereby conferred."

The circuit courts were given power to make their own rules for regulating practice and conducting business until such time as the supreme court should prepare and submit a uniform code of rules; to order a change of venue in any case; to hear and determine cases submitted by agreement; to reserve questions of law for the decision of the supreme court; to grant writs of supersedeas or prohibition in vacation for cause shown, and to make all orders necessary or proper for carrying into effect the jurisdiction vested in such court.

By acts 4 and 5 of the special session of 1858, the Revised Statutes of 1846 and subsequent acts were amended so as to adapt them to the new organization, and the number of circuits was increased to ten. With the passing away of the old system Judge Douglas resigned and Benjamin F. H. Witherell, who came from Vermont in 1808, was first appointed and then elected to the bench under the new system. He was a son of the James Witherell, who came from Vermont in 1808 as one of the judges of the first territorial court. B. F. H. Witherell remained on the bench until his death in 1866. He was succeeded by Charles I. Walker, who held the office by appointment less than two years, resigning in 1868. Henry B. Brown was appointed to the vacancy, holding the position until the November election placed Jared Patchin on the circuit court bench. Judge Patchin was elected for a full term at the April election in 1860.

At the regular spring election in 1875 Cornelius J. Reilly was elected circuit judge, but resigned November 3, 1879, when Fitzwilliam Henry Chambers received the office by appointment. In April, 1881, Judge Chambers was elected for the full succeeding term.

At the April election of 1881 a constitutional amendment was adopted permitting the appointment of more than one judge in the "circuit in which the city of Detroit is, or may be situated." The vote on the amendment was 53,840 for, and 6,628 against. The legislature thereupon passed a law providing for two additional judges, and at the election in November, 1882, William Jennison and John J. Speed were elected.

The legislature of 1887 made provision for still another judge and at the regular April election in that year the following were elected for the full term: George Gartner, Henry N. Brevoort, Cornelius J. Reilly and George S. Hosmer. At the same election William Look was chosen to serve from May 1, 1887, to January 1, 1888.

By the legislature of 1891 a fifth judge was added and Robert E. Frazer was appointed. At the spring election in 1893 the following were chosen for full terms: Robert E. Frazer, William L. Carpenter, Willard M. Lillibridge, Joseph W. Donovan and George S. Hosmer.

At the spring election in 1899 the following were chosen: Robert E. Frazer, William L. Carpenter, Joseph W. Donovan, Morse Rhonert and George S. Hosmer. The legislature of 1899 provided for a sixth judge and Byron S. Waite received the temporary appointment; but at the

election in April, 1901, Flavius L. Brooke was elected in his place. In November, 1902, William L. Carpenter, having been elected judge of the supreme court, resigned from the circuit bench, and Henry A. Mandell, having been designated the choice of the bar, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

The following changes have been made since that time: Alfred J. Murphy, judge of the recorder's court, was elected to the circuit court at the spring election in 1905 and took his seat January 1, 1906. Judge Brooke having resigned in the fall of 1909, James O. Murfin was appointed to fill the vacancy. He, in turn, resigned September 1, 1911, and P. T. Van Zile was appointed to fill the vacancy. Judge Morse Rhonert died in March, 1911, and George P. Codd was appointed to fill the unexpired term.

The bench elected at the spring election of 1911 for the full term of six years, and now serving, is constituted as follows, the judges being mentioned in order of their length of service: Hon. George S. Hosmer, Hon. Henry A. Mandell, Hon. Alfred J. Murphy, Hon. George P. Codd, Hon. Philip T. Van Zile and Hon. P. J. M. Hally.

This is considered to be one of the strongest aggregations of judges Detroit and Wayne county has ever had, all being men of the highest character, strong individuality and remarkable legal ability.

Perhaps no more interesting and intimate history of the relations between the bench and bar of Detroit can be furnished than that given by the late Henry M. Cheever, for more than fifty years a prominent member of the Detroit bar, at the dedicatory exercises of the new court house in 1903. Mr. Cheever said his acquaintance with the courts and counsel of Detroit began in 1854.

The Federal courts were presided over then, to use his own language, by the even then venerable Ross Wilkins. He took his seat, as the records show, as United States district court judge, February 23, 1837, less than a month after the admission of Michigan into the Union, and retired from the bench March 4, 1870, having served thirty-three years. He was succeeded by John W. Longyear, and at his death, March 11, 1875, Henry B. Brown was commissioned and took his seat April 6, 1875. He discharged the duties of his office with great ability until he was called to the supreme bench of the United States, December 20, 1890, in which high office he bore his honors so well that the powers which took him from Detroit can be forgiven for that act. The last journal of the United States district court signed by him was under date of December 30, 1890. Below his signature, in the handwriting of Judge Brown, is the following: "God bless this Honorable Court—Finis."

"Whether this was intended," said Mr. Cheever, "as a prayer by the learned judge for divine protection for the court after he left the bench, or as an intimation that, with his retirement, the usefulness of that tribunal was ended, as the word 'finis' would imply, is not clear."

Henry M. Swan succeeded Judge Brown January 28, 1891, and occupied that judicial chair for twenty years, fully maintaining the dignity and learning for which his predecessors were famous, retiring from the bench January 1, 1911. These district judges also acted as United States

circuit court judges, the latter seldom appearing upon the bench, and by congressional action the courts were recently merged.

In the year 1854 the United States courts held their sessions in the Odd Fellows Hall, a building on the northerly side of Jefferson avenue between Bates and Randolph streets. They were soon moved to the building now occupied by the Michigan Mutual Insurance Company at the corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street, which was thus occupied until 1867 when the now old Federal building was completed on Griswold street, corner of Larned. In 1898 the new Federal building and post-



THE OLD CITY HALL, WOODWARD AVENUE

office was completed on Fort street, occupying the block bounded by Griswold and Wayne and Fort streets and Lafayette boulevard.

In 1854 the State supreme court, constituted as hereinbefore mentioned, had its court room in what was then known as the "Seminary building," which stood on the site of the present City Hall. It was a plain two-story, yellow brick building, facing Griswold street just where the Griswold street entrance to the present City Hall is located, and was reached by a flight of wooden steps. The court room was a plain, unfurnished room with cheap pine tables for counsel, and a platform raised some four feet above the floor, with a close wooden railing in front of the desks, for the judges.

"I remember this railing particularly," said Mr. Cheever, "because of the fact that the room was heated in winter by a stove in which wood

was burned, and at the feet of each judge there was a hole in the railing similar to the entrance to a dog kennel, cut there for the purpose of keeping the feet of the judges from freezing. At the commencement of the last half century there was a curious anomaly in some respects in Detroit, in a court called 'the Mayor's Court.' It was created by the act of the legislature of 1847. By the city charter provision was made for the election of a mayor, recorder and aldermen. This mayor's court had jurisdiction of ordinance cases only. It was a sort of Kindergarden Slander mill and its principal cases were 'abusive language' cases. The charter provided that the mayor should preside and in his absence the recorder, and in the absence of both, an alderman was to act as judge. As a matter of fact the mayor seldom presided. The recorder was the usual presiding judge. The recorder at that time (1854) was J. V. N. Lothrop. The sessions of the court were held Monday mornings only, in the old City Hall on the site of Cadillac Square."

This court was superseded by the present recorder's court in 1857. Henry A. Morrow was the first recorder and the court was formally organized and a seal adopted in January, 1858.

In 1862 Recorder Morrow entered the service of the United States and resigned as recorder. Circuit Judge Witherell acted as recorder until February 24, 1864, when Benjamin F. Hyde assumed the duties of the office. Upon the death of Judge Hyde, George S. Swift was elected, took his seat November 14, 1866, and held his office by repeated elections until his death in October, 1903. Being in failing health for some time before his demise, circuit judges sat upon the bench of the recorder's court. In June, 1889, Fitzwilliam H. Chambers having been elected associate recorder, took his seat and held office until the expiration of his term, though for many months he was unable to discharge the duties thereof. He died shortly after the expiration of his term in 1900.

The present incumbents of the recorder's court bench are Hon. James Phelan, twice elected to that office and acknowledged to be one of the best judges that ever sat on a criminal bench, and James Connolly, associated recorder, whose record as a fair and able judge has not been excelled in the history of that bench.

The recorder's court, which was early given criminal jurisdiction within the city, occupied the old City Hall until the present one was completed in 1871, when it had a place in the new City Hall. It was removed to the new Municipal building on Clinton street near the county jail in 1890, and when the new Court House was finished was given quarters commensurate with the importance of the tribunal.

The recorder's court only has criminal jurisdiction, but in 1869 it was proposed to give it civil jurisdiction and to attach Monroe county to the new circuit. This proposal did not come from Wayne county, but was smuggled in by some of the lawmakers from the interior of the state. This proposal excited the indignation of the bench and bar of Detroit and Wayne county, and so strong was the protest made against it that the project was dropped. The agitation, however, resulted in the creation of a superior court in 1873 which existed until 1887 when it was abolished. It held its sessions in the Seitz block on Congress street, in the upper

story of the McGraw block on Griswold street, and in the old City Hall on Cadillac Square. Its first judge was Lyman Cochrane, a quiet, able judge, and the only other and last occupant of that bench was J. Logan Chipman, who sat from 1879 to 1887, when the court was abolished. Judge Chipman was a strong and able man and represented the First district of Michigan in congress for a number of terms.

The Wayne circuit court held its sessions in the old buildings on the corner of Congress and Griswold streets during the first half of the century and moved into the new City Hall when that edifice was completed in 1871, remaining there until the completion of the new county building in 1903.

On May 31st a farewell meeting of the bar was held in the old court house about to be abandoned for the new City Hall, where brief addresses were made. Mr. Cheever in speaking of that address quoted from the newspapers of that date. Mr. Larned, who had preceded Mr. Lothrop, said his "feelings were too deep for tears." Mr. Lothrop said: "I cannot say that my feelings are too deep for tears. I don't think indeed that I have any tears to shed, although I have been familiar, nearly all my professional life, with this court room; yet I am gratified at leaving it. To pass all our inconveniences and the imprecations that we have from time to time showered upon the place, when we have been obliged to come to it, we cannot with entire indifference bid adieu to it, and now, as I do bid adieu to it, I say, 'All hail!' as we contemplate the commodious quarters prepared for us in the new City Hall."

The probate court in the early days (1854) was held in a small room in the old circuit court building. The room was about twelve feet by thirty feet in size and in this mortuary closet the business of the probate court was transacted. In 1871 the court, in common with all other county offices, moved to the then new City Hall, the tower and flagstaff of which today is lower than the upper stories of the modern skyscraping office buildings by which it is becoming surrounded.

In 1852 Cornelius O'Flynn was judge of this court. He was an able lawyer and judge. He systematized the business of the court and prepared the first printed forms used by the court. In after years he is said to have exhibited some peculiarities, one of which was never to commit himself on a subject of small importance. Mr. Cheever was fond of relating one incident as follows: "William Gray was, at the beginning of the last half century, one of the foremost lawyers at the bar, learned, polished in manner and language and recognized also as the wittiest member of the bar. Mr. Gary knew of the peculiarities of Judge O'Flynn, but lawyers from outside of the city did not. Upon one occasion, I think in the early fifties, a Democratic mass meeting was held in Detroit and numbers came from all over the state to hear General Cass speak. After the meeting Mr. Gray was standing in front of the Russell House conversing with two prominent lawyers from an interior county who did not know of Judge O'Flynn's peculiarity. The Judge was coming slowly up the street and Mr. Gray said to his friends: 'There comes Judge O'Flynn. I will bet you the wine you may ask him three questions and you cannot get a direct answer to any of them.' The bet was instantly taken. As the judge joined them, after a few words had been exchanged, one of the

visiting lawyers said to the Judge: 'Did you hear General Cass today?' The reply came instantly: 'I rarely attend political meetings.' After a few moments a second question was asked the Judge: 'Judge, do you live where you did last year?' The reply was: 'Wise men seldom change their abode.' But one question remained. After much deliberation, as the Judge was leaving, the question came: 'By the way, Judge, what time it is?' The Judge slowly pointed to the interior of the office and said: 'There's a clock.' Gray won his bet."

Judge O'Flynn held the office of probate judge until January 1, 1853. His successors were Joseph H. Bagg, Elijah Hawley, Jr., William P. Yerkes, Henry W. Dear, James D. Wier and Albert H. Wilkinson. Each held office for four years.

On January 2, 1877, Edgar O. Durfee was placed on the probate bench, where he has served most faithfully through all sorts of political changes up to the present, and will probably be there as long as he lives, as he has thoroughly entrenched himself in the affections of the people and members of all parties. Gifted with an ability extremely rare, a most able lawyer of splendid character, he has made for himself a record to be proud of. No man stands higher today in the estimation of the bench and bar of Detroit than Judge Edgar O. Durfee, who for thirty-four years has been the guardian of widows and orphans as judge of the probate court.

Judge Henry B. Brown, now of the United States supreme court, said that in 1860 Detroit had the reputation of having the most talented bar west of New York. He said he had found that to be so. His remark can be supplemented by saying that what was true in 1860 is true today. The members of the bar of Detroit are among the brightest legal minds in the United States and as a rule are men of high character. The younger members are following in the steps of their predecessors, with the result that the legal profession in Detroit will have shed upon it the lustre in the future that has made it glorious and honorable in the past.

CHAPTER XLII

MEDICAL HISTORY OF DETROIT FROM 1701 TO 1912—DR. DOUGLASS HOUGHTON—NEW MEDICAL SOCIETY—HOSPITALS, MEDICAL SOCIETIES AND COLLEGES.

By Samuel P. Duffield, A. M., Ph. D., M. D.

“Their souls to Him who gave them rose,
God led them to their long repose,
Their glorious rest!
And though these doctors’ sun has set
Its halo lingers round us yet,
Bright, radiant, blest.”

In introducing this written history of the physicians from the beginning of Detroit’s history to the present year (1912), I have no apology to make, except that I was asked to take charge of that which was undertaken and would have been finished by one whose name appears among those who sleep in Elmwood, Dr. Leartus Connor, my valued friend and associate for years.

In writing the history of the medical men of the city of Detroit, I realize that some men have had no written history; they live in the hearts of their fellow citizens and gradually fade as a sunset ray in each succeeding generation, until their virtues, names and places are lost to their fellow men, the state and the world. It is to avoid such a fate to those who practiced here when this city was surrounded by the primeval forests, made picturesque in scenery with the Indian wigwams and ponies, that this task is undertaken. I am undertaking the work of Dr. Leartus Connor, who was taken away before completing it.

When Antoine de la Motte Cadillac came to the settlement of Detroit in 1701, he brought with him Dr. Antoine Forrestier, who died in 1716 and was succeeded in 1718 by Dr. Jean Baptiste Chapoton, the ancestor of the late Hon. Alexander Chapoton and his son, Dr. Edmund Chapoton, still living in this city. From 1718 to ’58, the records of death bore the signature of Dr. Chapoton. Retiring from the arduous duties of the active practitioner just before the English conquest—and the practitioner of today in his automobile can form no idea what “active practitioner” meant in those days—he turned his attention to improving the tract of land granted by the government. His kindness and sympathy as a physician and his upright behavior won the affection of

the whites and the reverence of the Indians. The third prominent surgeon and physician was Dr. Gabriel Christopher le Grand, who came direct from France in 1755, but when the British lion, instead of the stars and stripes, floated over the city, he shook off the dust of his feet and returned to France in 1760. In that year, Dr. Jean Baptiste Chapoton and Jacques Godfrey were chosen to parley with the chief Pontiac.

A new nationality shows itself from November, 1760, in the profession. The commander of the English troops, Major Rogers, brought with him Dr. Anthon, a graduate of Eilsnach and Amsterdam (Holland) College of Surgeons, coming as a prisoner to New York, the vessel in which he was surgeon having been captured by a British privateer from New York and carried back to that post. He obtained a good position in the Military Hospital at Albany, New York; afterwards being appointed first assistant surgeon of the Sixtieth Regiment of Royal Americans, he came with that regiment to Detroit. He resided in Detroit from 1760 to 1786.

In 1783, Dr. William Brown was a resident here and fought the ague and intermittent fever, then so prevalent in Michigan, with Peruvian bark, quinine not being yet manufactured. He was a popular physician, full of sympathy for the French and Americans alike. His contemporary, Dr. McClosky, resembled him both in manner and prescriptions, being a great believer in the free use of the lancet in brain fever (*tempora mutantur*)!

In 1805 a terrible conflagration swept nearly the whole town away and the plat was changed under the act of Congress of 1806.

Dr. Henry was another physician later than Dr. McClosky. He was the ancestor of D. Farrand Henry, who at one time was engineer of the water board of Detroit. He has been only a short time deceased, and was well known to the citizens of Detroit. He was also a relative, by marriage, to Dr. Porter, one of its well known physicians.

We come now to a period in Detroit's medical history which is marked with a more definite progress. With a population of only 800 souls in 1812, she had grown until struck by the dreaded Asiatic cholera in 1832-4, when she had a population of over 4,500. The medical men who fought the pestilence that time were Dr. Marshall Chapin, father of Mrs. Theodore Hinchman, and the late Mrs. Norton Strong, her sister (his son, Marshall, Jr., studied medicine with the writer of this article and died soon after entering practice); Drs. R. N. Rice, Ebenezer Hurd, H. P. Cobb, Robert McMillan, Dr. Hardin, Drs. F. B. Clark, Douglass Houghton, Zina Pitcher, Arthur L. Porter, J. B. Seovill, N. D. Stebbins, Abram Sager (1835), George B. Russell (1837), Adrian R. Terry (at one time Terry & Russell) and Lewis F. Starkey.

Without making any invidious comparisons, Dr. Douglass Houghton was the most liberally educated of the medical men of that time (1832) and was strongly supported by Dr. Zina Pitcher and his partner at one time, Dr. Rice. Dr. Houghton had no trouble in getting rapidly advanced in professional honors until he finally became appointed state geologist (1837) by Governor Mason. Dr. Pitcher's memory has not

faded from the minds of the older inhabitants of this city. A gentleman of staid and polished manners, reserved and deliberate in conversation, he was consultant and surgeon to St. Mary's Hospital, with the late Dr. Brodie as his assistant, and the writer took his first surgical lessons under these two gentlemen. During the cholera season, 1832-4, Dr. Houghton was taxed body and mind in fighting this fatal scourge. He it was who sat at the bedside of many Detroit citizens stricken with the disease, General Sylvester Larned being one of those who died. At this time John Owen was clerk in Dr. Chapin's drug store and stated that he would lend a helping hand in preparing for Dr. Houghton's chemical lectures before the Young Men's Literary Society formed in 1832, the year the cholera broke out.

Up to that time there had been no medical society, except somewhere about 1837 the old Sydenham Society was organized by Drs. George B. Russell, A. R. Terry and Zina Pitcher. In 1840 Dr. Donnelly came to Detroit, but went to Canada in 1847.

In 1845, Dr. Charles N. Ege, graduate of the Pennsylvania University medical department, resigned his position as assistant surgeon in the Philadelphia Alms House and came to Detroit. He fought the cholera here in 1849, his wife (née Lamson) dying of it. He went to California, returned in broken health, sought to recuperate at Sault Ste. Marie, but died there. He rests in Elmwood, in this city.

About this time, Dr. J. B. Brown, a pleasant and highly educated gentleman, came to the city. His history I have been unable to trace.

The date April 14, 1849, marks the outbreak of cholera, which the writer well remembers.

A new medical society was formed with more potentiality than the old "Sydenham." It was called the "Wayne County Medical Society" and elected Dr. Chas. N. Ege its first president and Dr. Charles Tripler, vice president. The members subscribing to the constitution and by-laws were R. S. Rice, Z. Pitcher, Charles S. Tripler, H. P. Cobb, C. N. Ege, Adrian R. Terry, Peter Klein, A. L. Leland, L. H. Cobb, Richard Inglis;—Lucretius H. Cobb, secretary; R. S. Rice, treasurer; P. Klein, R. Inglis and A. L. Leland, censors.

Section VI of the constitution says: "The county societies of medicine heretofore incorporated, or which shall hereafter be incorporated, may at their first meeting to be holden under the provisions of this chapter, agree upon the times and places of holding their annual meetings, but such times and places may be changed by said societies respectively at any annual meeting by a vote of a majority of all the members of the society, and the secretary of each of said societies shall lodge in the office of the clerk of the proper county a copy of all proceedings had at first meeting thereof, and said clerk shall file and preserve the same (which he did not do, as they cannot be found—Editor) and may receive therefor twelve and a half cents."

Section VII: "The medical societies established as aforesaid may examine all students who shall present themselves for that purpose, and, if found qualified, may license them to practice as physicians, and give diplomas therefor under the hand of the president and seal of the society

before whom such students shall be examined, which diploma shall be sufficient to authorize the person obtaining the same to practice physic or surgery, or both, as shall be set forth in such diploma in any part in this state."

Section IX: "When any student shall have been examined by the censors and rejected, he shall not at any time thereafter be examined or licensed by any county medical society, but shall in all such cases make application thereafter to the State Medical Society, etc. Any license obtained contrary to the above was void."

This society existed and did its work until 1851, issuing the following worded license:

"State of Michigan—To all whom these presents shall come or may in any wise concern, the president, secretary and censors of Wayne County Medical Society send greeting:

"Whereas, Edward Batwell hath exhibited unto us satisfactory testimony that he is entitled to a license to practice physic and surgery.

"Now know ye, that by virtue of the power and authority vested in us by law, we do grant unto said Edward Batwell the privilege of practicing physic and surgery in this state, together with all rights and immunities which usually appertain to physicians.

"(Signed) E. M. CLARK, M. D.

P. KLEIN, M. D.

A. L. LELAND, M. D.

Censors.

"In testimony whereof we have caused the seal of the society to be hereunto affixed.

"GEORGE B. RUSSELL, M. D., president.

"Dated Detroit, November 5, 1850.

"LUCRETIVS H. COBB, M. D., secretary."

The seal was a piece of white paper laid on melted wax, and a small eagle, such as used to be on coins, pressed upon it. The society, however, was to be shorn of its power soon after they issued it. It seems that petitions were sent to, and had such an influence upon them, that the power of examination was made of no value, and Michigan by her legislature took the position then, which she has held more or less since, not to protest against certain forms of quackery. The petitions, having accomplished their purpose, the society convened and the committee appointed to inquire whether the statute regulating the practice of medicine had been repealed, respectfully reported that such was the case and offered the following preamble and resolution, which was ordered published in the daily paper:

"Whereas, The laws which from time to time have been enacted to regulate the practice of medicine by prescribing prerequisites to candidates for licenses and authorizing members of the profession themselves in standing to be the judges of the qualifications of such candidates, were designed to shield the community from imposition rather than confer exclusive privileges upon the members of the State or County Medical societies; this body, by the refusal of all law on the subject of their pro-

cession, are led to the conclusion that the public, guided by the inspiration of the age in which we live, have, to judge from the signature to petitions addressed to the legislature on this subject, arrived at the belief that all wisdom and power are centered in them, rather than in those who have made medicine a study.

Therefore, Resolved, That inasmuch as the primary object for which this society was organized has been withdrawn from our jurisdiction by legislative action, we will dissolve it and promote and provide in other ways the means of professional improvement.

“(Signed) R. S. RICE,
Z. PITCHER,
L. H. COBB,
GEORGE B. RUSSELL, M. D., president,
LUCRETIVS H. COBB, secretary.

“May 13, 1851.”

Thus the Wayne County Society went out of existence. The original members are all dead. For some years after the above date medical history becomes lost until about 1857-8, when another Wayne County Medical Society was formed. A good many of the old members joined and new ones came into the society. Among them were Dr. Morse Stewart and Dr. William Brodie.

There were still alive at this time (1864) Dr. Zina Pitcher, N. D. Stebbins, James A. Brown, James F. Noyes, Morse Stewart, Moses Gunn, Samuel G. Armor, Herman Kiefer, Peter Klein, Richard Inglis, D. Henderson, Lucretius H. Cobb and E. M. Clark. These men had grown old, but were still in active practice and beloved by their patients. Drs. Pitcher and Farrand were attendant physicians at St. Mary's hospital and under Dr. Tripler, medical director of the United States army, they cared for many wounded soldiers. St. Mary's was then the only public hospital in the state, but was being overcrowded by United States soldiers and there was little room for the sick poor of the city and state.

About this time (1864) the general government constructed buildings for a soldiers' hospital upon lands conveyed to the board of Harper's Hospital, to whom Mr. Harper and Nancy Martin had donated lands for a hospital, to be known as Harper Hospital.

At the end of the war the buildings then belonged to Harper Hospital, as per agreement with the general government. Drs. McGraw, G. P. Andrews, Samuel P. Duffield, D. O. Farrand and Edward W. Jenks were constituted the first board of physicians and surgeons. The former State Medical Society had died a natural death and another society was initiated, at a meeting held in the office of Dr. E. W. Jenks, May 15, 1866, of which Dr. James F. Noyes was chairman. Formal preliminary action was taken at that time and an invitation extended to the profession of the state to meet at Detroit on the fifth of the following month for the purpose of perfecting the organization. They met in the old supreme court room on Woodward avenue. More members then came together than for several years afterward. Moses Gunn was made tem-

porary president. After adopting constitution and by-laws, Dr. C. M. Stockwell, of Port Huron, was elected president. He was at that time regent of the University.

On May 30, 1866, the first regular meeting of the Wayne County Medical Society (which was initiated May 15, 1866) was held, and the venerable Dr. Zina Pitcher was elected president. This society, after several years of successful life, followed its predecessors and became extinct.

In 1869 the Detroit Medical College was formally established. The faculty was composed as follows: President, E. W. Jenks, M. D.; secretary and treasurer, Theodore A. McGraw, M. D.; Theodore A. McGraw, M. D., professor of surgery; E. W. Jenks, M. D., professor of obstetrics and diseases of women; George P. Andrews, M. D., professor of practice of medicine; C. B. Gilbert, M. D., professor of materia medica; James F. Noyes, M. D., professor of ophthalmology and otology; N. W. Webber, M. D., professor of anatomy; Samuel P. Duffield, A. M., Ph. D., M. D., professor of chemistry and toxicology; W. H. Lathrop, M. D., professor of physiology; J. M. Bigelow, M. D., professor of medical botany; Hon. Henry P. Brown, professor of medical jurisprudence; Drs. Inglis, A. B. Lyon and L. Connor were afterwards added to the faculty.

The oldest medical society, which has passed through all revolutions and changes in the medical world in Michigan successfully, is the Detroit Academy of Medicine, founded in 1864. It still lives and flourishes.

The constitution and by-laws of the Michigan State Medical Society—the consolidation of the county societies which are represented by delegates sent from them—was adopted at Port Huron, June 22, 1902, and represents a strong and growing society. The system of representation of the county societies, which is a step in advance, contributes greatly to its strength. This society has committees on scientific work and medico-legal matters. The only proper way of getting admission to the State Society is through the County Society and every reputable member of the latter is entitled to membership. It has a house of delegates, who meet annually at the time and place of the annual meeting of the society. The house of delegates is empowered to divide the counties of the state into twelve councillor districts. Each councillor shall be an organizer, peacemaker and censor for his district, and he makes a report of his doings and of the condition of the profession of each county in his district to the council at its annual meeting. This is the society at present existing.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE VETERAN LIVING SETTLERS OF NOVI TOWNSHIP—THOMAS PINKERTON AND WILLIAM YERKES—FIRST LAND ENTRIES—FIRST SETTLERS OF NOVI—FARMINGTON TOWNSHIP ORGANIZED—RENAMED NOVI—FIRST OF EVERYTHING—PIONEER SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS—PLANK ROADS AND ONLY RAILWAY—THE FIRST MOWING MACHINE USED IN AMERICA—MIGHTY HUNTERS—TEMPERANCE TEST IN BARN RAISING—A HATER OF PROGRESS—MEMORIES OF THE DEAD—EMIGRANTS, PAST AND PRESENT—A BIRD'S EYE VIEW.

By Robert Yerkes.

Perhaps most of us underestimate the importance attaching to the inception and early growth of Novi township. Each anniversary of our national birthday is heralded with all the "pomp and circumstance of war" and greeted by the enthusiasm of a vast population; yet the Union is made up of states, the states of counties, the strong pillar abutment of which is the township. Besides the primary value of the town as the unit in our political system there are other reasons why we should honor its birth and place that period of time on the list of our gala days. The early history of every community is inseparably connected with the trials and struggles of its founders. Here may be they have fought the battle of life in the first ardor of youth, with the trained courage of man or womanhood or the gravity of old age. There are many who know no other land as their birthplace; its current history has been their household talk, its ways and byways their frequented haunts, its green spring-time and glorious autumn their familiar sights and its six miles square of field and woodland "the dearest spot on earth." Let us, then, for an hour leave our politics, our fields, the daily round of work, and give that time to the early and fast fading history of our township.

I do not propose to give that history in full or carry it down to the present time in all its minutiae. Such a paper would require weeks to write and a day to read. But I will sketch as rapidly as I can its early history and give some anecdotes and events which serve to illustrate the condition and spirit of the times.

That community is fortunate indeed which after the lapse of fifty years retains among its first settlers enough, with memory intact, who by their concurring testimony can establish beyond dispute the facts of its early history.

The first settlement of Novi can be thus established and clearly verified. On its southeastern border are two men who came into the town in the early spring of 1825, Thomas Pinkerton and William Yerkes. At this time there was no clearing, house or white settlement within its present limits. They then entered the land on which they now reside, returned East and moved from the shores of Seneca lake in the state of New York upon this land the next spring and have lived on the same farms without interruption until the present time. They had, therefore, a good standpoint from which to witness its early growth and later progress. They are men of undoubted truth, of more than average observation, both of good and one at least of superlative memory, recalling the events of his past life, both in matter and date, with the accuracy of the written record.

With these two men came fourteen individuals—sixteen in all*—eleven of whom are alive at the present time, and from some of these I have gained valuable information.

Without further preliminaries we will come at once to the first entries of land made in this town, which are as follows:

- September 3, 1824, John Gould, n. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 36.
- September 20, 1824, Pitts Taft, on Sections 33 and 34.
- September 20, 1824, Joseph Eddy, Section 34.
- September 20, 1824, Erastus Ingersoll, Section 24.
- September 20, 1824, Benj. Bently, Sections 23 and 25.
- September 26, 1824, Benj. Bently, Section 25.
- October 7, 1824, Timothy Farles, Section 25.
- October 7, 1824, N. C. Prentiss, Sections 15 and 22.
- October 7, 1824, Cornelius Davis, Sections 15 and 22.
- October 7, 1824, Robert McKinney, Sections 22 and 23.

- March 12, 1825, John Powers, w. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 26.
- March 12, 1825, John Hiles, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. w. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 26.
- March 18, 1825, Samuel Mansfield, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 35.
- April 22, 1825, Millard Wadsworth, Section 23.
- April 30, William Yerkes, Sections 35 and 36.
- April 30, 1825, Thomas Pinkerton, Section 25.
- May 10, 1825, Samuel Hungerford, Section 27.
- May 10, 1825, Erastus Ingersoll, Section 24.
- May 16, 1825, Philo Hungerford, Section 34.
- June 1, 1825, Reuben Fitzgerald, Sections 34 and 36.
- June 7, 1825, Samuel Hungerford, Section 34.
- June 7, 1825, James Wilkinson, Section 34.
- June 13, 1825, Richmond Simmons, Section 15.
- June 13, 1825, Ephraim Hicks, Section 14.
- June 22, 1825, Ebenezer Stewart, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 33.
- June 22, 1825, Arthur Power, Section 32.
- June 22, 1825, Wm. Tennv. Section 3.
- October 8, 1825, Thomas Watts, Sections 26 and 27.

* John Yerkes, one of the sixteen, died February 14, 1877; aged seventy-eight years.

June 29, 1826, Joseph Yerkes, Section 25.
 September 1, 1826, John Spinning, w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. w. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 35.
 September 5, 1826, John Spinning, Section 12.
 September 25, 1826, Joshua Philips, Section 14.
 October 31, 1826, Benj. A. Homer, Section 2.
 November 16, 1826, Charles C. Reynolds, Section 12.

March 23, 1827, David A. Simmons, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 23.
 March 23, 1827, Mary McComber, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. w. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 24.
 May 24, 1827, James Vanduyne, Section 26.
 June 6, 1827, Wm. B. Garfield, Section 25.
 June 23, 1827, Gamaliel Simmons, Section 27.
 June 25, 1827, Samuel White, Section 28.
 June 26, 1827, Ira Crawford, Section 1.
 September 18, 1827, Wm. Rice, w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 32.
 June 2, 1828, Randall Chapman, Section 28.
 June 5, 1828, Abraham Vanduyne, Section 35.
 August 1, 1828, Thomas M. Gould, e. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 26.
 August 1, 1828, Thomas M. Gould, w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 23.
 December 23, 1828, Lyman W. Andrews, Section 27.

March 23, 1829 Lucy Hungerford, w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. e. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 23.
 June 16, 1829, Lyman W. Andrews, Section 21.
 June 16, 1829, Samuel Hungerford, Section 11.
 July 25, 1829, Samuel B. Mulford, Section 13.
 September 19, 1829, David Guile, Section 23.
 October 21, 1829, Charles Thornton, Section 27.
 In 1830 there were 23 entries.

A majority of these entries were made by persons from 3 counties in New York, namely Seneca, Ontario and Wayne.

Number of entries: 1824, 10; 1825, 18; 1826, 6; 1827, 8; 1828, 5; 1829, 10; 1830, 23.

The first white settler in Novi was Erastus Ingersoll, who in April, 1825, moved from Ontario county, New York, upon the East $\frac{1}{2}$, Southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 24, what has been known since as the Barber place. The next was John Gould, who came the same spring upon the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 36. Pitts Taft and Joseph Eddy followed the same season, making four settlers in 1825.

In the spring of 1826, Wm. Yerkes and Thomas Pinkerton came, one on Sections 35 and 36, the other on Section 25. In the fall of that year Samuel Hungerford came on 27, Daniel Bently on 25, James Wilkinson on 24 and Benjamin Hungerford on Section 33.

In 1827 John Hiles settled on Section 26; Sarah Thornton on Section 27; Benjamin Hance on Section 2; Mr. Macomber on Section 24; Thomas Mulford on Section 13 and Myra Garfield on Section 24.

Among those who came here in 1828 were Smith Parks, James and Isaac Vanduyne, Philip Shaw, Randall Chapman, Lyman Andrews, John Renwick, Col. Spencer, Cornelius Austin, James Mallory, Dea Vaughn, John Mitchell and Stanton Hazzard.

The first assessment made in this town was in 1826. William Morris and S. V. R. Trowbridge were assessors. Thomas Pinkerton had 240 acres of land and paid three dollars tax and one and one half days road work.

In the winter of 1827 the legislative council organized the township of Farmington, and Novi, Lyon, Milford and Commerce were attached to it for township purposes. Novi was called West Farmington and Lyon, Farmington Jr. The first justice of the peace in this town was William Yukes, appointed by the governor of the territory, General Cass in 1827.

The first township meeting held under the organization just alluded to was at Robert Wixom's, the first Monday in April, 1827. Three assessors were elected at that time, Samuel Mead, Philip Marlatt and William Yerkes. The election was held in Farmington four years—once at Robert Wixom's, once at Philbrick's and twice at Solomon Walker's.

In the fall of 1830 the inhabitants assembled to choose a name for the town and petition the Legislative Council for a separate organization. The name of Novi had been suggested by Mrs. Dr. J. C. Emery and was presented to the meeting by her husband. Other names were offered, among which were Republic and Beulah. A ballot was taken and the present name chosen.

Most of the settlers were tired of a long name such as Farmington. It was a bother to write it. They wanted a short name and anyone who has had much town business to do will readily assent to the wisdom of their choice.

The name was sent on to the council, together with the petition for organization. The request of the inhabitants was granted and the town organized and named.

When the matter was before the council, one James Kingsly, of Ann Arbor, growled terribly about the name, remarking that if he had not forgotten his Latin, it meant, "Was known, unknown, or forgotten."

The first town meeting held in Novi was at the house of Cyrenius Simmons, where George Dennis now lives. Samuel Hungerford was elected supervisor and Lyman Andrews, clerk; Stanton Hazzard, Asa Smith, and Samuel Hungerford, justices of the peace.

The first training (they used to train in those days) was when Novi was attached to Farmington, and was held at Isaac Wixon's.

Thomas Pinkerton warned out the men. John Gould, William Yerkes, Erastus Ingersoll, M. Vanamburg, Henry Harrington, C. Austin and Benj. Hance were all; think, what an army to defend the town!

The first white child born in this town was Mary Gould, January 2, 1826—the first death, Mrs. Polly Gould; the first marriage, Benj. Welsh and Susan Boughton; the first store, John Brown, Novi Corners; the first sawmill, David Guile on the outlet of Walled Lake, one half mile south and one fourth mile east of Novi Corners. The first blacksmith shop was that of David Guile, on the west side of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad, where it crosses the south line of section 23. The first cooper shop was run by Joseph Eddy on section 34, by the old

cider mill on Benj. Aldrich's place; first frame house, Saville Aldrich on section 34; first frame barn, Wm. Yerkes, on section 35; first church, the Baptist, at Novi corners. The first school house was built on section 33, on the Pitts Taft farm base-line.

The first school was kept by Hiram Wilmarth in the winter of 1827-8. This schoolhouse is described by a brother historian somewhat as follows: "The floor and seats were made of slabs split from basswood logs. The seats were elevated by means of ironwood poles called legs, driven in two-inch auger holes bored through the slabs and were thus easily made to accommodate scholars of every age or size. The writing desks were made by boring holes in the logs at the side of the building and driving in pins on which were fastened rough boards.

"Mr. Wilmarth was an excellent teacher. He taught three months, twenty-six days per month, holding school from sunrise till sundown, without intermission, boarded himself and furnished firewood to warm the house for the sum of seventy-five cents per scholar during the term.

"There was another schoolhouse erected a little later farther down the base-line, just where that splendid row of maples comes up to Clark Griswold's barn. This house was built on contract by Bela Chase; was well done; the floor made of hewn logs with a trap door in the center—all seated and ready to 'run' for the sum of thirty-five dollars. Under this trap door mentioned above was an excavation, the dirt being thrown back against the logs on either side. By whose order this infernal pit was made, I do not know; but I do know that it was the cause of much anxiety to me in my very early days.

"Just down the bank from where the schoolhouse stood was a low, wet piece of land, the haunt of countless massauguas and it was industriously circulated by the scholars and teacher too, that they made a stopping place under the floor of the house. Well, this pit was used as a place of punishment for the scholars. You will say that is a snake story. So it is, but it is true nevertheless. When but three years old I have looked on things there which I can never forget; will live in memory till that sense shall be no more. Dark pictures that will hang on memory's walls until those walls are ruined by death. I have seen boys and girls even, resist their introduction to that second Hades with all the determination that convulsive terror could inspire, and when forced at last beneath the trap door by far superior strength they would sink away with a wail of despair.

"Relic of a barbarous inquisitorial age—thank Heaven, thy days are numbered! The increasing light of the nineteenth century has cast thee into outer darkness, nevermore to becloud life's young day or blacken the history of the age."

The first post office was established at the house of John Gould in 1828. After Mr. Gould removed from the town Dr. J. C. Emery was appointed in his place and held the office until it was discontinued.

The first hotel, a log building, was kept by R. Shuman, one mile west and north of Novi Corners, by the old gardner's stand. The first sermon was preached at John Gould's on section 36 by a Methodist circuit rider, name unknown. The first wagon shop, Ruleph Sebring, proprietor, was

on the northeast corner of section 36; shoe shop, by Zachariah Eddy on section 35. There was a furnace run by G. W. Pinney at West Novi and a distillery by Pitts Taft on section 34 (base-line).

The first plank road in town was built by Erastus Ingersoll. It was located on the town line east of section 24 on a low, wet piece of road. It was constructed of hewn timbers, each piece about fifty feet long placed lengthwise of the roadway. The space between the timbers was filled with cross pieces for the team to travel on; on each side of the squared timbers were rolled huge logs to keep the wagon wheels from running off the track. It worked nicely when new and those who drove over it thought the teamsters' millennium had come. But bye-and-bye the timbers shrunk away from each other leaving crevices into which the wheels would run and then a pull sideways would break the wheel or throw the team over the logs on the outside of the road. It became quite dangerous at last and was entirely removed.

The second plank road was laid through the town about 1850. It was constructed on what used to be the United States military road laid out from Detroit to Grand Haven.

The third plank road, from Novi to Commerce, was remarkable chiefly for the loss it occasioned the stockholders, and for giving the lawyers the case of Pettibone vs. the Novi & Commerce Plank Road Company and to jurisprudence the celebrated decision affirming the divisibility of contracts.

The first and only railway was laid in 1871.

The first mowing machine in town was invented and used by Erastus Ingersoll. It consisted of a section of hollow buttonwood log about thirty inches long placed in a vertical position on wheels or rollers. The motive power was in the inside of the hollow section and consisted of several cogwheels, one or two bands and some other fixtures that are now forgotten. The cutting knives were short pieces of scythes fastened close to the lower edge of the hollow log.

The team was hitched to a tongue made of a long, crooked limb in order to place them on the mown grass and the machine behind the standing. When the team was started the motion of the rollers forced the gearing into action. This gave a rotary motion to the hollow section, and the knives went around with a buzz, cutting everything before them.

Mr. Ingersoll carried a model of this to Washington and got a patent on it in 1827. He came home and called his neighbors together for a trial of the new machine. The mower was placed on the "Ingersoll" swamp and started up. It cut first-rate for three or four rods, when the keen edge of the knives disappeared and not having any shoulder or guards to work against they refused to do duty. The genius of the deacon was equal to the emergency (in prospective at least). He proposed to attach a grindstone in a way that would make the knives sharpen themselves as they revolved. A platform for grain was to be added: a threshing machine following would deliver the grain ready cleaned into bags, which one man would tie up and tumble off; and the

work was done. He had a "recommend" already made out, which his neighbors signed, after cutting down a good deal. He then went East among his old friends in the state of New York and came back loaded with the spoils of victory.

There is an addendum to this piece of history which it will not do to pass over. Mr. Ingersoll had a very fine young peach orchard. In one corner of the field was an old basswood stump. A man going that way one afternoon set fire to this stump with his sunglass (to light his pipe, I suppose). That night some envious vandal cut down one half of the orchard. In the morning the deacon, seeing the catastrophe, became exceedingly alarmed lest all his buildings should be destroyed. The story soon got 'round that Ingersoll's mowing machine had got loose in the night, cut down his peach orchard, set fire to a stump in the corner of the field, and disappeared in the darkness.

I have ransacked the encyclopedia; have searched diligently through the one hundred years of American progress, and it is my candid opinion that Erastus Ingersoll, of town 1, north of range 8 east, was the inventor of the first mowing machine ever used in America.

There were mighty hunters in those days. The necessities of their situation, the scantiness of their larder, and, above all, the innate love of woodcraft, which drew many of the settlers to their new homes, made them skilful in the hunter's art.

And game was plenty. The bear and wolf were frequently found, while all along the outlet of Walled Lake was a paradise for deer, and from thence they ranged all over the adjacent country. But my young friend must not think they were as easy to kill as a woodchuck. Then, as now, they were sharp-eyed, quick-eared and light-footed. They generally saw you before you saw them. A whistle would draw your attention to a white spot of tail instantly disappearing in the brushwood. A good hunter must move stealthily, must have a true rifle and the will and power to use it with instant and deadly effect.

There were some who could not always do this. I have in my mind a story which I have often heard, and I will tell it to you as it was told to me, being careful to let it lose nothing at my hands. One of the settlers, a rather slender young hunter—since rounded out into a portly, good-looking old gentleman—had a boarding place about a mile from his farm. It was all woods between the two places. Through this woods a path was marked over which our hero traveled every day, rifle in hand. Once he was to escort a young lady friend by this path to some place on the other side of the woods. He had his rifle as usual and before he started made some dire threats about what he would do if he saw a deer, giving orders to the effect that if they heard his gun they might fix for hanging up some venison. When about half-way through the woods, sure enough a large buck walked square into the path ahead of him and stopped.

Our hunter was very anxious to kill that deer. You know how it is yourself, young man. If you are trying "hop, skip and jump," or a "square stand and jump," and Kate or Sally are looking on, you are greatly elated if you can land just about one foot over your opponent,

and correspondingly depressed if you fall that much short. Well, our young Nimrod raised his rifle and pulled the trigger. Off went the gun and away went the deer. They always run even if shot through the heart. But the hunter did not stop to look for any marks of wounded game. Close to where the deer stood was a maple sapling which all at once turned its topmost branch silently but quickly over until it hung down by its side, displaying about ten feet above the animal's back the unmistakable marks of a gunshot wound.

You can guess the rest—how the maiden's laugh that rang music through the woods sent discord into his soul; how he cursed the tell-tale bough that hung above his head, as with empty rifle on his shoulder he strode down that woodland path, and how in his reflections that night on the misadventure of the day he came to the conclusion that the most uncertain of all things in this world was the way of a bullet in the air.

A good many years ago the raccoon were quite thick, commencing early to destroy the corn in the fields along the base-line. Northville was then a struggling little place, and some of its clerks and others who had not much to do expressed a great deal of sympathy for the farmers and offered to come over and kill the "varmints." Of course, this was kind in them and they were invited. They came with the moonlight nights, and their dogs and guns made a terrible racket along the corn fields. Sometimes, but not often, they would fell a tree in true coon-hunter's style. I was young then and thought that when I got older it would be fun for me to hunt coons, too, but was sure if they kept on till the end of autumn there would not be as many raccoon left in Oakland county as came out of Noah's ark. However, it soon turned out that their dogs were trained to bark at nothing, their guns were fired at the same animal, and the farmers' melon patches told the rest of the melancholy tale.

An incident has been related to me illustrating how old practices are sometimes broken up in a hurry. When the first frame barn in this town was ready to go up, the owner, who had just signed the pledge, on going around to ask the hands gave each one notice that no whiskey would be used at the raising. It was a large barn, with heavy timbers, and the opinion was confidently expressed that it could not be raised without the "flowing bowl," and with it one hundred and fifty men. The day came and when everything was ready the word was given to raise the first bent. The men who believed it could not be done without liquor were determined to make a test case of it, so they drew off in a body and refused to touch the timber. The temperance men seized the bent, raised it to its place and fastened it there amid the most deafening cheers. Whereupon, the other side rushed in with good humor and the barn was raised in a hurry.

It had always been held by good men before this that you could not raise a barn or baby without whiskey, but from that time on they raised a great many of both without that article.

Those who have been much on the frontier readily agree that no place furnishes so many differing types of character as a new settlement; and any who have read Cooper's novels and made themselves

familiar with that character which, under the various names of Leatherstocking, Hawkeye and Trapper, runs through several of his works, would no doubt have found his parallel in our own town at an early day.

I had often heard his name spoken, coupled with remarks which led me to believe that he was an eccentric man, and since commencing this sketch have inquired more particularly and learned the following:

Joseph Eddy emigrated originally from far up the Hudson river and settled near Auburn, New York. He lived here until "pride," as he termed it, began to dot the country with "frame housen." He then moved to Alleghany county, same state. Here he resided until there were too many openings in the woodlands, too much talk about "frame housen" and too much "pride." He packed up again and at the end of a tedious journey reached Wayne county, New York, where he settled near Sodus bay. Here he remained some time, but by and by emigration poured in and the scenes around his early home were re-enacted. Frame "housen" began to appear, and "pride" to show itself in other, and to him, offensive ways.

Then with a troubled heart at the long journey before him, but not a regret for the home which advancing civilization had rendered so distasteful, Joseph Eddy repacked his household goods, gathered his large family around him and started on his long journey to the far west. In the first year of the settlement in this town he entered the land and built a log hut near the old cider mill on the Benajah Aldrich place. He lived there until about the time that Saville Aldrich built the first frame house in the town, when he gathered his effects and made for the Lookingglass river in this state. He would doubtless have flown once more before the advancing wave of emigration, but old age was upon him, he became blind and soon after died.

Queer man, you will say, thus to rob himself and family of home after home for the sake of solitude and immunity from what to him were the discomforts of civilization. But who will cast a stone at him. He loved rude nature in all her untamed beauty, and he wooed her with more than a lover's ardor, constancy and devotion. The advance courier of emigration, the unconscious herald of Empire's westward way, beside his true but lowly record—the fashion folly a crime of high life today, as exemplified by Ralston Winslow and Mrs. Bilknap, sink into insignificance and fade into worse than nothing.

Following is a list of prominent men and women of Northville township who have passed to the beyond.

Mrs. Doctor John C. Emery
Bela Chase and wife
Edson Chase and Peter Chase.
Abel Case and wife
Zachariah Eddy and wife
Mrs. Cromwell Clark
Anson Clark
Dexter Mitchell and wife
Saville Aldrich and wife
Benj. Aldrich and wife

Pitts Taft and wife; William Taft
Hiram Wilmarth
Ansil Thomas
Asa Sha; Nathan Noyes and wife
Bethnel Howard and wife
Bishop Ovenshire and wife
John Blaine and wife
James Brown and wife
Lewis Vradenburg
Aaron Vradenburgh and wife; James Smith; William Wilson and
wife.
John Ball and wife; Mrs. Jonathan Neal
James Palmer; Joseph Chambers
Samuel White and wife
George Roger and wife
Lyman Andrews and wife
Samuel Hungerford and wife
Joseph Eddy and wife; Sarah Thornton
Jonah Knapp and wife; Henry Knapp and wife
Mrs. James Vanduyne
Mrs. Veltman; Isaac Vanduyne
Mrs. John C. Emery; Abigail Nelson
Thomas Watts; Watson Cronkite
Gabriel Cronkite and wife
James Roger; Samuel Roger and wife
Mrs. Emma and Deborah Pinkerton
Catherine Lowell
Thomas Cravin and wife
Erastus Ingersoll and wife
Myra Garfield and wife
Clark Hazzard and wife; Stanton Hazzard
Henry Courtier and wife
Old Mr. Vanamburg and wife
R. Shuman and wife
David Guile and wife; Mr. Chapel
Dea George Dennis and wife
Randall Chapman and wife
Mrs. Philip Shaw
Mr. Butterfield and wife; Mr. Ginsman
M. P. Sanford and wife
Mr. Whittaker and wife; John Parks and wife
John Crane and wife; Mrs. Daniel Gould
Mrs. Samuel Blackwood
M. Mitchell and wife; Mr. Patton
James Clark; Willis Parde
Avery Lee; Smith Parks and wife
L. Bennett and wife; Mrs. Lewis Britton
Daniel Lee
Elijah Care and wife
Mr. Shirtliff and wife; James Wixom

Abel Eddy; Daniel E. Mathews
 Mrs. Dea Vaughn; Joseph Vaughn and wife
 Samuel Jones
 Levi Bishop, wife and father
 Cornelius McCrum
 William Roger; Mrs. Perkins
 Mrs. Whipple; Mr. Raple
 Mr. Johnson; John and Garry Bloss
 Catherine Covert
 Dr. Woodman and wife
 Stephen L. Gage; James Wilkinson and wife
 Mr. Graves and wife; Mr. Munn and wife
 Nathaniel Clark; Mr. Richardson
 Shubual Hammond
 Loren Flint and wife; Brayton Flint
 Warner Smith; Asa Smith and wife
 John Elmore
 Jesse Haven and wife
 Edward Haven and wife
 James Maladay and wife
 Mr. Pettibone and wife; Lymen Pettibone
 Col. Spencer and wife
 Mrs. Cornelius Austin
 Henry Harrington and wife; Benjamin A. Hance
 Apollos Cudworth and wife
 Erastus Graves and wife
 James Sanford
 Mr. Colvin and wife
 Ransom Reed
 Mr. Needham and wife
 Mr. Payne and wife
 The two Mesdames Daniel Johnson
 Ranson W. Holly and wife
 Mr. Farnsworth and wife
 Dea Lucus Wright
 M. Norton; killed by lightning
 Lyman Hathorn
 The father and mother of Benjamin Brown
 Benj. Bently; M. Law and wife
 Erastus Phelps

It is not always safe to eulogize the living, especially when your remarks are personal. You arouse so many slumbering enmities, so much latent jealousy and criticism, that it is often better to leave their praises for the hereafter. But let the faults of the dead be buried with their bodies, and let us remember only their virtues. All over this town, inside the enclosure of farms, you may see mounds of stone, brick and rubbish splintered by fire. These mounds are sometimes upon rising ground, often by the banks of some stream and almost always where "two ways meet." How often you come across them when cultivating the soil. Your team shies around them, your plowshare shows them to

be quite deep in the earth. If you take the time and trouble to remove them, you will find ashes, bits of coal, crockery and other witnesses that here was once a living hearthstone; that solid walls of maple, beech or oak once rose around them with garret and roof above them. Here were love and hate, joy and sorrow; struggles that brought victory—it may be indolence which came near defeat. Here prattled the infant, heedless of the future. Here tottered old age, with thoughts bent on the past. Some of these homes went to ruin when their occupants “moved out of the old house into the new;” many when they were taken to their last resting place. Of the long list which we have read, how many once lived where these memorial stones guard the ashes of the past. They lie in yonder churchyard, in the outlying cemeteries of the town and elsewhere throughout the land. It is as true of them, as it was of those over whom Gray wrote his immortal “Elegy.”

For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn
Or busy housewife ply her evening care.
No children run to lisp their sire's return
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield
Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke;
How jocund did they drive their team a-field;
How bow'd the woods beneath their sturdy stroke.

Let not ambition mock their useful toils
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre.

Some village Hampden that with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood.

The pioneer of fifty years ago in a locality such as Novi then was, felt entirely beyond the reach of outside aid. He must bear alone his poverty, his misfortunes and severest trials.

The emigrant of yesterday or today rides to his prairie home on an easy car and his provisions are transported in the same way. If misfortune overtake him the world is at his back. If drought sear his corn, or grasshoppers devour his wheat field, his wail comes down the wires and an instant response is made.

Not so with our first settlers. When Thomas Pinkerton and William Yukes came here they walked five hundred miles with their axes and knapsacks on their shoulders. When their families and friends came they were ten days crossing Lake Erie and four weeks on the whole journey. Some of them were taken sick on the way and anxious days and sleepless nights filled up the measure of time.

And theirs was not an isolated case. Scores of our pioneers repeated their struggles, went through their sufferings—perhaps in varied form, but still the same.

After the hardships of the journey had been endured they found themselves in an unbroken wilderness. The sun in its daily round scarcely shone upon its surface, save where walled lake glanced and glittered in its light. Home and its comforts, they had yet to create. They were sick and no physician near; wanted bread and the flour mill twenty miles away. In strength, in weakness, in health, in disease, through storm and sunshine, they must struggle on in the stern battle. "Why," you say, "what could induce them to do this?" I answer they were men and women of limited means. They wanted a home for themselves and families after them; and Hope hung her bow of promise, her glittering pennon, in the far west of their lives. Between them and fruition all these trials must be endured—all these adverse circumstances met and conquered. And right nobly have they fulfilled their mission.

On some, it may be, the sun went down before they reached the goal. But a great majority have come out of the conflict more than Roman fathers, better than Spartan mothers.

"And have hope's promises been illusive?" Could you take a birds-eye view of our town today, you would see each section line running north or south, east or west, thrown into a hard and, in most cases, well worked roadway on which pass and repass the travel of the town. You would see a broad graveled road, like the Appian way of old Rome, leading from the political capital, to the commercial metropolis of our state. You would see a well constructed railway traversing its extent from the southeastern to the northwestern corner, over which rolls the car of commerce carrying the products of the soil, the manufactory or the mine with tireless energy and incredible speed. By its side stretches the electric wire—that wonder of the 19th century—over which the entombed but obedient lightning flies at the bidding of man. You will see parks of woodland (none too large) at regular intervals all over town. On every side are smiling farms, with green meadows and orchards bending beneath their autumn bounty. All around are horses, cattle and sheep in countless numbers; barns filled with garnered grain; stacks of hay and forage, lifting their peaks skyward, and corn fields in rank after rank away to the horizon. Here are churches and there are schools—filled with apt and eager scholars; cottage homes, where the arts and refinements of civilization are known and appreciated, where industrious, enterprising men and noble, true-hearted women bear life's burdens and share its joys together.

"Is it an illusion?" Look again.

You may see the citizens of the town gathered to commemorate the deeds of their pioneers. They glance proudly back and joyfully forward "And why should they not?" They stand shoulder to shoulder with twenty-five townships forming a county of surpassing beauty, over which statistics have written, in respect to agricultural production: "The sixth county in the union, and if you equalize the acres, the fourth." They are citizens of a state whose resources and development have made it a marvel, in this marvelous era, and whose benign government enfold them in the arms of its love. While over all—embracing all, protecting all—floats the banner of a great and free republic.

